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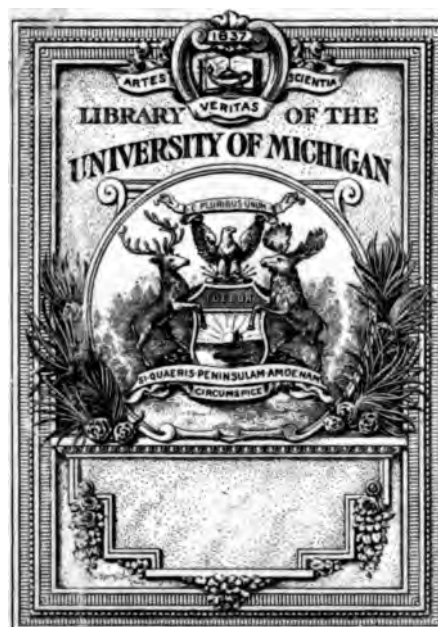
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WITH
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VOLUME V

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ALAN STAMFORD

1750-1800



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VOL. V

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No. 1

THE ROUTE OF THE ALLIES FROM KING'S FERRY TO THE HEAD OF ELK

I—THE CROSSING OF THE HUDSON

THE operations of the allied armies before New York in the months of July and August, 1781, thoroughly alarmed Sir Henry Clinton as to the safety of his position; even the heavy reinforcements received from Europe were not sufficient in his opinion to warrant any offensive movement against his enterprising enemies. Twice the defenses of the upper part of the island were approached almost to the muzzles of his guns. Twice the French and American armies were drawn up in line of battle inviting an engagement, and once their commanders, Washington and Rochambeau, with their staffs and an escort of cavalry rode down the northern front of the British position from its western outpost on the Hudson to its eastern batteries on the Harlem and the Sound. The American troops were no longer the untrained militia of the earlier years. The French contingent were veterans of hard contested fields. Discretion here seemed to Clinton the better part of valor.

Nor was Clinton wrong in his belief that New York was the true objective point of the movements of the allies. Washington himself did not definitely change his plans until the 14th August, when he received certain information that the Count de Grasse would be within a very short space of time at the mouth of the Chesapeake with a powerful army and land force. On this day he records in his diary that "matters having come to a crisis and a decisive plan to be determined on, he was obliged, from the shortness of Count de Grasse's promised stay on the coast, the apparent disinclination of the French naval officers to force the harbor of New York, the feeble compliance of the States with his requisitions for men hitherto and with prospect of no greater exertion in future, to give up the idea of attacking New York; and instead thereof, to remove the French troops and a detachment from the Ameri-

can army to the Head of Elk, to be transported to Virginia for the purpose of coöperating with the force from the West Indies against the troops in that State." The next day he despatched a courier to the Marquis de Lafayette with the joyful news and directed him to be in perfect readiness to second his views and prevent, if possible, the retreat of Cornwallis towards the Carolinas.

In these words are found the first practical inception of the Yorktown campaign which was the alternative plan discussed by the allied commanders and from the time of the conference at Weathersfield, the desire of de Rochambeau. Later letters from Lafayette the next day brought information that Lord Cornwallis, with the troops from Hampton Roads, had proceeded up York River and landed at York and Gloucester where they were throwing up earth works.

While hastening the movement to which the happy coincidence of the imprudence of Cornwallis and the expected arrival of the French squadron promised brilliant and signal success, Washington neglected no measure to conceal his changed tactics. While heavy working parties were engaged in repairing roads over which the army was to move, and extensive ovens were built by the French at Chatham for the baking of bread for the troops, the roads leading toward Staten Island were also repaired in order to threaten a movement on New York by the flank, and confirm the opinion of Clinton that the French fleet would shortly be at the entrance of the harbor of New York.

The detachment from the American army, as Washington invariably terms it, was "composed of the Light Infantry under Colonel Scammel, consisting of two light companies from the York and two from the Connecticut line, the remainder of the Jersey line, two regiments of York, Hazen's regiment, and the regiment of Rhode Island, together with Lamb's regiment of artillery, with cannon and other ordnance for the field and siege." Hazen's was the regiment selected to divert the attention of the British commander. This was the regiment of Canadian volunteers. Thrown over directly from Dobbs' Ferry to Sneden's landing opposite, it was ordered with the Jersey troops to march and take post between Springfield and Chatham. This position also covered the French bakery, which was in full operation. The crossing was made on the 18th August. The same day the American Quartermaster-General was sent forward to King's Ferry, which Washington sets down in his own hand as "the only secure passage" of the Hudson, to prepare for the rapid transportation of the troops. Marching orders were issued from the camp at Philipsburg on the

morning of the 19th. The light troops moved rapidly in advance, crossed King's Ferry in the night, and pushed forward immediately to Kakeat, where they went into camp. Washington, who went in advance of the army, halted at Haverstraw to look personally to the details of the crossing of the Hudson.

The head of the American column reached King's Ferry at ten o'clock on the morning of the 20th, and by the close of the 21st the entire force, with all their baggage, artillery and stores, were safely carried over, only a few wagons of the Commissary and Quartermaster-General's department remaining, which were detained to allow of the crossing of the French, some of whose artillery and part of the infantry arrived on the 21st. During the time occupied in this movement Washington mounted thirty flat boats, to carry about forty men each, upon carriages, as well with a design, as he wrote in his diary, "to deceive the enemy as to be useful in Virginia." On Wednesday, the 22d also, in General Orders, dated Haverstraw, he reminded the army of his explicit orders, issued on the 19th June, at the opening of the campaign, and again particularly charged it upon the detachment under the direction of General Lincoln that, as they were to "consider themselves as Light Troops, who are always supposed to be fit for immediate action, they should free themselves from every incumbrance which might interfere with the activity of the movement." The crossing of the French troops with their cavalry and heavy siege trains was a long and difficult operation. Notwithstanding the large number of ferryboats gathered by the indefatigable efforts of the American Quartermaster, their rear guard was not over until the 26th.

Before entering upon a relation of the route of the Allies in their southward march, a brief description of King's Ferry, the terminus of the famous old revolutionary road, may prove of interest. The colonial records of the State of New York make no mention of this river crossing. The communication between the two sides of the Hudson was slight until the strategic necessity of war made of the old road, as similar necessity has made of the thousand arteries of European travel, a military highway. It assumed its first prominence in history when Washington, after the check of the British at White Plains and North Castle, and the withdrawal of Sir William Howe and his baffled army to New York city, moved his army in the late autumn of 1776 across the Hudson, and began the policy of offensive defense which earned for him the name of the American Fabius. It lies at the foot of the western slope of the eminence known as Stony Point. Well does

this historic hill deserve its name. Heavy boulders of granite rock lie gaunt and rough upon the hills, scatterings of the glaciers which split the Hudson highlands and the palisades below, cleanly as with a chisel, in nature's grand impulsion, from the Polar platform to the sea. No where on the Atlantic slope are such massive boulders to be found as here. They equal in size the deposits of the Alpine glaciers on the Savoy shore of the lake of Geneva, near the celebrated chestnut grove, and are more remarkable in their distance from the elevations from which they were detached and hurled.

In the struggle to obtain control of the North River, the northern division line of the colonies, the importance of Stony Point was early recognized by the commanders of the contending armies. In his solicitude for the safety of the Highlands, Washington undertook its defense, notwithstanding his limited resources in men and material, but the prosecution of the unfinished work was interrupted by the formidable movement, led by Sir Henry Clinton in person, and was abandoned to his superior force on the last day of May, 1779. Fort Lafayette, on Verplanck's Point, the terminus of the ferry on the east side of the Hudson, was surrendered a few days later, and Clinton at once strengthened the two posts, a movement which Washington considered one of the best of the enemy. King's Ferry he pronounced, in a letter to his friend, Fitzhugh of Maryland, written from New Windsor, at this period, "as the best, indeed for us the only passage of the river below the Highlands." Washington, anticipating an immediate attempt to force the passage of the Highlands, at once broke up his encampment at Middlebrook, and shifted his headquarters to New Windsor. Sir Henry Clinton showed no disposition, however, to try conclusions in the fastnesses above, and shortly withdrew his main body to New York city, leaving, however, a strong garrison in the works. The gallant surprise and capture of the post by Mad Anthony Wayne with his light infantry on the night of the 15th July was fully commemorated on its recent centennial anniversary. Too weak to garrison the post, Washington contented himself with razing the works and removing the guns. Sir Henry Clinton in turn sent up a strong force, which took possession of the fort, and followed with his whole army, in the hope of drawing Washington to a general engagement on disadvantageous ground, but Washington was not to be drawn into action, except at times and on ground of his own choosing. The British repaired the works, but soon abandoned them; Sir Henry Clinton advising Lord George Germaine on the 21st August that "he had not troops enough without hazard and difficulty to main-

tain them during the winter," and on the 1st November Washington is found writing to Pendleton that Stony Point, "which has been a bone of contention the whole campaign, and the principal business of it on the part of the enemy, is now wholly evacuated by them." In the spring of 1780 the posts were re-established by Washington to control the water communication against temporary interruption, and during the summer held by militia, who were ordered to withdraw on the first appearance of the enemy in force, and to remove the cannon. No further attempts were however made by the British commanders, and the post remained in undisputed possession of the Americans till the close of the war.

Verplanck's Point opposite is about eight miles below Peekskill, whose rocky passes form the impregnable eastern gateway of the Hudson Highlands. The point itself is the extremity of a peninsula of land which gently slopes from the higher ground behind to the water's edge. This has always been the eastern terminus of King's Ferry.

The curious enquirer, however, would find it difficult to ascertain the exact location of the western landing from any printed authority, and as difficult from any tradition of the neighborhood. Dr. Lossing, the very best authority on all questions of revolutionary topography, does not precisely designate it. There are known to have been three different landing places on the western shore of the Hudson. The one at which Dr. Lossing crossed while engaged in researches for his Field Book, the *vade mecum* of historic enquirers, was the middle one of the three, and the second in age; it is at the foot of a steep hill about a quarter of a mile by the river shore from Stony Point; there are remains of the masonry of a narrow causeway; the third and last is still further to the northward about a quarter of a mile to the north of Stony Point at the mouth of a small creek, which flows into the Hudson, but the old King's Ferry was at the very foot of the Stony Point eminence. Here, not far distant from it, jutting into the stream, and to the northward, under the protection of its sheltering flank, lies a miniature cove with a hard graveled shore, which is known by the name of Teneyck's Beach; the Teneycks having had an imprescriptible right to this ferriage from colonial time immemorial. The stone foundations and heavy bulwarks of the old dock still mark the landing, but the place is better known in the neighborhood from the enormous willow tree which grows at the water's edge and deserves to be mentioned among the most famous American trees. It is a wonderful specimen of the Pollard variety and perfect in dome-like form. Its branches hang almost to the ground. Its sufficient, abundant and close foliage is imper-



vious to rain. Its massive trunk measures at a height of four feet from the ground, seventeen feet ten inches. Its roots, interwoven in a network platform, cover an extensive circumference. From the beach the broad causeway leads up the ravine between the Stony Point hill and that to the northward. It is now entirely covered with grass, but its breadth and evident strength are sufficient evidence that it was constructed by competent engineers for the rough uses of army movement. The slope of the northern hill is now covered with a fine orchard. The causeway runs between the hills nearly at right angles with the river and strikes the main road, the Albany turnpike, at a distance of about half a mile.

Washington watched the crossing of the allied forces from a marquee prepared for him at Verplanck's Point by the French officers; a brilliant pageant it was he witnessed these bright summer days. The broad stream glittering in the sunlight, flecked with innumerable boats bearing their martial array, in continuous line from Verplanck's Point, where the American colors waved from the little post of Fort Lafayette, to the beach beneath the guns of Stony Point. The chivalry of France, the war-worn veteran, de Rochambeau, the elegant and learned de Chastellux, the brilliant brothers de Vioménil, followed by their staffs, in which rode the flower of French nobility, Dukes, Barons, Knights and Squires of high degree. The reading of their names sounds like a page from the Chronicles of Froissart. The feeling with which Washington regarded this initial move of the Southern campaign is related with charming naturalness by M. Blanchard, the Commissary of the French army, who was at his side. "He seemed," says the French officer, "in this crossing, in the march of our troops toward the Chesapeake Bay, and our reunion with M. de Grasse, to see a better destiny arise at the period of the war, when, exhausted and destitute of resources, he needed a great success which might raise courage and hope." Blanchard adds that Washington pressed his hand with much affection when he left Verplanck's Point and crossed the river himself, at two o'clock on the afternoon of the 25th, to rejoin the army.

During the days from the 21st to the 25th August, Washington had his headquarters at Belmont, an elegant mansion still standing, and famous in American history as the residence of Joshua Hett Smith, and the spot where the final details of the plot to deliver over West Point to Sir Henry Clinton were completed by the traitor, Arnold, who commanded the post, and Major André, Adjutant-General of the British

army, and it was the owner who, ignorantly perhaps, but more probably with entire cognizance of the general purposes of the chief actors, guided the disguised officer through the American lines, beyond which he fell prisoner.

The building, which had acquired the name of Treason House, had lost somewhat of its grandeur, and with its grounds had suffered depredation from marauders, but its situation for the headquarters of a commander-in-chief was unrivalled. Standing on high tableland, it overlooks the whole of the broad bay of Haverstraw, here five miles wide, and the Hudson southerly for a far greater distance. Not a vessel could pass the points of the shore, on upward or downward course, not a boat or canoe ply between the river banks, without being seen from this natural observatory. Washington knew it well, and had often been the guest of its old owner on his many passages to and fro from West Point to the Jerseys to threaten or defend the Jersey plains or the Highland approaches. This was the house to which he invited Rochambeau to a farm breakfast on the morning of the 21st of August, and it was here that M. Blanchard, bearing a dispatch to him from the French commander, took a cup of tea with the American chief on the evening of the same day; and it was in the commanding position of the neighboring fields that the French troops made and held their camps.

II. THE MARCH FROM KING'S FERRY TO PHILADELPHIA

On the morning of Friday, the 24th August, Washington in General Orders directed that the troops be supplied with three days' rations, and hold themselves in perfect readiness to march; and in after General Orders of the same day they were detailed to march in two columns the next morning, by the right, at four o'clock; the right column to consist of Olney's regiment, park of artillery, sappers and miners, the Commander-in-Chief's baggage, baggage of the artillery, spare ammunition, baggage and stores of every kind. The next morning, Saturday, the 25th, the army moved. General Lincoln, with the light infantry and the First New York Regiment, which had lain in camp at Kakeat since the night of the 19th, was ordered to pursue the route by Paramus to Springfield, while Colonel Lamb, with his regiment of artillery, the park and stores, covered by Olney's Rhode Island regiment, proceeded to Chatham by the way of Pompton and the two bridges. The same day the French broke camp, the Legion of Lauzun leading the van, followed by the first division of the French army, com-



posed of the regiments of Bourbonnais and Deux-Ponts, with their parks of heavy artillery. The Baron de Vioménil commanded this corps. Their line of march was to Percipany, by way of Suffern's and Pompton. They took the route through Hackensack, reached Suffern's, about fifteen miles distant, where they encamped.

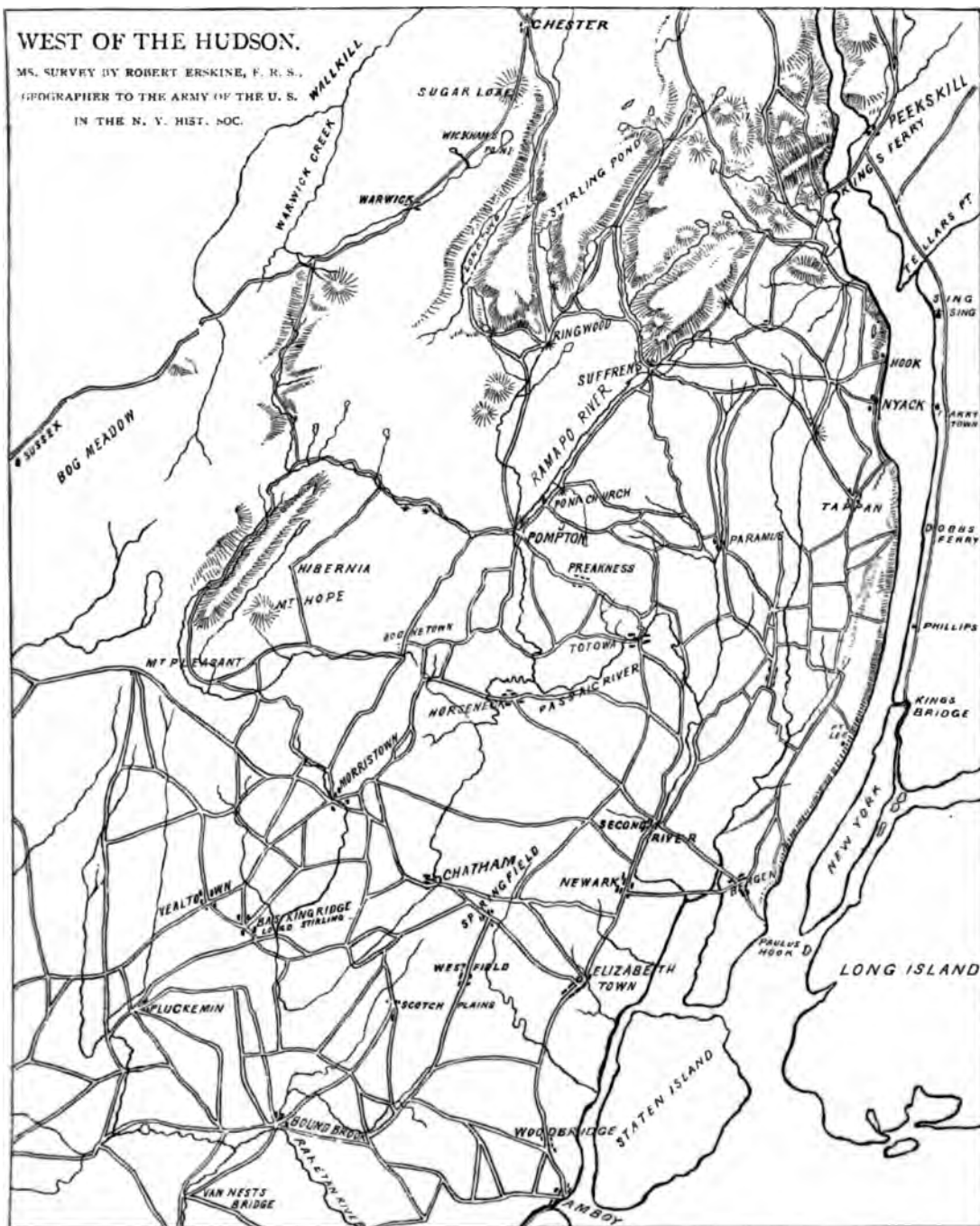
Washington left the Ferry in the afternoon, and joined the advance of the right column, which had reached Ramapo and gone into camp, whence he issued his orders for the next day's march, which was to be continued in the same order, save that the baggage of the Commander-in-Chief was to precede the park. So long as there was business and danger in the rear, Washington remained behind. He now passed to the front of the army to remove all obstructions and hasten its movement.

On the 26th the Light Infantry marched from Kakeat to Paramus, the right column to the forks of the Passaic, where they encamped, and orders were issued for a renewal of the march on the next morning, shortly after daybreak, in the same order. The first division of the French moved from Suffern's to Pompton, crossing the river Pompton three times over the wooden bridges, which were in excellent repair. The distance was about fifteen miles. So entirely were all but the chiefs in the dark as to the real objective point of the campaign, that even on this day the Duke de Deux-Ponts, who commanded the regiment which bore his name, sets it down in his diary that the corps under Washington's immediate command had taken another direction, and seemed to be about to move towards Paulus Hook (now Jersey City) or Staten Island; and he expresses himself as unable to form a fixed opinion as to the object of the march. The same day the second division of the French army left their encampment at Haverstraw and marched to Suffern's, where they encamped on the ground the first had left in the morning. This division, consisting of the regiments of Soissonnais and Saintonge, was commanded by the Vicomte de Vioménil; they brought up the rear with all the baggage and stores.

On the 27th the American troops continued the feint upon New York, manoeuvring at Springfield, preceded and covered by the Light Infantry. On this day the Duke de Deux-Ponts records that he was for the first time informed under injunction of the strictest secrecy, that the real purpose of the campaign was the capture of Cornwallis. The first division of the French marched from Pompton to Whippany or Hanover. Whippany lies on the stream of the same name, and is not far from Morristown. The same day the second division of the French continued over the same route. In his general orders of the 28th, is-

WEST OF THE HUDSON.

MS. SURVEY BY ROBERT ERSKINE, F. R. S.
 TOPOGRAPHER TO THE ARMY OF THE U. S.
 IN THE N. Y. HIST. SOC.



sued at Springfield, Washington changed the formation of his army. Part of General Lincoln's command were formed into three brigades in the following order: The Light Infantry were placed under Colonel Scammel on the right; the two New York regiments under Brigadier-General James Clinton on the left; the Jersey and Rhode Island regiments in the centre. Two field pieces were annexed to the Jersey Brigade. Marching orders for the next day assigned the following orders: The left of the line to consist of the three brigades named; the right column of the Park of Artillery, the boats (those which Washington had mounted on carriages at King's Ferry), the baggage and stores under escort of Brigadier-General Hazen's regiment and the corps of sappers and miners. The first division of the French army halted during the day and were joined by the second division. In the afternoon the Count de Rochambeau left the army for Philadelphia, taking with him the Counts de Fersen, de Vauban and the Baron de Cloisen of his staff. The Chevalier de la Luzerne, the French Ambassador, resided at Philadelphia, where Congress was in session, and tidings of the appearance of the squadron of the Count de Grasse were awaited with the greatest impatience and anxiety.

On the morning of the 29th, the French moved to Bullion's Tavern, and the right column of the Americans to Bound Brook. The feint against New York having served its purpose, and its continuance being of no further advantage, Washington issued his orders for the march southward. His own admirable diary, in itself a complete history of the campaign, gives the best account of his purposes and his measures. "As our intentions could be concealed one march more (under the idea of marching to Sandy Hook to facilitate the entrance of the French fleet within the Bay), the whole army was put in motion in three columns. The left consisted of the Light Infantry, First York Regiment and the Regiment of Rhode Island; the middle column consisted of the Park, stores and baggage, Lamb's regiment of Artillery, Hazen's and the corps of sappers and miners; the right column consisted of the whole French army, baggage, stores, etc. This last was to march by the route of Morristown, Bullion's Tavern, Somerset Court House and Princeton. The middle was to go by Bound Brook to Somerset, etc., and the left to proceed by the way of Brunswick to Trenton, to which place the whole were to march, transports being ordered to meet them there." These orders issued, Washington set out for Philadelphia for further arrangements to provide vessels and transportation for the ordnance and stores.

It is not necessary to trace the movement of each of these columns on the road over which they moved. The Light Infantry, under Scammel, reached Brunswick on the 29th, Princeton on the 30th, Trenton on the 31st. They crossed the Delaware on the 1st September, marched seventeen miles and encamped at Lower Douban, twelve miles from Philadelphia; on the second they marched through the city.

The right column of the Americans with the Artillery marched from Bound Brook to Princeton on the 29th, which they left on the 30th.

The route of the French has been carefully preserved in the numerous diaries of the officers. The First Brigade marched from Whippany to Bullion's Tavern on the 29th, a distance of sixteen miles. On the 30th they reached Somerset Court House, fifteen miles; the 31st marched from Somerset to Princeton, eighteen miles; the 1st of September from Princeton to Trenton, twelve miles. The 2d they went into camp to the northward of Red Lion Tavern, sixteen miles from Philadelphia. The distance between King's Ferry and Philadelphia is about one hundred and thirty miles, and the country traversed on this famous march, which is still full of the memories of the allied armies that trod its soil, passed through its villages, and enjoyed its hospitality, is celebrated for its picturesque beauty.

From the high tableland under the shadow of Mount Thor, one of the boldest peaks of the western Hudson Highlands, the country drops in gradual descent to the flat and fertile plains of the Jerseys. The road from King's Ferry to Suffern's, which was the first day's journey of the troops, still retains many of its ancient landmarks, to which there is a thoroughly accurate guide in the map which Erskine drew from the surveys, which he made in 1779, as Geographer to the Continental army. His charts are to-day the best possible guide for the traveler; every house which was standing in the last century is laid down, the taverns marked with their keepers' names, and even the smallest streams traced in their winding courses, crossing and recrossing the road. The first of the taverns, though a short distance to the eastward of the turnpike, was Benson's; though now deserted, it has been used as a public house until a quite recent period. Its situation is delightful, on a plateau which commands an extensive view to the south and eastward; down the river are seen the sharp angles of Grassy and Teller's Points, which jut out far into the broad bosom of the river.

Just below Benson's Corners is a once romantic dale, swept by a dark, wild stream, the roar of whose waters is now mingled with the thousand wheels of extensive factories; here is one of the finest groves of elms

in Rockland County. Leaving old North Haverstraw high perched on the hillside to the eastward, the old revolutionary road takes a more southwesterly direction, passing through the hamlet of Kakeat, where John Coe kept a tavern, a familiar halting place of the troopers. It was here that Major Tallmadge halted with his dragoons when taking André down from West Point to Tappan. Beyond Kakeat the road passes the Hollow-way, which lies between the ridge, upon which it runs, and the eastern base of the Ramapo hills, which it gradually approaches and finally reaches a short distance above Suffern's, at the head of Anthony's lake. Here stands the oldest house in the valley, built by Ludowick Carlow, in 1756. Suffern's is in the State of New York, just to the northward of the New Jersey line. It was an important strategic point, situated at the end of the Ramapo range where the valley passes to the mountain ranges converge.

On the maps of the old Indian War it is marked as the site of a fort, Fort George, but there are no remains of its works, and no tradition of it remains in the neighborhood. The formation of the land has been greatly altered to lay the base of the railroad track. A high flat plain to the eastward of the fort site still retains the name of the American camp-ground. It lies at the foot of a hill, whose impassable rocky sides rise almost perpendicularly, and afford a perfect protection to the rear. At the northern extremity of this broad field there are visible remains of earthworks, probably a *tête de chemin* to cover the old northern turnpike which passed directly through the camp. On the west runs the Ramapo stream. There is a tradition that this was only a quarantine or invalid camp, but the better opinion is that it was thrown up to prevent the British movements up the valley. Beyond the river also, at what is now entitled Woodburn, are the remains of an encampment, where Harlem bricks and traces of fire-places have been found. The Harlem bricks indicate a much older camp ground than that of 1781. Suffern's takes its name from an old innkeeper, John Suffern, who emigrated from Antrim, Ireland, in 1763. He landed at Philadelphia, but first settled at Haverstraw. He established himself in the Ramapo valley in 1773, where his descendants still reside. The old stone house was a famous resort of the patriots. Washington made his headquarters here, and here also was the scene of one of Burr's dashing exploits. Not far beyond on the northern side of the old post-road was Wannemacker's tavern, still standing, a deserted ruin. Near by, also, is the house where Andrew Hopper resided. Washington was a constant visitor at this house. Hopper maintained



his relations with New York, and it is said kept Washington constantly informed of the movements of the enemy. It is impossible to conceive of a road of more changing and picturesque beauty, lined with magnificent trees, oaks, elms, chestnuts, hemlocks and larches in endless variety; broad green pastures, threaded by bright crystal streams, and a perpetual winding way around the hillsides and deep down in the heart of the dales; some of them, like the Dark Road or Tinker's Gap, have their tale of horror to enhance the interest of nature with supernatural charm.

Running through the valley at the foot of the steep Wynockie cliff, the westernmost hills of the Ramapo range, the old revolutionary road passes the Pond, a pretty sheet of water, fed from the springs of neighboring hills, and soon crosses the Ramapo at a most picturesque spot, marked by the homestead of the Schuylers of New Jersey. This was the first of the bridges over the Ramapo; the second crossing was by the Norton tavern, near which was the old Pompton furnace which Ryerson kept in full blaze in the days of the Revolution. The Pompton Plains in which the French pitched their tents, are at the foot of one of the Wynockie hills. One of these hills is called Federal Hill; there an old cannon was found some years ago, but it is more probable that this took its name from the celebration of the adoption of the Constitution by the Jersey Blues. The roads over all this country are admirable, hard and firm, fit for the movement of the heaviest trains. The country abounds in forest groves, rich in foliage of unexampled luxuriance, and the atmosphere is exhilarating beyond idea. The act of living is a delight in the crisp bracing air of these plains. No wonder that the French officers wrote that the route was superb—an open country they found it and well cultivated, inhabited by Hollanders, quite rich. Curious to see the natural beauties of the western hemisphere the French officers, after looking to the encampment of their men, paid a visit to the Totawa Fall. They note the extensive farms, the great numbers of cattle and the abundance of fruit; the apples trees found fewer than in the northern provinces, but peach trees numerous; the cultivation chiefly of buckwheat and maize. The land they found to need manuring and not equal to the best in France. One of them notices the total absence of gardens and walls and the rarity of fences even; everywhere a striking contrast to the high masonry which to this day divides the French farms in the neighborhood of the towns, and it must be admitted, sadly detracts from the picturesqueness of the scenery of that beautiful country. The inhabitants of New Jersey the French set down as mostly

of Alsatian and Holland extraction; easy, hospitable and contented. Provisions arrived at the French camp from all sides, not brought by trading hucksters or marketwomen, but by ladies, with their heads dressed and adorned with jewels, driving their own rustic wagons drawn by spirited horses in double and sometimes treble front. They correctly describe the Totowa Fall as more singular and imposing than beautiful.

Of Bullion's Tavern on the road beyond Chatham, the French memoirs give no description, nor yet of Somerset Court House. From Somerset to Princeton the road led through thick woods. Princeton they found a pleasant and well built town of about sixty houses. The college, with its fifty students, is noticed, and the curious orrery of David Rittenhouse described. One French account gives the number of the windows in the front of the building; there were twenty-five. Trenton is described as containing about one hundred houses. Here the Delaware was crossed, the wagons by the ford, the troops in ferry boats. From Trenton to Philadelphia the road is broad. It follows the bank of the Delaware through a flat country covered with fine farms and occasional woodland. The beauty of Burlington is remarked; and Bristol is pronounced a pretty town of forty or fifty houses. The old Red Lion Tavern, about sixteen miles to the northward of Philadelphia, finds mention in all of the memoirs of the time. The banks of the Delaware reminded the French of the Loire in its flat and smiling beauty. The North River, they found sombre and wild; as it is indeed; resembling more the dark Danube than any other European stream.

III—THE ALLIES IN PHILADELPHIA

Washington arrived in Philadelphia on the 30th August. The best account of this interesting event appears in the Pennsylvania Packet, of the 1st September. It runs as follows:

"On Thursday, the 30th of August, at one o'clock in the afternoon, his Excellency the Commander-in-chief of the American armies, accompanied by the Generals Rochambeau and Chastellux, with their respective suites, arrived in this city. The General was received by the militia light horse in the suburbs, and escorted into the town; he stopped at the City Tavern and received the visit of several gentlemen; from thence he proceeded to the house of the Superintendent of Finance, where he now has his headquarters. About three o'clock he went up

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After the review was over the President sent the following letter to the Count:

Sir, I have the honour to express to your Excellency the satisfaction of Congress in the compliment which has been paid to them by the troops of his Most Christian Majesty under your command. The brilliant appearance and exact discipline of the several corps do the highest honour to their officers, and afford a happy presage of the most distinguished services in a cause which they have so zealously espoused.

I have the honour to be, with sentiments of the highest respect, your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,
 THOMAS MCKEAN.
 President.

His Excellency Count De Rochambeau,
 Commander of the French Army.

Philadelphia, September 4, 1781.

The next day the Regiment of Soissonnais, commanded by the Count de Saint-Maime, went through its manœuvres, including that of firing. According to a French account, at least twenty thousand persons were present, and many carriages remarkable for their elegance and lightness, admiring the martial scene, to which the beauty of the locality and the perfection of the day added fresh charm. The rapidity of the evolutions of the troops, their ensemble and precision excited the enthusiasm of the spectators.

Among the spectators was the President of Congress in a long, black velvet coat, which surprised the French by its simplicity. Upon this good Abbé Robin, who served as chaplain, comments; considering "the good Pennsylvanians as far below the French in etiquette as the French were below them in the science of legislation." Much were the French amused at what they considered the mistake of the people, who seemed to take for a General a servant of one of the French Grand Seigneurs. This important personage wore a short close jacket, rich silver fringed coat, pink shoes, hat emblazoned with armorial bearings and cane with enormous head, which appeared to them as signs of high dignity. Every time, says the Abbé, that he approached his master to receive his orders the people supposed that he went to give them. The incident is amusing, the explanation simple. The comments of the Abbé may be dismissed with a smile. The race of *badauds* is not confined to one continent.

And here is given to complete the narrative, the American account of this military display which appeared in the Pennsylvania Packet of the 8th September.



“ Last Wednesday afternoon His Most Christian Majesty's regiment of Soissonnais was exercised on the commons near this city in the presence of their Excellencies the President of Congress, the Minister of France, and the Count de Rochambeau, General Chattelaux, M. de Marbois, and a vast concourse of the inhabitants, who expressed the highest satisfaction at the various evolutions and firings exhibited by this truly veteran corps, which was accompanied by four field pieces. And we are happy to assure the public of the great harmony which exists between all ranks of the allied army; and it is a fact too deeply impressed on the heart of every honest American to need our mentioning the great affection shown by the people individually, as well as at large, toward these troops. It is with much pleasure we also relate that no accident happened on the above occasion.”

The day so happily opened closed with a joyous enthusiasm to which there had been no parallel in Philadelphia since the remarkable fourth of July, 1776. Then the excitement, though founded on fixed purpose and high motive, was yet tinged with gloom; now suddenly all apprehensions were dispelled and independence seemed to be assured.

At the close of the manoeuvres the Chevalier de la Luzerne, whose state and hospitality were princely, invited the French officers to dine. Hardly were the guests seated when a courier arrived. The dispatch was handed to the Chevalier. It contained the announcement of the arrival in the Chesapeake of the Count de Grasse with thirty-six ships of the line and three thousand troops, who had already landed and opened communication with the Marquis de Lafayette. Impossible to describe the enthusiasm of the officers. Healths were drunk in rapid succession; notably that of the Duke de Castries, the French Minister of Marine, to which the presence of his son the Count de Charlus, Colonel in second of the Regiment of Saintonge, gave peculiar zest. While the gayety was at its height, Mr. Thompson, the Secretary of Congress, arrived to tender his congratulations. His thin and wrinkled face, his deep sunk and sparkling eyes, and straight white hair, worn plain and hardly reaching his ears, and his plain costume, attracted the attention of the company, and presented a strong contrast to their courtly costumes, with gay colors, periwigs military decorations and knightly orders.

The joyful news of the arrival of the fleet and the blockade of the Chesapeake soon spread through the city, the excited population of which thronged to the hotel of the Minister with shouts of *Vive le Roi!* Our histories preserve but slight details of these popular outbursts, but

in this time of centennial remembrance which mark the anniversaries of these gala days, those of 1781 will surely not be forgotten by the patriotic city of Philadelphia.

THE ROUTE FROM PHILADELPHIA TO ELK RIVER

The light troops under Scammel, which passed through Philadelphia, on the 2d September, went into camp on the banks of the Schuylkill. On the 3d they marched ten miles and encamped about three miles above Chester. The next day they marched through Chester, Brandywine and Wilmington, and on the 5th through Christiana, where was the park of artillery which had been brought down by boats. Lieutenant-Colonel Stevens, of Lamb's regiment, and its active officer, in consequence of the invalid condition of the Colonel, was in charge.

On the morning of the 5th the entire American force having passed Philadelphia, the French arrived and in camp, and the necessary arrangements "in a tolerable train," Washington left for the head of Elk to hasten the embarkation there. At Chester, fifteen miles distant, he was met by a courier from General Gist, who was at Baltimore, dated the day before (the 4th), announcing the arrival there of the Serpent cutter, Captain Arne de Laune, with dispatches from the Count de Grasse, who had arrived in Chesapeake Bay on the 26th, and the next day landed his troops and taken station with his ships from the middle ground to Cape Henry. As the French officer who bore the dispatches was not in readiness to continue his journey immediately, General Gist gave a circumstantial account of the number of vessels and their further movements, and announced that he had ordered all the vessels in Baltimore harbor to sail immediately to the head of Elk to receive the troops. Washington instantly sent a courier to the President of Congress with the joyful news, the effect of which has already been related. Fortunately and of great value, as showing an insight into Washington's nature, there is contemporaneous testimony to his feelings on this occasion.

Not waiting to take part in the military display of the day, or the festivities at the hotel of the Ambassador in the evening, Count de Rochambeau, who was as fully alive as Washington himself to the value of time, the most important factor in military problems, marched his first division early in the morning of the 5th to Chester. But desirous of examining the position of Mud Island and Red Bank, he sailed down the Delaware by boat, accompanied by M. de Mauduit, the hero of Red Bank in the famous defence of 1777 against Donop and his Hes-

sians. The fort was no longer standing, and Fort Mifflin, on the right bank, was not as yet finished. Continuing his route by water, de Rochambeau drew near to Chester, when his attention was attracted by Washington standing on the bank and waving his hat with signs of delight. The Duke de Deux-Ponts testifies to the manner in which Washington's bearing affected him on this occasion. "Cold by nature," he says "and of a grave and noble demeanor, which in him is only the true dignity becoming the head of an entire nation, his features, his countenance, his manner immediately changed. He threw off his character as arbiter of North America, and was for a moment content with that of a citizen, happy in the good fortune of his country. A child, whose wishes had been satisfied, could not have experienced a more lively sensation of pleasure, and I think I am honoring the feelings of this rare man in seeking to describe them in all their vivacity."

De Rochambeau was equally delighted, and the young officers, who saw near triumph, glory and reward in the almost certain capture of Cornwallis, were wild with joy. On the 6th the march was continued to the pretty town of Wilmington, eleven miles distant, over an extremely fine road. The French staff officers again turned aside to visit the battlefield of Brandywine, where Lafayette first distinguished himself as an officer, and the next day (the 7th) the first division crossed Christiana Bridge and marched to Elktown, where they were joined the day after by the second division, which arrived full of the same ardor to reach the enemy and close the campaign. At Elktown, Washington, finding a great deficiency in transports, brought to the remedy his own commanding personal influence, writing numerous letters to gentlemen of position on the eastern shore, "beseeching them," to use his own words, "to exert themselves in drawing forth every kind of vessel which would answer the purpose." None of these letters appear in Sparks' writings of Washington, nor have recent researches brought any of them to light, but there is hope that the new interest awakened in this interesting period of our history may draw these invaluable documents from their resting places. He then agreed with de Rochambeau that the first embarkation should consist of one thousand of the American troops, including Lamb's regiment of artillery, and the grenadiers and chasseurs of the brigade of Bourbonnois, with the infantry of de Lauzun, while the remainder of the troops should continue their march to Baltimore by land or water, according to circumstances, and the cavalry and necessary teams of both armies should go round by land.

These dispositions made, and feeling his presence to be necessary

with the army in Virginia, Washington set out on the 8th for the camp of the Marquis de Lafayette, accompanied by the Count de Rochambeau, the Chevalier de Chastellux and the Counts de Fersen and de Damas of the French general staff.

Military records present no account of a combined movement of troops of different nationalities executed with more order and precision than this historic march from the embattled cliffs of the Hudson to the quiet waters of the Head of Elk.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS



OLD KING'S FERRY AT STONY POINT, N. Y.

SMITH'S HOUSE AT HAVERSTRAW, N. Y.

WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS

Between two and three miles above the village of Haverstraw, on the west side of the road leading to Stony Point, stands the old Smith mansion, memorable as the house wherein André and Arnold met to concert the details of the latter's treason. It is a square, two-storied stone house, with wooden wings, and looks out from an eminence above the road over many a mile of woodland, field and river. A dwelling of considerable size and elegance, it was well known in the Revolution, and "Smith's White House," as it was called, would still be remembered in connection with the contest, even apart from the story of the traitor and the spy.

There were three brothers of the Smith family residing at Haverstraw when the war broke out. Their father, the Hon. William Smith, an eminent lawyer and member of the Council, emigrated from Buckinghamshire, England, in 1715, and died in 1769. Of his sons, all men of position and influence in the colony, the best known was William, the historian and renowned Tory Chief Justice of New York. Judge Smith seems to have wavered at first in his espousal of the royal side. September 24, 1776, Tryon wrote to Lord George Germaine that Smith had withdrawn to his plantation up the North River, and had not been seen or heard from in five months. Suspected by the Committee of Safety, his house at Haverstraw was considered to be in too close proximity to New York city, and he accordingly was ordered to reside at Livingston manor, whence we find him writing to Schuyler, in December, 1777, begging for some books to read: "Anything, French or English, provided it be neither law nor mathematics, nor anything in favor of a Republican form of government."¹ Later he came to be looked on by the Whigs as an arch-enemy. September 15, 1780, only eight days before André's capture, Thomas Smith asked the privilege of an interview with his brother in reference to family affairs—a request which was peremptorily refused by Governor Clinton (to whom the petition was addressed) on the ground that it was his duty to prevent any communication with him. Thomas Smith is said to have

been the only one of the three who professed attachment to the American cause. This, however, is hardly correct, as Joshua Hett Smith, the remaining brother, was a member of the Provincial Convention of New York, which declared Independence, and in his trial brought forward testimony to his general character in favor of the country. Another witness testified that his character at New York stood very high as a Whig. He it was that later became Arnold's associate and tool. He was, it is said, a physician. There would seem to have been another of the Smiths in London at the time "charged with seditious practices there," and it may be this person to whom Dunlap (*History of the Arts of Design*, I., 145) refers, as living at a most extraordinary age at Florence in 1834. It is, however, with Joshua Hett Smith only that we have to do.

Arnold having resolved on a personal interview with André inside our lines, at once selected Smith's house as the place and its owner as his go-between. Early in the war Smith had more than once been in communication with General Robert Howe, of the Continental Army, who recommended him to Arnold as a man worthy of confidence, and one from whom valuable aid might be expected. The motives which led the traitor to choose Smith as his agent in the André affair can only be surmised; whatever they were, they must have been sufficient, for Smith appears to have entered into the arrangement with alacrity. André, after receiving Clinton's instructions in regard to his mission, among which were strict injunctions not to part with his uniform or receive any papers, left New York on the morning of the 20th of September and proceeded up the river to join the *Vulture*, which he boarded that evening near Haverstraw Bay, where he passed the night awaiting the expected messenger from Arnold, but none made their appearance. On the next night, however, the 21st, the long-delayed envoy arrived.

Smith had taken the precaution to send his family on a visit to their relations in Fishkill, and his house being empty, he was joined by Arnold on the 21st. The latter, before reaching the house, had sent a messenger to Continental Village, near Peekskill, with orders to bring down a rowboat to Stony Point, and directed Major Kierse, the quartermaster there, to send the boat immediately upon its arrival to a certain place he designated in Haverstraw Creek. Arnold had resolved that Smith should take this boat, go to the *Vulture*, and bring André on shore at a place about two miles below Haverstraw, the foot of one of the spurs of Torn Mountain, a gloomy, solitary spot, where they could

confer together without fear of interruption. Accordingly, Arnold at nightfall proceeded to this place on horseback, accompanied by a negro servant of Smith, there to await the arrival of the latter with André.

All was now ready. Smith had secured the services of two of his tenants, Samuel and Joseph Colquhoun, as oarsmen, and towards midnight they pulled softly with muffled oars out of Haverstraw Creek. It was a clear, starlit night, with the tide in their favor. They glided along in the deep shadows of the hills on the shore, and the five miles or more between them and the Vulture were soon passed over. As they approached the vessel, they were hailed from her deck and asked who they were and whither they were going. Smith, who was seated in the stern, answered that they were from King's Ferry and were bound for Dobbs' Ferry. The three men stood up in the boat warding it off from the ship's side, and while the startled watcher was abusing the oarsmen for daring to come so near the vessel at such an hour, a boy appeared from the cabin with orders from the captain that the man was to come on board. Smith, accordingly, climbed up on to the deck and descended to the cabin. On entering, he found Beverley Robinson, whom he well knew, who introduced him to Captain Sutherland, who was lying ill in a berth. Robinson, no doubt, expected Arnold himself, but Smith was the bearer of a letter from him, which he delivered. This letter was so artfully worded, that there would have been no danger had it fallen into other hands than those for whom it was intended. Robinson, after reading it, left the room (with an apology to Smith for absenting himself for a short time), and went to show the letter to André, who was in bed. After some discussion, it was decided that the latter should accompany Smith on shore. Robinson, accordingly, returned to the cabin with André, who was introduced to Smith as Mr. Anderson, Robinson adding at the same time that as his own health would not permit him to go ashore, this gentleman would go in his place. André was dressed in his uniform, but had on a long blue coat over it, so that his dress was not visible, and Smith affirmed to the end of his life that he had no suspicion of the stranger's real rank and name. As there was an evident distrust on the part of Robinson in regard to anybody going ashore from the vessel, Captain Sutherland proposed that one of his own boats, manned by an armed crew, should go and tow the other, but this suggestion, for some reason, was not complied with. Some of the Vulture's men, who had found their way into Smith's boat to chat with the two Colquhoun's, were now ordered out of it, and André and Smith got in and took their seats. Little was said but a few remarks about the

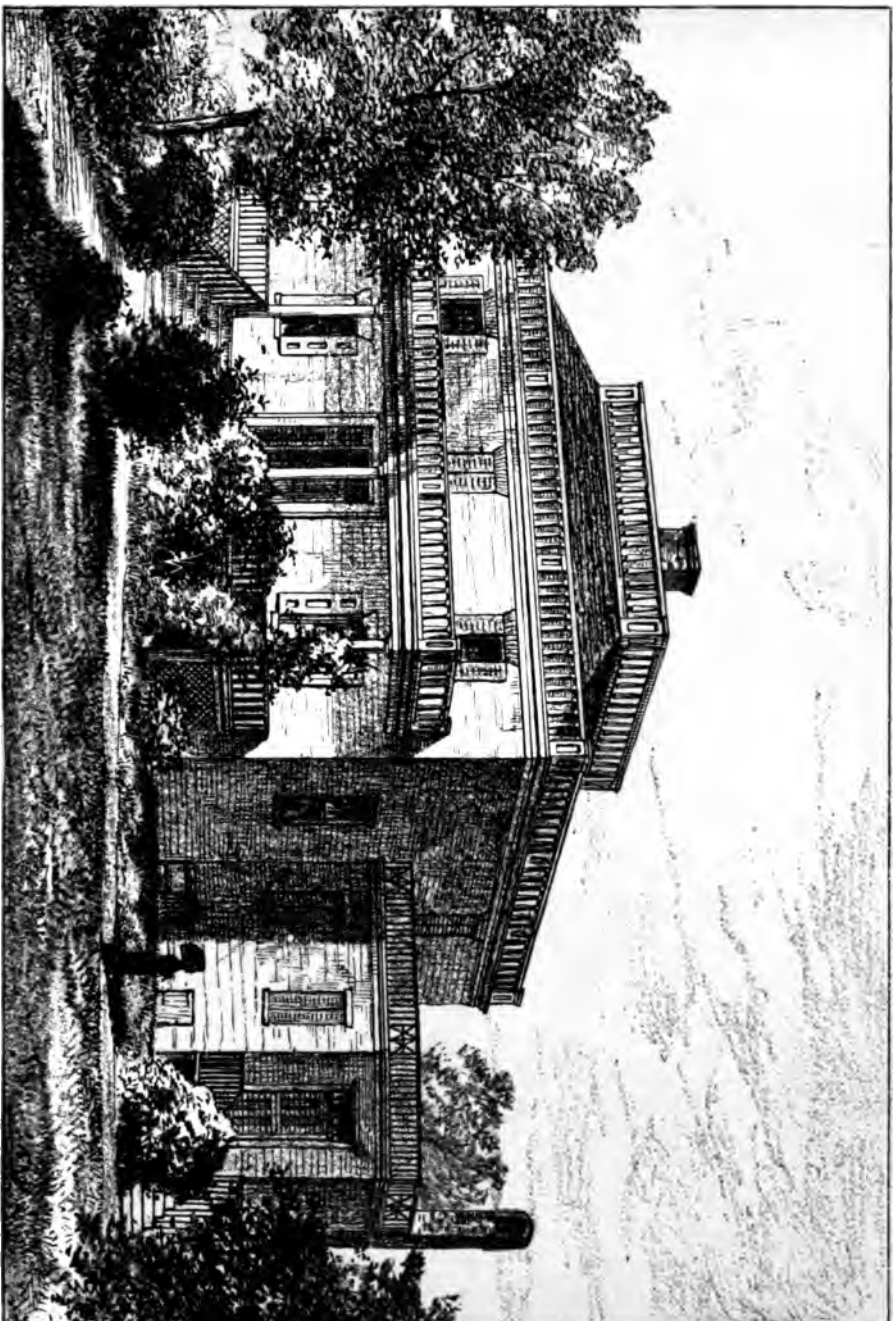
weather as they rowed towards the shore where Arnold was expecting them. As the prow of the boat grated on the strand, Smith jumped out and, groping his way up amongst the dense growth of trees and bushes on the bank, found where Arnold was; to which place, after returning to the shore, he conducted André, and then, at Arnold's request, left them to confer together and rejoined the men waiting in the boat.

Slowly passed the waning hours of the night. The boatmen laid themselves down and slept, but Smith could not. Racked in body by a tertian ague, with a mind disturbed by the business in which he was taking part, but of which, however much he did know, he could not have known all, he anxiously awaited the termination of the interview.

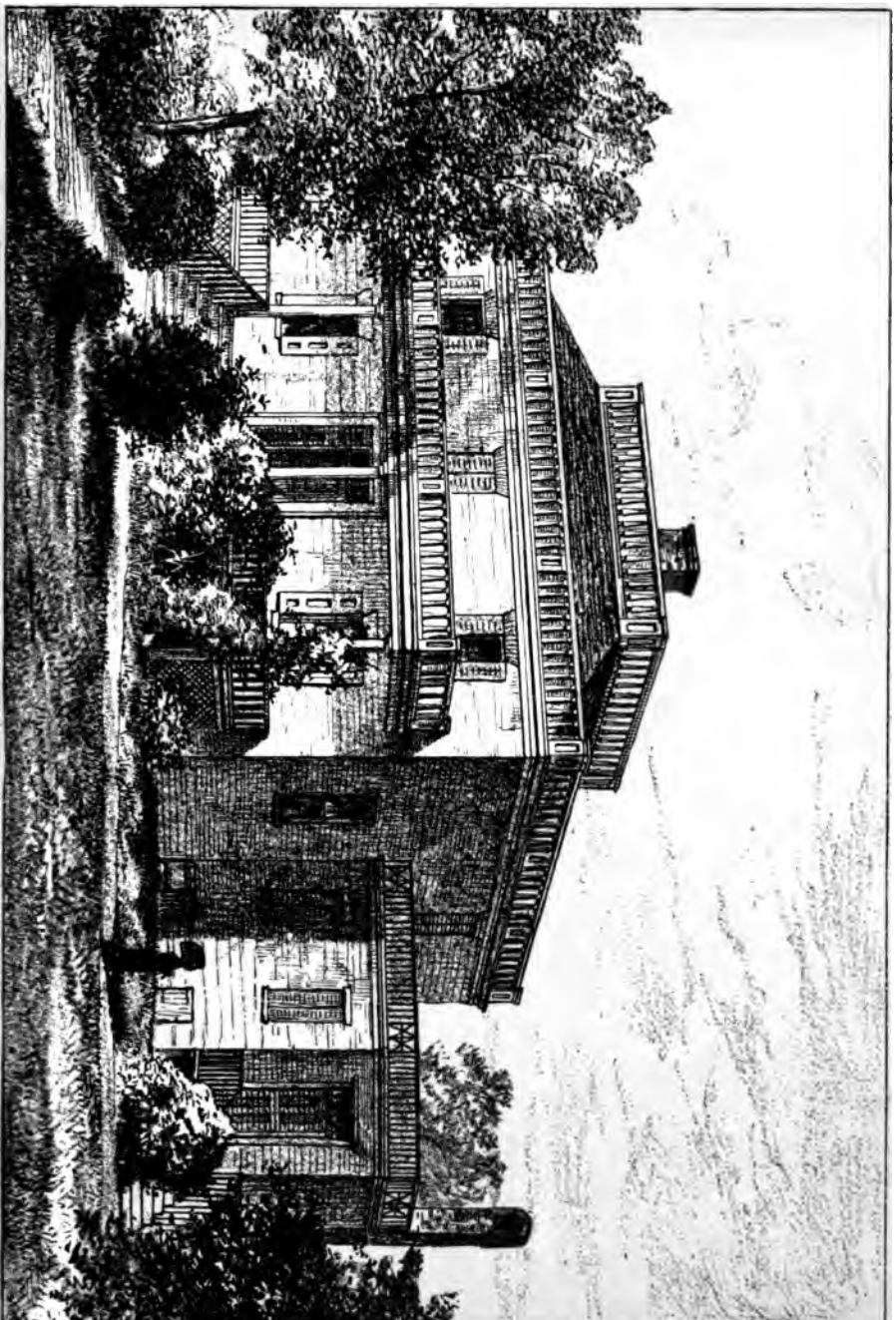
At last, wearied out, he sought the two conspirators and informed them that the day was breaking, and it would not do for the boat to be seen where it was after the dawn. His own statement is that upon this intimation both André and Arnold joined him in urging the two men to row the former back to the Vulture, but that they refused, saying they were fatigued. The men themselves, however, testified on Smith's trial that they did not see Arnold at all, they only heard a noise as of a man hidden in the bushes.

The true reason why André did not return to the Vulture that night is probably that the details of the affair were not yet settled. However this may be, it was finally decided that he should accompany Arnold to Smith's house, and that Smith and the waterman should row the boat up to Crom Island in Haverstraw Creek. Accordingly, the two officers emerged from the wood into the main road, where Smith's servant was stationed with the horses. André, mounting the negro's horse, rode along in the darkness by Arnold's side towards the Smith house. Between them and their destination lay the village of Haverstraw. As they entered it, the stillness of the early morning was broken by the call of a sentry demanding the countersign. This was the first intimation to André that he was within the American lines. It was now too late for him to withdraw, and the pair soon after arrived at Smith's house, which they reached at daylight. They had scarcely entered the house when the report of a cannon was heard echoing along the river from the direction of Teller's Point, and André, hurrying to one of the front windows, saw that a fire had been opened on the Vulture (which was full in view), and in a short period, to his dismay, the vessel dropped down the river out of sight.

It seems that Colonel Livingston, commanding at Verplanck's Point,



THE JOSHUA HETT SMITH HOUSE—HAVERSTRAW, N. Y. WASHINGTON'S HEAD-QUARTERS.



THE JOSHUA HETT SMITH HOUSE—HAVERSTRAW, N. Y. WASHINGTON'S HEAD-QUARTERS.

having become disturbed by the Vulture's prolonged stay in such near proximity to the American works, planted a small field piece on Gallows' Point (a promontory at the end of Teller's Point), and with it opened such a cannonnade on the vessel that for a time, before she could slip her moorings, it appeared as if she was on fire. However annoying this proceeding must have been to the plotters at Smith's house, they sat down to breakfast, which was now ready, and during the meal kept up a conversation on indifferent subjects. After it was over, André and Arnold repaired to a room in the second story, where, secure from interruption, they arranged the particulars of the treason. Exactly what was said and agreed upon between the two can never be known. There is little doubt, however, that Arnold stipulated for a very large sum of money for himself in the event of success, and that he moreover settled the plan for the capture of West Point. The post was to be weakened in every possible way. The British were to be ready at a given signal to ascend the river and make an attack at once by land and water.

The morning was wearing away, and towards ten o'clock Arnold prepared to return in his barge to his headquarters.^a Before going, he gave André a number of plans and specifications, which had been used in their conference, which the latter placed between his stockings and feet. André supposed, of course, he was to be taken back to the Vulture the way he came, and such seems to have been the understanding when Arnold left him. In any event, the traitor had given him three passports for himself and Smith to use in either route they might conclude to take, by land or water.

After Arnold's departure they seem to have made an attempt to obtain possession of a uniform coat belonging to Lieutenant John Webb, of our army, in the keeping of Mrs. Beekman, at the old Philipse castle in Sleepy Hollow. But the lady, suspecting something wrong, refused to deliver it up. Smith avowed his unwillingness to return to the Vulture, but offered to accompany André part of the way should he take a land route. The reason given by Smith for refusing to take André back to the Vulture was the state of his own health, from fever and ague. But this excuse, as Sparks observes, was absurd. That a man, afraid to sit an hour or two in a boat for fear of being ill, should yet be willing to mount a horse and ride many miles on an autumn night, is mere foolishness. The fact is, that the whole proceedings of Smith in the affair are mysterious and inexplicable, and the confused statements of his narrative, generally at variance with the testimony elicited on his trial, serve only to deepen the obscurity of his actions.

But, whatever may be thought of him, he evidently wished to rid himself of his guest, whom he at last persuaded to attempt the mad project of crossing the river and trying to ride down through our lines in Westchester County. Accordingly, towards nightfall, André, Smith and the latter's black servant, started from the house. Arnold had prevailed on André to change his military uniform for a citizen's dress furnished by Smith. Few words were spoken by André as they rode along towards Stony Point to take the King's Ferry across, but Smith had much to say to various acquaintances he met on the road, and even stopped at a sutler's tent to partake of a bowl of punch, his companion meanwhile riding slowly on. Judge Allison, of Haverstraw, now living at the age of eighty-eight, states that in the early part of this century he knew a man who had been a soldier at Stony Point in the Revolution. This person related that he was on duty as a guard when Smith and another (whom he afterwards heard was André) passing along the road, met the commander of the post and his adjutant coming out from the works. Smith expressed his desire to cross the river, and asked if they could get over, to which the adjutant replied that if they hurried they could catch the Government boat which was just about to go.

Darkness was closing in on the Hudson when they crossed the river. William Van Wert, the ferry-master at the King's Ferry, testified on Smith's trial: "Mr. Smith crossed the King's Ferry from Stony Point to Verplanck's Point on the evening of a day in the week before last, in company with another man, and a negro boy was with him; each of them had a horse. The day of the month I do not recollect. I have not seen the person since to know him. He had a black, blue or brown great coat on, a round hat and a pair of boots. I did not hear any conversation pass between Mr. Smith and the person in the boat, neither did I hear Mr. Smith say which way he was going. Mr. Smith seemed to hurry us a good deal. Cornelius Lambert, Henry Lambert and Lambert Lambert, were boatmen along with me."

Up from the landing-place at Verplanck's a long lane, still known as the "Old King's Ferry Road," led into the post-road. It was probably at the entrance to this lane that the sign-board stood, bearing the inscription—

"Dishe His di Roode toe de Kshing's Farry."

There were two ways to reach Crompond from here. One was to take the post-road up to Peekskill and proceed from there; the other was to

take a road which diverged from the post-road a short distance below Verplanck's, and which, leading to the northeast, opened into the Crumpond road between that place and Peekskill. Which one of these routes was selected by Smith and André cannot now be told, but it was probably the latter one. Their movements for an hour or two after they landed on the east side of the river are uncertain. My own supposition is that their first intention was to take the post-road itself straight down to New York, and that after riding down it some little distance they changed their minds and concluded to shape their course further in to the interior of the country. Between eight and nine o'clock that night they were stopped by a patrol on the road which leads from Peekskill east to Crumpond and about three or four miles from the former place. Smith, on being challenged, dismounted from his horse, and, walking forward, asked who commanded the party. He was answered, "Captain Boyd," who at once approached, and enquired of Smith who he was, where he belonged, and what he and his companions were doing out on the road at such an hour. Smith answered the Captain that they had a pass from General Arnold, and were going as far that night as either Colonel Drake's or Major Strang's, but this proved to be an unlucky reply for Smith, for Boyd immediately told him that Major Strang was away from home and Colonel Drake had moved to another part of the country. Boyd now demanded to see the pass, and they accordingly proceeded to a house near by where it was produced, and the Captain scrutinized it by a light. He was satisfied, but his suspicion now gave place to inquisitiveness. He became very curious to know what errand they could be journeying on so late at night. Smith told him that he and his companion, whom he called "Mr. Anderson," were employed to procure intelligence for General Arnold, and were going to meet a man at White Plains for that purpose. Boyd then endeavored to dissuade Smith from riding any further that night, and at last his arguments, greatly to André's annoyance, were successful.

It is not quite clear where André and Smith passed the night. According to the testimony of Captain Boyd, given on Smith's trial, they turned back by his advice to the house of one Andreas Miller, who lived but a little way off. Smith, in his narrative, disagreeing, as usual, with the evidence brought forward on his trial, says, that five or six miles below Verplanck's they were challenged by Captain Bull, and returned, by his advice, several miles to a tavern kept by a man called McCoy. Both of these names are common in the neighborhood. Bol-

ton, in his History of Westchester County, published in 1848, gives no information concerning the matter. The statement of Boyd was undoubtedly correct, and the house must have been on the Crumpond road between three and four miles out from Peekskill. Mr. Stephen H. Knapp, of Crumpond, whose family have long been settled in the vicinity, in a letter before me, dated in February of the present year, writes: "My father (Benjamin Knapp), who, if living now, would be ninety-nine years of age, has often pointed out to me the spot where the house stood in which Major André slept the night before his capture. The house was on what is known as the Levi Bailey place in Yorktown; on the south side of the Crumpond road, beside a small ravine, and only two or three rods east of the dwelling now standing on that place. Andreas Miller lived in the house at that time, but who was the actual owner I cannot say."

It was a restless night for both of the travellers, and at the first indication of dawn they were up and in the saddle again. Before leaving Crumpond, according to the authority of General Pierre Van Cortlandt, they met with another challenge. This time from a sentinel in the road, who took them to his officer, Ebenezer Foote (afterwards first Judge of Delaware County), who had a guard near by. Mr. Foote subsequently informed General Van Cortlandt that it was so early in the morning that he could not read the pass without the aid of a light burning in the room. Smith made particular enquiry how our troops were stationed. Foote told him that we had no troops on the line except Col. Jameson's, and that they were at Robin's Mills (a place now called Kensico). Smith further inquired (for André said nothing), whether, if they went by way of Sing Sing to White Plains, they would meet with any of our troops. To which Foote replied, none, except Jameson's, and told them that if they would call on Jameson he would send an escort with them to White Plains.

It was by this time daylight, and they resumed their way, André now talking freely on various subjects to Smith, and occasionally expressing his admiration of the blue peaks of the Highlands, seen in the far distance, uplifting themselves in the bright light of the morning sun. So they rode along the Crumpond road, up the steep hill and by the ruins of Yorktown church, destroyed by fire the year before. Somewhere here André was dismayed at suddenly seeing coming Col. Samuel B. Webb, of our army. Col. Webb had been captured by the British and held prisoner in New York for a long period. His exertions to secure an exchange of prisoners had brought him into personal

contact with the higher officers of the British Army. André afterwards said the Colonel stared at him and he thought he was lost; but they kept moving and soon passed each other. As they went by Major Strang's house on the Pine's Bridge road, it is said they were noticed by the inmates, who supposed them to be Continental officers. A little below this they stopped to breakfast, and here Smith avowed his intention of leaving his companion to make his way down alone. The understanding had been that Smith was to go all the way with him to White Plains, and if this had been done André would probably never have been taken. This was not to be. Yet André himself, for many reasons, must have been glad to be rid of his fellow-traveller, and they parted with mutual good wishes; André charging himself with some messages to Smith's brother, the Chief Justice of New York.

The small farm-house in which they breakfasted still stands on the west side of the Pine's Bridge road, between two and three miles above the bridge. It has been somewhat altered in appearance since that period, the door, which then opened on the road, now being at the side of the house; but the room is still shown, comparatively unchanged, where André and Smith were. At that time the house was occupied by Isaac Underhill and his wife, Sarah, the daughter of Robert Field. A few days previous to the event Mrs. Underhill had visited headquarters to recover some cattle carried off by a band of marauders, and on the morning in question had nothing to give the two but hasty pudding and milk. She noticed that André seemed nervous and confused, and acted as if anxious to be gone.

The British Adjutant-General, left to himself, crossed the Croton at Pine's Bridge, and followed the road leading south from the bridge. David Hammond, of North Castle, who was living in 1847, at an advanced age, stated that on the morning André was taken prisoner, he was standing at the door of his father's (Staats Hammond) house when he observed a person approaching on horseback. The stranger was enveloped in a light blue swan's down cloak, with high military boots, and rode a beautiful bay horse whose mane was thickly matted with burs. He asked for a drink, and it was given to him from the well. After drinking, André (for he it was) turned to Mrs. Hammond and asked the distance to Tarrytown. She replied, "Four miles." "I did not think it was so far," said he. Continuing on his way till near Chappaqua, he took a road which leads to the west, and came out into the New York post-road a short distance above Tarrytown, at which place he was captured.



Joshua Hett Smith, after parting from André, hastened with his servant back to Peekskill, and from there to Fishkill, where he had left his family at the house of his brother-in-law, four days before. His route leading by the Robinson house, Arnold's headquarters, he stopped and informed the latter where he had left André, with which, according to Smith's own assertion, Arnold expressed himself as perfectly satisfied. In the evening of the day on which he parted from André, Smith had the impudence to pay a visit to General Washington, who was stopping at the house of Dr. McKnight, on his way to Robinson's House; he was returning from his conference with Rochambeau at Hartford. Smith supped at the house. Washington came out for a few moments after supper.

On the night of the following Monday, the 25th of September, Smith was arrested at Fishkill, by Colonel Gouvion, a French officer, whom Washington had sent for the purpose, and conveyed early in the morning to Robinson's house; where André was also brought. From there they were taken across the river to West Point. It is not known where they were confined at West Point, but it certainly was not, as popularly believed, in the powder magazine at Fort Putnam, for that work was rebuilding at the time.

On the 27th Washington despatched orders to Greene, at Tappan, to be ready to receive the prisoners on the following day. "I wish you to have separate houses in camp for their reception," he wrote. "They have not been permitted to be together and must still be kept apart."

The morning of the 28th, Smith and André were brought down to the landing place at West Point amongst a crowd of officers. Smith, on seeing André, extended his hand, and was about to address him, but was told by Tallmadge that no conversation was to be permitted between them. Each was placed in an armed barge and taken down the river to King's Ferry dock at Stony Point, where they disembarked. Here a detachment of the Second Light Dragoons was in waiting to convey them to their destination. At the house of Mr. John Coe, in the Clove at Kakiat, they halted to dine. After dinner they resumed their journey, and at dusk arrived at Tappan, where Smith was locked up in the church for the night, André being confined in the house of Casparus Mabie, a stone building still standing on the west side of the main road, a short distance south of the church. The church was torn down in 1836, and the present building erected on its site.

Smith was tried by a court-martial which assembled on Saturday, the 30th of September, and continued by adjournments for about four

weeks. The charge against him was, "For aiding and assisting Benedict Arnold, late Major-General in our service, in a combination with the enemy to take, kill and seize such of the loyal citizens or soldiers of these United States, as were in garrison at West Point and its dependencies."

There were a great many witnesses examined. Smith drew up in writing a defense which he read to the court, objecting to its jurisdiction on the ground that it was a military tribunal, and as such not qualified to try a civilian. The finding of the court was, that while it appeared that Smith no doubt aided and assisted Arnold, there was no positive evidence to show that he had any knowledge of the traitor's designs. He was, therefore, acquitted. Smith, after being released by the court-martial, was arrested by the civil authorities and imprisoned in Goshen jail. There is still preserved a letter written by him, while in the jail, to Governor Clinton, complaining that his health was being injured by confinement. After remaining there several months, without a trial, he contrived to make his escape, and made his way, sometimes disguised as a woman, through the country to Paulus Hook, and from there to New York. At the close of the war he went to England, where he published his "Authentic Narrative of the Causes which led to the Death of Major André." *

Smith's house, its owner being in trouble, occasionally served as quarters for our officers. Generals Wayne and Irvine were there on the 27th of September, 1780, two days after Smith's arrest, and there in the following summer Washington had his headquarters when on his way to the capture of Cornwallis. In the intervals of such occupation it seems to have stood solitary and abandoned, for Chastellux, who passed it while its proprietor was still in prison, said the house was so deserted that there was not a single person to take care of it, although it was the mansion of a large farm.

From the Smiths the property passed into the possession of a family named Nicoll; from them to William C. Houseman, and later to Adam Lilburn, the present occupant. Mr. Lilburn has obliged me with the following particulars: There is no reliable information as to the exact time the house was built, but it must have been long anterior to the Revolution. Tradition says Aaron Burr studied law in this house with Thomas Smith. There was an old stone house erected before this one, used by the slaves and for a kitchen, which I was compelled to take down, as it was in a falling condition." In the narrative already mentioned Smith says that the name of the estate was "Belmont," but I have



not met with this designation of the house or grounds elsewhere. Smith's White House is the usual name.

Joshua Hett and Thomas Smith both resided, for a time at least, in this house, and on the map made by Major Villefranche in 1780, it appears as "T. Smith's." These names also appear in Erskine's map of 1779. On the same map, next to it, is laid down another house as "W. Smith's." This latter was a wooden house and stood south of the Joshua-Hett-Smith house, on the same ridge of land. It was long ago destroyed by fire.

The interior of the house is spacious and handsome. The room the plotters were in is the southwest corner of the second story. In this room, it is believed, André changed his dress, and here still stands the wardrobe in which he deposited his uniform, and where it was found by Captain Cairnes, of Lee's Light Horse, who brought the order for it from Joshua Hett Smith to the house of his brother Thomas, where the Captain was quartered. Mr. Lilburn states: "The mansion is in excellent preservation. In it there is a marble mantel-piece, of a style that would reach back 150 years or more. One of the same pattern is in the Philipse manor-hall at Yonkers; but the ceilings of this house are higher. The house is 45 by 55 feet in size, and was evidently built by men of uncommon taste and culture."

The outlook from the house is of great beauty. South, over the roofs and steeples of Haverstraw, can be seen looming the High Torn Mountain, at whose foot Arnold met the spy. Teller's Point, off which the Vulture lay, is full in view, and a long sweep of the Hudson; from where it widens into Haverstraw Bay up to Seylmaker's Reach, one of the ancient reaches of the river, a point where the eye looking northward sees no break in the mountains to denote its course.

"Never," wrote Smith long years after Major André was in the grave, "can my memory cease to record the impassioned language of his countenance and the energy with which he expressed his wish to be on board the Vulture, when viewing that ship from an upper window of my house." In the pen and ink sketch of the midnight journey from the Vulture to the shore, which André drew the day before his execution, and which was found among his papers after his death, we see in the distance the Smith house. The shadows lie darkly upon it in the picture, as if the hapless soldier in his last hours on earth was recalling to himself the evil day he had spent there and vainly regretting that he had ever crossed what to him had been indeed its fatal threshold.

CHARLES A. CAMPBELL

¹ The letter is in the Am. Hist. Record (II., 38), edited by Benson J. Lossing, LL. D. I have been favored by this distinguished historian with a letter containing a passage so apropos to my subject that I insert it here: "Smith was never really our Chief Justice." After he was sent within the enemy's lines at New York he was named Chief Justice of the Province, but, as Dr. O'Callaghan says, the appointment was never recognized. In 1786, being then in England, he was made Chief Justice of Canada. He died in Quebec, Dec. 3, 1793.

² Smith's story is that André passed the day at his house, and this would seem to be left to be inferred in André's own statement to the Board of Officers. It has been suggested, however, that Arnold took the opportunity to show the spy the West Point approaches, and this view finds confirmation in the precise knowledge André showed of the locality in his conversation with Tallmadge on his way down in the boat from West Point to Stony Point. He even pointed to the spot where he was himself to "land with a select corps" for the American works. It is certain that in 1825, a man named Collins stated that he had helped to row Arnold and André up from Smith's to the Robinson house; Arnold passing André off as one of Mrs. Arnold's relations.

³ Smith's Narrative first appeared in England, "An Authentic Narrative of the Causes which led to the Death of Major André, Adjutant-General of his Majesty's forces in North America," by Joshua Hett Smith, Esq., Counsellor at Law, late member of the Convention of the State of New York, to which is added a Monody on the death of Major André, by Miss Seward. 8vo. Matthews and Leigh, London, 1808. The next year 1809 it was reprinted for Evert Duyckinck, No. 110 Pearl Street, New York. This Narrative of Smith has most justly been described as unworthy of the least credit, except when supported by other authority. The fact is and it should be remembered in this centenary year of the affair—that in the story of Major André there are some things we do not know—that we probably never shall know. Neither on his trial, when he was making the best case he could for himself with the Americans, nor in his book, where he endeavored to vindicate his conduct to the British public, did Smith reveal the whole truth. There were undoubtedly things he dared not tell, and the lips of the one other man who knew of them were sealed in death. The remarkable suppression of all contemporary notices in the newspapers of the day regarding André's fate, and the assertion of Sir Henry Clinton that he had himself "been over every part of the ground on which the fort (West Point) stood and had of course made myself [himself] perfectly acquainted with everything necessary for facilitating an attack upon them," are strange and mysterious circumstances. The words above quoted are those of Sir Henry Clinton, from his own MS. now in the John Carter Brown Library.



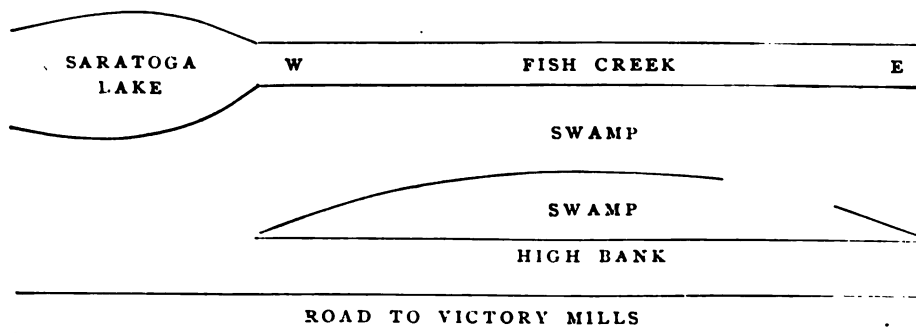
ANDRÉ'S ROOM.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL DISCOVERY

REMAINS OF AN ANCIENT INDIAN WORK ON FISH CREEK, NEAR SARATOGA SPRINGS, N. Y.

Few residents of Saratoga Springs, I presume, are aware that there is near them one of the most interesting works of the North American Indians, yet such is the fact; and the object of this paper is to endeavor to describe this work, and offer a probable explanation of the uses to which it was put.

When at Saratoga recently, Mr. Benjamin R. Viele, who resides on the left or north bank of Fish Creek, called my attention to what he considered an Indian work; and, accordingly, the following day, in company with Mr. James M. Andrews, Jr., I drove over to his house. Mr. Viele took us in a boat across Fish Creek to the spot he had described; and the afternoon was spent in a careful investigation of the work. At a point directly opposite the Viele farm-house, between the creek and the high slate bank, on the top of which runs the road to Victory Mills, there is a large open swamp. In this swamp, extending in a semi-circular form from the high bank, is a solid wall built of cobblestones regularly laid up, and ranging in width from six to eight feet, enclosing an area of about one-half an acre. On each side of the wall a pole can be run down into the marshy muck from sixteen to twenty feet. In shape it is, as before stated, nearly a semi-circle, both ends resting on, or rather terminating at, the bank, the latter forming the base of a segment or the chord of a circle. It is continuous save towards its eastern extremity, where there is break or gap of some twenty-four feet. The following diagram will make it plain to the reader:



The stones with which the wall is built, have all been brought from a field three-fourths of a mile distant. That it is not the work of the whites, is evident from the fact—first, that the oldest settler has no record or tradition regarding it; and, secondly, that directly upon the top of the wall in different places are the stumps of white oak—one of the toughest and least decayable of our forest trees. The stumps themselves are—so Mr. Viele, a man of unusual observation in matters of woodcraft, avers—at least fifty years old; while their rings indicate an age of two centuries. The wall has so sunk that at present it is but two feet above the water of the swamp.

The question now arises: for what purpose was this wall built? Surely not for protection against an enemy, for the Iroquois in their strongholds always selected those sites with a view to having the natural features of the country aid their artificial defences. Hence, if they had designed this for a fortification, the high ground south of the wall would undoubtedly have been selected.

That it was, however, meant to serve some important purpose, is evident from the great labor involved in its construction. To a nomad people, accustomed to depend almost solely on the uncertainties of the chase for support, the question of food for use in their warlike expeditions was of the first consequence.

Now, the plan pursued by them in hunting deer and other wild animals, as described by an early Jesuit missionary, Father Brulé, who lived among them in the 17th century, was, in the words of Francis Parkman, as follows:

“On the borders of a neighboring river twenty-five of the Indians had been busied ten days in preparing for their annual deer-hunt. They planted posts, interlaced with boughs, in two straight, converging lines, each extending more than half a mile through forests and swamps. At the angle where they met was made a strong enclosure, like a pound. At dawn of day the hunters spread themselves through the woods, and advanced with shouts and clattering of sticks, driving the deer before them into the enclosure, where others lay in wait to dispatch them with arrows and spears.”

Our belief, therefore, is that the same plan was followed in the taking of fish; and that this enclosure was designed simply as a large trap in which to catch great quantities of that game, to be afterwards smoked and laid aside for the year's food. It is a well known fact that in colonial times, before the mills and dams were erected at Schuylerville by General Philip Schuyler in 1760, herring and shad in immense schools were

in the habit of running up the Hudson in the spring into Fish Creek (hence the name), and thence through Lake Saratoga and the Kayaderos-seras even to Rock City Falls.* At this season of the year the swamp along the sides of the creek is overflowed to the depth of several feet.

Is it, then, not possible, probable even, that the Indians at this time of the year in their canoes beat the creek until, approaching nearer and nearer, large quantities of herring and shad would be driven through the gap in the wall into and within the inclosure? And this appears the more reasonable when it is remembered that fish, season after season, have their "run-ways" as well as deer. Observation had probably shown the Indians that the fish at this part of the creek came across from the north to the south bank, and hence the opening left directly opposite this angle of the stream, thus affording the more easy driving of the fish into the inclosure. Then, having driven the fish into this immense "eel-pot" and closed the gap with brush, they could at their convenience either scoop them up or, awaiting the subsidence of the water, capture the fish thus left high and dry, an easy prize.

Nor is it necessary even to assume that high water, then as now, covered the swamp in the spring. The lay of the land and the observations of the settlers for the last seventy-five years, clearly show that the creek formerly washed the high bank seen in the above sketch, and that it has gradually been filling in. Indeed, every few years the Victory Mills Company are obliged to dredge out the creek to keep the supply of water from failing. This tallies also with my own observation; for a spot in the middle of the creek over which, fifteen years since, I anchored my boat in ten feet of water, has now become a bank of mud rising a foot above the water. The rapidity of this filling-in process would seem to show that when the wall was erected it was built in the shallow water of the stream—a supposition which makes the use to which the inclosure was put, as before hinted, still more probable.

I offer these suggestions to the readers of the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY* simply in the hope that if any one has another theory to offer he will do so; for every effort to solve a question of this kind should be eagerly welcomed. In the present age of archæological investigation, any fact that throws light upon the customs and habits of the aboriginals must be of great value.

WILLIAM L. STONE

* Mr. Henry Wagman, of Old Saratoga, informs me that when his grandmother first came into the country she and the neighbors were in the habit of scooping up in their aprons out of Fish Creek quantities of those fish.

JOURNAL
OF MISS POWELL
OF A TOUR FROM MONTREAL TO DETROIT
1789

PRELIMINARY NOTE.—Ann Powell, the author of the following pages, was the daughter of John Powell, and was born in Boston, Province of Massachusetts Bay, 1769. Her grandfather of the same name came from England as Secretary of Lt. Gov. Dummer, and married his sister, Ann Dummer, and also sister of the celebrated Jeremiah Dummer, agent for Massachusetts Bay at the Court of Queen Ann. Their eldest son, Wm. Dummer Powell, married Janet Grant, sister of Sir Alexander Grant. Their eldest son, John Powell, was born in Boston, Massachusetts Bay, in 1755. At the age of nine years he was sent to England to the care of his maternal uncle, Sir A. Grant, and placed at school at Tunbridge, Kent. From thence he was sent to Holland to acquire the French and Dutch languages, and in 1772 rejoined his parents in Boston. In 1775 he married Ann Murray, daughter of J. Murray, M. D., of Norwich, England, then on a visit to Mrs. Inman in Boston.

Previously to the breaking out of the war in 1775, he had taken the side of the loyalists, and been declared an alien. During a short residence in Lower Canada, he was instrumental in obtaining for the N. E. loyalists settled in that Province, an assimilation of the English law, which was at that time needed, and which led ultimately to the constitutional Act 31, George 3d, now in force. When in England in 1782, he was

called to the Bar and became a Barrister of the Middle Temple. He was appointed Puisne Judge after his return to Montreal, and the Journal describes the tedious journey to Detroit which succeeded.

On the removal of the Courts from Detroit he removed to Newark, now Niagara, until the establishment of the seat of Government at York, now Toronto. He became Chief Justice in 1816, and Ex-officio, Speaker of the Legislative and President of the Executive Councils of Upper Canada. Resigned his office in 1825, and after three years spent in England accompanied by his wife and daughter, with his relations, he passed a quiet life at Toronto, and died there in 1834, in his 79th year. His widow survived him, and died in 1849, in her 95th year.

His sister, Anna Powell, married Mr. Isaac Winslow Clark, and passed her brief married life at Montreal. Mr. Clark was brother to Mrs. J. S. Copley, and uncle to Lord Lyndhurst.

Judge Powell's MSS. papers are in the hands of one of his grandsons for the purpose of writing an account of his eventful life,—who is now in a high position in active service in Africa. It is hoped the papers are safe.

John Powell, the father of Ann Powell, the writer of the diary, was the younger son of a Shropshire family residing in Montgomery County, Wales, where the ancient seat of the family, "Caer Howel," was situated. The original family name was "Aphowl," anglicised to Powell in the 13th century. The younger sons of John Powell, Jeremiah and William, married Sarah and

Susan Bromfield, sisters, daughters of Edward Bromfield, an eminent merchant of Boston. Their sister, Abigail, married William Phillips, and their daughter, Abigail Phillips, 1769, married Josiah Quincy, Jr., the eminent lawyer, leader in the American Revolution, who died 1775, and father of the late Prest. Josiah Quincy, 1772. 1864.

Jeremiah Powell, who married Sarah Bromfield, inherited extensive lands in the Province of Maine, and died there, leaving no children.

William Powell resided in Boston, where his numerous descendants in the female line yet reside, and they possess portraits by Kneller (it is presumed) of Gov. Dummer, Jeremiah Dummer, and their sister, Mrs. Powell, by Copley.

The Bromfields originated also in Wales, where a Hundred in the County of Denbigh yet bears their name. One of the family emigrated from England to Boston, Mass., in 1675.

The youngest son of Judge Powell (Jeremiah Dummer Powell) a very accomplished, talented and excellent young man, in 1801 went into business as a merchant in New York, became engaged in Miranda's Expedition, was captured by a Spanish vessel, and thrown into prison for more than a year. Judge Powell went to Europe to endeavor to procure his release, and was assisted by the celebrated Dr. Jenner and Lord Holland.

A letter from Lord Holland, giving an account of the release of young Powell, is published in the "Memoir of Blanco White," London, 1845.

"A young English gentleman of the name of Powell, had before the war with Spain, engaged

with Miranda, to liberate the Spanish colonies. He was taken. By law his life was forfeited, but he was condemned, by a sentence nearly equivalent, to perpetual imprisonment in the unwholesome fortress of Omoa. His father, Chief Justice of Upper Canada, on hearing the sad tidings hastened to England. Unfortunately hostilities had commenced under circumstances calculated to exasperate the government and people of Spain. The Chief Justice was determined to try the efficacy of a personal application to alleviate the sufferings of his son by a change of prison, since he despaired of obtaining his release.

Having procured passports he proceeded to Spain furnished with a letter of introduction to the Prince of the Peace from me (Lord Holland), to whom he had applied as recently returned from thence, and not involved in the angry feelings or discussions, which had led to a rupture between the two countries. The Prince received him at Aranjuez, and immediately on reading the letter and hearing the story, bade the anxious father remain, till he had seen the King; and left the room for that purpose, without ceremony or delay. He soon returned with an order, not for a change of prison, but for the immediate release of the young man; and added, with a smile of benevolence, that a parent who had come so far to render a service to his child, would like probably to be the bearer of the good intelligence himself, and accordingly furnished him with a passport, and permission to sail in a Spanish frigate, then preparing to leave Cadiz, for the West Indies."

After the release and the return to New York of Mr. Powell, he became engaged to Miss Eliza Bard, daughter of Dr. Bard* of Hyde Park, N. Y., then 15 years of age. He gave her a complete set of chess men, he had made with his knife, during the year he passed in the dungeon of Omoa, the Spanish prison. Their marriage was delayed by his receiving a lucrative appointment in the West Indies. He embarked from New York, to visit the place of his

appointment, and his vessel was never heard of. 1806. His loss was most deeply regretted by Miss Bard and her family, and by his own family and friends.

Miss Bard after some years married Prest. McVickar, of New York. In 1840, after her death, some of the chess men made by Mr. Powell, were by a series of singular fortuitous circumstances, conveyed to his mother, at Toronto, in her 85th year, to her great gratification.

ELIZA SUSAN QUINCY.

* For an account of Dr. Bard, see his "Memoir by President McVickar."

JOURNAL

When I talked of keeping a journal from Montreal to Detroit, I was not aware of the difficulties attending the journey.

I expected it would be tedious, and thought writing would be a very pleasant employment, and so it might have proved, had it been practicable, but the opportunities for writing were so few, that I found it would be impossible to keep a journal with any degree of regularity, so I left it wholly alone, and trusted to my memory (which never deserved such a compliment) for recalling whatever was worth communicating.

We left Montreal on the 11th of May, 1789, with a large party of our friends, who paid us the compliment of seeing us the first stage, where we took a farewell dinner.

We then went to our boats; one was fitted up with an awning to protect us from the weather, and held the family and bedding. It was well filled, eighteen persons in all, so you may suppose

we had not much room; as it happened that was of no consequence, it was cold on the water, and we were glad to sit close.

This mode of traveling is very tedious; we are obliged to keep along shore and go on very slowly.

The first night we slept at the house of a "Habitan," who turned out with his family, to give us the best room, where we spread our beds and slept in peace.

I entertained myself with looking at the Canadian family who were eating their supper, saying their prayers, and conversing at the same time.

The next day we reached a part of the St. Lawrence where our boats were obliged to be unloaded, and taken through a Lock, the rapids being too strong to pass; these rapids were the first of any consequence that I had seen.

Perhaps you do not know what I mean by a rapid; it is when the water runs with swiftness over large rocks, every one of which forms a cascade, and the river here is all a bed of rocks.

There is no describing the grandeur of the water when thrown into this kind of agitation; the sea after a tempest is smooth to it.

My brother had traveled the road before, and knew the people, and the distance from house to house.

This part of the country has been settled since the Peace, and it was granted to the troops raised in America during the war. We went from a Colonel to a Captain, and from a Captain to a Major. They have most of them built good houses, and with the assistance of their half pay, live very comfortably.

One night we reached the house of an

old servant of Mrs. Powell's ; the children were delighted to see her, and I was well pleased to view a new scene of domestic life. This woman, it seems, had married a disbanded soldier, who had a small lot of land, where they immediately went to live, and cultivated it with so much care, that in a few years they were offered in exchange for it, a farm twice its value, to which they had just removed, and were obliged to live some time in a temporary log house, which consisted only of one room, in which was a very neat bed, where a lovely babe of three months old, lay crowing and laughing by itself.

A large loom was on one side, on the other all the necessary utensils of a family, everything perfectly clean.

Small as the place was, we chose to stay all night, so while Mrs. Powell was giving orders for arranging the beds, my brother and I walked out to enjoy a very fine evening.

The banks of the river were very high and woody, the moon shone bright through the trees, some Indians were on the river taking fish with harpoons, a mode of fishing I had never seen before.

They make large fires in their canoes, which attract the fish to the surface of the water, when they can see by the fire to strike them.

The number of fires moving on the water had a pretty and singular effect.

When we returned to the house, we found the whole floor covered with beds. The man and woman of the house, with their children, had retired to their own room, and left us to manage as we pleased.

A blanket was hung before my mat-

tress, which I drew aside, to see how the rest were accommodated. My brother and sister, myself, five children, and two maid servants made up the group ; a blazing fire (not in the chimney, for there was none, but in one side of the room, which was opened at the top to let out the smoke, and gave us a fine current of air) showed every object distinctly.

I was in a humor to be easily diverted, and found a thousand things to laugh at. It struck me that we were like a strolling party of players.

At night we always drest a dinner for the next day. When we were disposed to eat it, the cloth was laid in the boat, and our table served up with as much decency as could be expected, if we could be contented with cold provisions.

Not so our sailors ; they went on shore and boiled their pots, and smoked their pipes.

One day we happened to anchor at a small Island, where the men themselves had some difficulty in climbing the banks, which were very steep.

I finished my dinner before the rest of the party, and felt an inclination to walk. I took one of the maids and made one of the men help us up the bank ; we strolled to the other side of the Island, and when we turned round, saw the whole of the ground covered with fire. The wind blew fresh, and the dried leaves had spread it from where the people were cooking.

We had no alternative, so were obliged to make the best of our way back. I believe we took very few steps, for neither of us had our shoes burnt through.

The weather was so fine that we ventured to sleep out, and I liked it so much that I regretted that we had ever gone into a house ; it is the pleasantest vagabond life you can imagine.

We stopt before sunset, when a large fire was instantly made, and tea and chocolate were prepared ; while we were taking it the men erected a tent ; the sails of the boat served for the top, and blankets were fastened round the sides ; in a few minutes they had made a place large enough to spread all our beds, where we slept with as much comfort as I ever did in any chamber in my life. It was our own fault if we did not choose a fine situation to encamp.

You can scarcely conceive a more beautiful scene than was one night exhibited. The men had piled up boughs of trees for a fire, before our tent, till they made a noble bon-fire. In the course of the evening it spread more than half a mile ; the ground was covered with dry leaves which burnt like so many lamps, with the fire running up the bushes and trees. The whole formed the most beautiful illumination you can form an idea of.

The children were in ecstasies, running about like so many savages, and our sailors were encamped near enough for us to hear them singing and laughing.

We had, before we left Montreal, heard of his Majesty's recovery, so if you please you can set this all down as rejoicings on that account, though I doubt whether it once occurred to our minds, yet we are a very loyal people.

On the tenth day we reached Kingston ; it is a small town, and stands on a

beautiful bay at the foot of Lake Ontario. The moment we reached the wharf, a number of people came down to welcome us ; a gentleman in his hurry to hand out the ladies, brushed one of the children into the lake. He was immediately taken out, but that did not save his Mother a severe fright.

We went to the house of a Mr. Forsyth, a young bachelor, who very politely begged we would consider it as our own.

Here we staid three days, and then sailed with a fair wind for Niagara.

At Kingston we were overtaken by two officers of the artillery, one going to Niagara the other to Detroit. They both expressed themselves pleased with joining our party, and accepted an offer my brother made them, to cross the Lake in a vessel appointed for him. We were fifteen where there were only four berths. When the beds were put down at night, every one remained in the spot he had first taken, for there was no moving without general consent.

One night after we had lain down and began to be composed, Mrs. Powell saw one of the maids standing where she had been making the children's beds, and asked her why she staid there ?

The poor girl who speaks indifferent English answered : " I am quazed, Ma'am." Sure enough, she was wedged in beyond the power of moving without assistance.

I heard a great laugh among the gentlemen, who were divided from us by a blanket partition. I suppose they were " quazed " too !

Lake Ontario is two hundred miles over. We were four days crossing it. We were certainly a very good hu-

moured set of people, for no one complained or seemed rejoiced when we arrived at Niagara.

The fort is by no means pleasantly situated. It is built close upon the Lake, which gains upon its foundations so fast, that in a few years they must be overflowed. There, however, we passed some days very agreeably, at the house of Mr. Hamilton. We received the most polite attentions from Colonel Hunter, the commanding officer, and all his officers. Lord Edward Fitz-Gerald had been some months at Niagara before us, and was making excursions among the Indians, of whose society he seemed particularly fond. Joseph Brant, a celebrated Indian chief, lives in that neighborhood.

Lord Edward had spent some days at his house, and seemed charmed with his visit. Brant returned to Niagara with his Lordship. He was the first, and indeed the only savage I ever dined at table with.

As the party was large, he was at too great a distance from me to hear him converse, and I was by no means pleased with his looks. These people pay great deference to rank ; with them it is only obtained by merit. They attended Lord Edward from the house of one Chief to another, and entertained him with dancing, which is the greatest compliment they can pay. Short as our stay was at Niagara, we made many acquaintances we were sorry to leave. Several gentlemen offered to escort us to the landing, which is eight miles from Fort Erie.

There the Niagara river becomes impassable, and all the luggage was

drawn up a steep hill in a cradle, a machine I never saw before. We walked up the hill, and were conducted to a good garden with an arbor in it, where we found a cloth laid for dinner, which was provided for us by the officers of the post.

After dinner we went on seven miles to Fort Schloser. The road was good, the weather charming, and this was the only opportunity we should have of seeing the Falls. All our party collected half a mile above the Falls, and walked down to them. I was in raptures all the way. The Falls I had heard of forever, but no one had mentioned the Rapids !

For half a mile the river comes foaming down immense rocks, some of them forming cascades 30 or 40 feet high ! The banks are covered with woods, as are a number of Islands, some of them very high out of the water. One in the centre of the river, runs out into a point, and seems to divide the Falls, which would otherwise be quite across the river, into the form of a crescent.

I believe no mind can form an idea of the immensity of the body of water, or the rapidity with which it hurries down. The height is 180 feet, and long before it reaches the bottom, it loses all appearance of a liquid. The spray rises like light summer clouds, and when the rays of the sun are reflected through it, they form innumerable rainbows, but the sun was not in a situation to show this effect when we were there.

One thing I could find nobody to explain to me, which is, the stillness of the water at the bottom of the Falls ; it is as smooth as a lake, for half a mile, deep and narrow, the banks very high

and steep, with trees hanging over them. I was never before sensible of the power of scenery, nor did I suppose the eye could carry to the mind such strange emotions of pleasure, wonder and solemnity.

For a time every other impression was erased from my memory! Had I been left to myself, I am convinced I should not have thought of moving whilst there was light to distinguish objects.

With reluctance I at length attended to the proposal of going, determining in my own mind, that when I returned, I would be mistress of my own time, and stay a day or two at least.

We were received at Fort Schloser by Mr. Foster, of the 60th Regt., one of the most elegant young men I ever saw. Here we were extremely well accommodated, and much pleased with the house and garden. I never saw a situation where retirement wore so many charms. The next day we went in a batteau to Fort Erie. When we arrived there we found the commanding officer, Mr. Boyd, was gone in a party with Lord Edward and Mr. Brisbane to the other side of the river, where the Indians were holding a Council. The gentlemen all returned in the evening, and seemed so much pleased with their entertainment, that when they proposed our going over with them the next day, we very readily agreed to it. I thought it a peculiar piece of good fortune, having an opportunity of seeing a number of the most respectable of these people collected together.

We reached the spot where the Council began, and as we passed along, saw several of the chiefs at their toilets.

They sat upon the ground with the most profound gravity, dressing themselves before a small looking-glass; for they are very exact in fixing on their ornaments, and not a little whimsical. I am told that one of these fellows will be an hour or two painting his face, and when anyone else would think him sufficiently horrible, some new conceit will strike him, and he will rub it all off, and begin again.

The women dress with more simplicity than the men, at least all I have seen; but at this meeting there were not many of the fair sex. Some old squaws who sat in council, and a few young ones to dress their provisions; for these great men, as well as those of our world, like a good dinner after spending their lungs for the good of their country.

Some women we saw employed in taking fish in a basket; a gentleman of our party took the basket from one of them, and tried to catch the fish as she did, but failing, they laughed at his want of dexterity. One young squaw sat in a tent weaving a sort of worsted garter intermixed with beads. I suppose she was a lady of distinction, for her ears were bored in four different places, with ear-rings in them all. She would not speak English, but seemed to understand what was said to her.

A gentleman introduced Mrs. Powell and me to her as white squaws, begging she would go on with her work, as we wished to see how it was done. She complied immediately, with great dignity, taking no more notice of us than if we were posts. A proof of her good breeding!

We then went up a steep bank to a



very beautiful spot ; the tall trees were in full leaf, and the ground covered with wild flowers. We were seated on a log in the centre, where we could see all that passed.

Upwards of 200 chiefs were assembled and seated in proper order. They were the delegates of six nations ; each tribe formed a circle under the shade of a tree, their faces towards each other ; they never changed their places, but sat or lay on the grass as they liked. The speaker of each tribe stood with his back against a tree. The old women walked one by one with great solemnity and seated themselves behind the men ; they were wholly covered with their blankets, and sought not by the effect of ornaments to attract, or fright, the other sex, for I cannot tell whether the men mean to make themselves charming, or horrible, by the pains they take with their persons.

On seeing this respectable band of matrons I was struck with the different opinions of mankind. In England when a man grows infirm and his talents are obscured by age, the wits decide upon his character by calling him an old woman. On the banks of Lake Erie a woman becomes respectable as she grows old, and I suppose the greatest compliment you can pay a young hero, is that he is as wise as an old woman, a good trait of savage understanding. These ladies preserve a modest silence in the debates (I fear they are not like women of other countries) but nothing is determined without their advice and approbation.

I was very much struck with the figures of these Indians as they approached us. They are remarkably tall, and finely

made, and walk with a degree of grace and dignity you can have no idea of. I declare our beaux looked quite insignificant by them ; one man called to my mind some of Homer's finest heroes.

One of the gentlemen told me that he was a chief of great distinction and spoke English, and if I pleased he should be introduced to me. I had some curiosity to see how a chief of the six nations would pay his compliments, but little did I expect the elegance with which he addressed me. The Prince of Wales does not bow with more grace than Captain David. He spoke English with propriety, and returned all the compliments that were paid him with ease and politeness. As he was not only the handsomest but the best drest man I saw, I will endeavor to describe him.

His person is tall and fine as it is possible to conceive, his features handsome and regular, with a countenance of much softness, his complexion not disagreeably dark, and I really believe he washes his face, for it appeared perfectly clean, without paint ; his hair was all shaved off except a little on the top of his head to fasten his ornaments to ; his head and ears painted a glowing red ; round his head was fastened a fillet of highly polished silver, from the left temple hung two straps of black velvet covered with silver beads and brooches. On the top of his head was fixed a Fox-tail feather, which bowed to the wind, as did a black one in each ear ; a pair of immense earrings which hung below his shoulders completed his head-dress, which I assure you was not unbecoming, though I must confess somewhat fantastical.

His dress was a shirt of colored calico, the neck and shoulders covered so thick with silver brooches as to have the appearance of a net, his sleeves much like those the ladies wore when I left England, fastened about the arm, with a broad bracelet of highly polished silver, and engraved with the arms of England. Four smaller bracelets of the same kind about his wrists and arms ; around his waist was a large scarf of a very dark colored stuff, lined with scarlet, which hung to his feet. One part he generally drew over his left arm which had a very graceful effect when he moved. His legs were covered with blue cloth made to fit neatly, with an ornamental garter bound below the knee. I know not what kind of a being your imagination will represent to you, but I sincerely declare to you, that altogether Captain David made the finest appearance I ever saw in my life ! Do not suppose they were all dressed with the same taste ; their clothes are not cut by the same pattern, like the beaux of England.— Every Indian is dressed according to his own fancy, and you see no two alike ; even their faces are differently painted ; some of them wear their hair in a strange manner, others shave it entirely off. One old man diverted me extremely ; he was dressed in a scarlet coat, richly embroidered, that must have been made half a century, with waistcoat of the same, that reached half way down his thighs, no shirt or breeches, but blue cloth stockings. As he strutted about more than the rest, I conclude that he was particularly pleased with his dress, and with himself ! They told us that he was a Chief of distinction. We only

staid to hear two speeches ; they spoke with great gravity and no action, frequently making long pauses for a hum of applause. Lord Edward and Mr. Brisbane remained with them all night, and were entertained with dancing.

We were detained some days at Fort Erie by a contrary wind. On the 4th of June as we were drinking the King's health like good loyal subjects, the wind changed and we were hurried on board ; we were better accommodated than when we crossed Lake Ontario, for the weather was so fine that the gentlemen all slept on deck. Lake Erie is 280 miles over, we were five days on our passage.

The river Detroit divides Lake Erie from Lake St. Clair, which is again separated by a small river from Lake Huron. The head of Lake Erie and the entrance into the river Detroit is uncommonly beautiful. Whilst we were sailing up the river a perverse storm of rain and thunder drove us into the cabin, and gave us a thorough wetting. After it was over we went on shore. The fort lies about half way up the river, which is 18 miles in length.

In drawing the line between the British and American possessions, this fort was left within their lines ; a new town is now to be built on the other side of the river, where the Courts are held, and where my brother must of course reside.

As soon as our vessel anchored, several ladies and gentleman came on board ; they had agreed upon a house for us, till my brother could meet with one that would suit him, so we found ourselves at home immediately.



The ladies visited us in full dress, though the weather was boiling hot.

What do you think of walking about when the Thermometer is above 90? It was as high as 96 the morning we returned our visits.

Whilst we staid at the Fort, several parties were made for us. A very agreeable one by the 65th to an island a little way up the river. Our party was divided into five boats, one held the music, in each of the others were two ladies and as many gentlemen as it could hold.

Lord Edward and his friend arrived just time enough to join us; they went round the Lake by land, to see some Indian settlements, and were highly pleased with their jaunt. Lord Edward speaks in raptures of the Indian hospitality; he told me one instance of it, which would reflect honor on the most polished society. By some means or other, the gentlemen lost their provisions, and were entirely without bread in a place where they could get none; some Indians traveling with them, had one loaf, which they offered to his Lordship, but he would not accept it; the Indians gave him to understand that they were used to do without and therefore it was less inconvenient to them; they still refused, and the Indians then disappeared, and left the loaf of bread in the road the travelers must pass, and the Indians were seen no more.

Our party on the Island proved very pleasant, which that kind of parties seldom do; the day was fine, the country cheerful and the band delightful. We walked some time in the shady part of the Island; and then were led to a bower where the table was spread

for dinner. Everything here is on a grand scale; do not suppose we dined in an English arbor! This one was made of forest trees that grew in a circle, and it was closed by filling up the spaces with small trees and bushes, which being fresh cut, you could not see where they were put together, and the bower was the whole height of the trees though quite closed at the top. The band was placed without, and played whilst we were at dinner. We were hurried home in the evening by the appearance of a thunder storm; it was the most beautiful I ever remember to have seen. The clouds were collected about the setting sun, and the forked lightning was darting in a thousand different directions from it.

You can form no idea from anything you have seen of what the lightning is in this country. These Lakes I believe are the nurseries of thunder storms! What you see are only stragglers who lose their strength before they reach you.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.—The following extracts are from letters relative to the Indians, from O. H. Marshall, Esq., of Buffalo, N. Y.:

BUFFALO, April 3, 1865.

"The period of Miss Powell's visit to Niagara in 1789, is an interesting one in our local history. The Senecas were driven by Genl. Sullivan from their seats in the Genesee valley in 1779. They settled in 1780 on the site where the city of Buffalo is now located. There does not appear to have been a solitary white cabin here at the time of her visit."

BUFFALO, Feb. 24, 1872.

"The Chief in a scarlet coat, described (in ms.) was undoubtedly Red Jacket, or 'Sago-yewal-ha.' In the volume of 'Indian Treaties, edited by Franklin B. Hough,' and published as

one of 'Historical Series, p. 340,' is a letter to Gov. George Clinton dated July 30, 1789, and signed by Red Jacket, as a *Seneca Chief at Buffalo Creek*, which refers to the Council which Miss Powell attended."

BUFFALO, August 24, 1872.

I have received from a Mohawk a translation of the letter written by David Hill to Lord Edward Fitzgerald, but it is quite unsatisfactory, for the reason that the orthography of the Mohawk, as given by Moore, is undoubtedly very erroneous. It is always the case, when an unwritten language is attempted to be given in the alphabet of another.

Karong hyontye is the Indian name of Captain David. The same name is given in Hough's Indian Treaties of New York, Vol. I., p. 51, for the Captain.

Tyogh Saghnontyon is the name of Detroit, where the letter was written.

Captain David is referred to in Stone's Life of Red Jacket, 1st Ed., p. 95. He was not the Chief of the Six Nations, but a Chief of the same.

I enclose an autograph of Red Jacket, being his signature by "his mark," verified by two old residents of Buffalo. He spoke little English, and could not write his name.

Mr. Marshall here refers to "Memoirs of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, by Thomas Moore," p. 148, Vol. I., where an account is given of his induction at Detroit into the Bear Tribe, and being made one of their Chiefs.

In the same work there is a very beautiful letter from Lord Edward to his mother, the Duchess of Leinster, describing the Falls of Niagara. See Memoir, Vol. I., p. 144.

Lord Edward descended the Ohio and Mississippi, reached New Orleans in December, 1789, and returned to Ireland. The republican opinions he acquired in America influenced his future life, and led to his death in prison in 1798, at the age of 35 years.

The Journal of Miss Powell, from which a few unimportant pages have been omitted, ends quite abruptly. Many copies of it appear to have been preserved among her friends as a memorial of her, and as descriptive of the mode of traveling and the state of society at that early period, when a journey to Niagara was an expedition into a wilderness. Miss Powell was remembered and spoken of by her contemporaries as a most lovely and interesting woman.

This journal is now for the first time printed. In 1862 I gave a copy of it to the New York Historical Society, and in 1877, obtained from the relatives of Miss Powell, now resident in Canada, a permission for its publication in the Magazine of American History.

ELIZA SUSAN QUINCY.

Quincy, Mass.

REPRINTS

FALLS OF NIAGARA

1679

DESCRIBED BY FATHER HENNEPIN

Betwixt the Lake Ontario and Erie there is a vast and prodigious Cadence of water, which falls down after a surprising and astonishing manner, inasmuch as the Universe does not afford its Parallel. 'Tis true Italy and Suedeland boast of some such Things; but we may well say they are but sorry Patterns when compared to this of which we now speak. At the foot of this horrible Precipice we meet with the River Niagara, which is not above a quarter of a League broad, but is wonderfully deep in some places. It is so rapid above

this Descent, that it violently hurries down the wild Beasts, which endeavoring to pass it to feed on the other side, they not being able to withstand the force of its Current, which inevitably casts them headlong above. Six hundred foot high.

This wonderful Downfall is compounded of two great Cross-streams of Water and two Falls, with an Isle sloping along the middle of it. The Waters which fall from this terrible Precipice do foam and boil after the most hideous manner imaginable, making an outrageous noise, more terrible than that of Thunder, for when the Wind blows out of the South their dismal roaring may be heard more than fifteen Leagues off.

The River Niagara, having thrown it self down this incredible Precipice, continues its impetuous course for two Leagues together to the great rock above-mentioned, with an inexpressible Rapidity. But having past that its Impetuosity relents, gliding along more gently for other two Leagues, till it arrive at the Lake Ontario or Frontenac.

Any Barque or greater Vessel may pass from the Fort to the foot of this huge Rock above mentioned. This Rock lies to the Westward, and is cut off from the Land by the River Niagara, about two Leagues farther down than the great Fall; for which two Leagues the People are obliged to transport their Goods overland, but the way is very good, and the Trees are but few, chiefly Firrs and Oaks.

From the great Fall into this Rock, which is to the West of the River the two Brinks of it are so prodigious high, that it would make one tremble to look steadily upon the Water, rolling along

with a Rapidity not to be imagin'd. Were it not for this vast Cataract which interrupts Navigation, they might sail with Barks or greater vessels more than Four hundred and fifty Leagues, crossing the Lake of Hurons, and reaching even to the farther end of the Lake Illinois, which two Lakes, we may easily say, are little Seas of fresh Water.—*Hennepin's Travels, edition of 1698, p. 29.*

THE FALLS OF NIAGARA

1688

DESCRIBED BY BARON LAHONTAN

As for the water-fall of Niagara, it is seven or eight hundred foot high and half a league broad. Towards the middle of it we may descry an island that leans towards the precipice, as if it were ready to fall. All the beasts that cross the water within a quarter of a league above this unfortunate island, are sucked in by force of the stream, and the beasts and fish are thus killed by the prodigious fall, serve for food to fifty Iroquese, who are settled about two leagues off, and take them out of the water with their canoes. Between the surface of the water, that shelves off prodigiously, and the foot of the precipice, three men may cross abreast without any other damage than a sprinkling of some few drops of water.—*Lahontan's Travels.*

THE FALLS OF NIAGARA

1764

FROM A NEWSPAPER OF THE DAY

Niagara Fall is about eighteen miles from Niagara fort. You first go six leagues by water up Niagara river, and then three leagues by land over the car-

rying place. As I was desirous of seeing everything relating to this famous cataract, I prevailed on three gentlemen who had often visited it, to accompany me, one of whom had lived almost ten years near the carrying place, and, consequently, was well acquainted with every circumstance relative to it.

A little before we came to the carrying place, the water grew so rapid that four men in a light canoe had much difficulty to get up thither. Canoes can go half a league above the beginning of the carrying place, tho' they must labour against a stream extremely rapid, but higher up it is quite impossible, the whole course of the river, for two leagues and a half below the great fall being a series of smaller falls, one under another, on which the greatest canoe or batteau would in a moment be turned upside down. We therefore went ashore and walked over the carrying place, having, besides the high and steep sides of the river, two great hills to ascend, one above another.

We arrived at the great fall about ten in the morning, and the weather being very fine, I had an opportunity of surveying very attentively this surprising cataract of nature.

The course of the river, or rather strait, is here from S.S.E. to N.N.W., and the rocks of the great fall cross it, not in a right line, but forming an arch little less than a semicircle. Above the fall, in the middle of the river, is an island, lying also S.S.E. and N.N.W., or parallel with the sides of the river; its length is about 420 yards. The lower end of this island is just at the perpendicular edge of the fall. On both sides

of this island runs all the water that comes from the lakes of Canada, viz.: Lake Superior, Lake Michigan, Lake Huron and Lake Erie; which are indeed rather seas than lakes, and have, besides, a great many large rivers that discharge their waters into them, of which the greatest part comes down Niagara fall. Before the water comes to the island it runs but slowly compared with its motion when it approaches the island, where it becomes the most rapid water in the world, running with a surprising swiftness. Before it comes to the fall it is quite white, and in many places it is thrown high into the air. The greatest and strongest boats would here in a moment be overset. The water that runs along the west side of the island is more rapid, in greater abundance and whiter than that which runs on the east side, appearing almost to exceed an arrow in swiftness.

When you are at the fall and look up the river, you may see the river above the fall is everywhere exceeding steep, resembling the side of a hill. When this prodigious body of water comes to very fall it throws itself down in a perpendicular direction. But the surprise on seeing this is beyond belief; nor is it in the power of language to express it. To behold so vast a body of water throwing itself headlong down so prodigious a precipice, strikes the observer with awe and surprise.

The perpendicular height of this fall has been variously reported. Father Hennepin supposes it 600 feet, but he has gained little credit among his countrymen in America, who call him *un grand menteur*, "a great liar." He did

indeed visit this famous fall; but it is the common practice of some travellers to magnify everything, and this the good father has done, for the height of this famous fall has been found to be exactly 137 feet.

When the water is come down to the bottom of the rock of the fall it jumps back to a great height in the air; in other places it is as white as milk or snow, and all in motion like a boiling caldron.

The noise of this fall in fine weather may be heard at fifteen leagues distance, and, when the wind is very calm, you may hear it at Niagara Fort; but seldom at other times; because when the wind blows, the waves of the lake Ontario make too much noise against the shore. And it is very remarkable, that, when they hear the noise of the fall at the above fort more plain than ordinary, they are sure a north-east wind will follow. This is really surprising, as the fall is south-west from the fort, and one would imagine it should rather be a contrary wind.

From the place where the water falls, there rises abundance of vapours, resembling a prodigious thick smoke. These vapours rise a great height in the air when it is calm, but are dispersed by the wind when it blows hard. If you go into this vapour or fog, or if the wind blows it on you, it is so penetrating, that in a few minutes you will be as wet as if you had been under water. I desired two of the gentlemen who went with me to go down to bring me, from the side at the bottom of the fall, some of the several kinds of herbs, stones, and shells, they could find there. They immediately went down the fall; but when

they returned, which was not many minutes, they were so wet, that I really thought they had accidentally fallen into the water, as they were obliged to strip themselves quite naked, and hang their clothes in the sun to dry.

When you are on the other side of the lake Ontario, though a great many leagues from the fall, you may, every clear and calm morning, see the vapours of the fall rising in the air, and a person unused to this phenomenon would be tempted to think that all the forests thereabouts were on fire, so great is the apparent smoke. In the like manner you may see it on the west side of the Lake Erie, a great many leagues off.

The Indians say that when birds come flying into this fog or smoke of the cataract, they fall down, and perish in the water, either because their wings are wet, or that the noise of the fall astonishes them, and they know not which way to fly, the light being excluded by the vapours. But those who accompanied me were of opinion that seldom or never any bird perishes there in that manner; because, among all the birds found dead below the cataract, there are no other sorts than such as live, or at least frequently swim in the water, as swans, geese, ducks, waterhens, teal and the like. And very often large flocks of them are seen going to destruction in this manner; they swim in the river above the fall, and so are carried down lower and lower by the water; and as water fowl commonly take great delight in being carried with the stream, so will they indulge themselves in enjoying this pleasure so long till the swiftness of the water becomes so great, that

it is no longer possible for them to rise, but they are driven down the precipice and perish. They are observed, when they draw near the fall, to endeavour with all their might, to take wing, and leave the water, but find it impossible. In the months of September and October, such quantities of dead water fowl are found every morning below the fall, on the banks, that the French garrison at the fort used to live chiefly upon them. Besides the fowl they also find dead fish of various kinds ; likewise deer, bears, and other animals, which have endeavoured to cross the river above the fall ; the larger of which are generally found broken to pieces. Just below the fall the water is not rapid, but goes all in circles and eddies like a boiling pot, which however, does not hinder the Indians from going a-fishing on it in small canoes. When you are above the fall, and look down, your head begins to turn; nor will those who have often visited it seldom venture to look down, without holding fast to some tree.

It was formerly looked upon as impossible for anybody to go ashore on the island, and return again ; but an accident that happened about twenty-five years ago proved that this opinion was ill-founded. The history is this : Two Indians of the Six Nations went from Niagara Fort to hunt on an island in the middle of the river or strait, above the great fall, on which there used to be plenty of deer. They took some French brandy with them from the fort, which they tasted several times as they were going over the carrying place, and when they were in the canoe they did the same thing as they rowed up the strait towards the island where they pro-

posed to hunt ; but growing sleepy they laid themselves down in the canoe, which getting loose drove back with the stream, farther and farther down, till they came near that island which lies in the middle of the fall. Here one of them, awakened by the noise of the cataract, cried out to the other that they were lost ! They tried, however, to save their lives, and this island being nearest, they with the utmost difficulty got ashore there. They were at first greatly rejoiced, but when they had seriously reflected on their condition, they believed themselves hardly in a better state than if they had been precipitated down the fall, as they had no other choice than either to throw themselves down that precipice or perish with hunger. But necessity is the mother of invention. At the lower end of the island the rock is perpendicular, and no water runs there, and the island abounding with wood, they went immediately to work and made a kind of ladder of the bark of the linden tree, long enough to reach the surface of the water at the bottom of the precipice. One end of this ladder they fastened to a large tree that grew at the side of the rock above the fall, and let the other end down to the water. Being thus fixed they went down their new invented stairs to the surface of the water, in the middle of the fall, where they rested a little time ; and as the water next below the fall is not rapid, they threw themselves into it, hoping to reach the shore by swimming. I have said before, that that one part of the fall is on this and the other on that side of the island, and hence it is that the waters of each turn back against the rock that is just under the

island. The Indians therefore had hardly began to swim before the waves of the eddy threw them with violence against the rock from whence they came.

They tried it several times, but were always thrown against the rock, so that they were obliged to climb up the stairs again to the island, not knowing what to do. After some time they perceived some of their countrymen, to whom they cried out. They saw and pitied them; but gave them little hopes of help. They however hastened to the fort, and told the commander the dismal situation of their two brethren. He persuaded them to try all possible means of relieving the poor Indians, which at last they effected in the following manner: The water that runs on the east side of this island is shallow, especially a little above the island, towards the eastern shore. The commandant having caused poles to be made and pointed with iron, two Indians determined to walk to the island by the help of these poles, in order to save the other poor creatures or perish in the attempt. Accordingly, before they made the attempt, they took leave of all their friends, as if they were going to inevitable death. Each of the Indians carried two of the above poles, one of which they fixed firmly in the river, and by that means supported themselves against the rapidity of the torrent. In this manner they both safely arrived at the island, and having given each of the two poor Indians a pole, they all returned safely to the main.

Since the above accident, the Indians often go to this island to kill deer, which, having endeavoured to cross the river above the fall, are driven on the island by the stream.

Formerly a part of the rock at the fall, which is on the west side of the island, hung over in such a manner that the water which fell perpendicularly from it left a vacancy below, so that there was a passage at the bottom of the fall, between the rock and the water; but some years ago the prominent part broke off and fell down, so that now there is no possibility of going between the falling water and the rock, the former touching the latter from the upper part to the bottom of the fall. The breadth of the fall, as it forms a semicircle, is reckoned to be about 360 yards. The island is in the middle of the fall, and about 40 yards broad at its lower end.

Every day when the sun shines, from ten in the morning until two in the afternoon, below the fall and under you, when you stand at the side over the fall, you see a glorious rainbow, and sometimes two, one within another. I was so fortunate as to be at the fall on a fine clear day, and contemplated with great delight this beautiful phenomenon, which was embellished with those brilliant colours conspicuous in a rainbow formed in the air. When the wind carries the vapours from place to place, the rainbow is often invisible, but becomes conspicuous as soon as new vapors are formed. —*Massachusetts Magazine*, II., 592.

THE FALLS OF NIAGARA

1789

DESCRIBED IN A LETTER FROM ANDREW ELLICOTT TO DR. BENJAMIN RUSH.

(*Illustrated with a drawing by the writer.*)

Dear Sir,

Among the many natural curiosities which this country affords, the cataract of Niagara is infinitely the greatest. In

order to have a tolerable idea of this stupendous fall of water, it will be necessary to conceive that part of the country in which lake Erie is situated, to be elevated above that which contains lake Ontario, about three hundred feet. The slope which separates the upper and lower country, is generally very steep, and in many places almost perpendicular. It is formed by horizontal strata of stone, great part of which is what we commonly call lime stone. The slope may be traced from the north side of lake Ontario, near the bay of Toronto, round the west end of the lake; thence its direction is generally east, between lake Ontario, and lake Erie it crosses the strait of Niagara, and the Cheneseco river, after which it becomes lost in the country towards the Seneca Lake. It is to this slope that our country is indebted, both for the cataract of Niagara and the great falls of the Cheneseco.

The cataract of Niagara was formerly down at the northern side of the slope, near to that place, which is now known by the name of the Landing; but from the great length of time, added to the great quantity of water, and distance which it falls, the solid stone is worn away, for about seven miles, up towards lake Erie, and a chasm is formed which no person can approach without horror.

Down this chasm the water rushes with a most astonishing velocity, after it makes the great pitch. In going up the road near this chasm, the fancy is constantly engaged in the contemplation of the most romantick and awful prospects imaginable, till at length, the eye catches the falls—the imagination is

instantly arrested, and you admire in silence! The river is about one hundred and thirty-five poles wide, at the falls, and the perpendicular pitch one hundred and fifty feet. The fall of this vast body of water produces a sound which is frequently heard at the distance of twenty miles, and a sensible tremulous motion in the earth for some poles around.* A heavy fog, or cloud, is constantly ascending from the falls, in which rainbows may always be seen, when the sun shines. This fog, or spray, in the winter season, falls upon the neighboring trees, where it congeals, and produces a most beautiful chrystalline appearance. This remark is equally applicable to the falls of the Cheneseco.

The difficulty which would attend levelling the rapids in the chasm, prevented my attempting it, but I conjecture the water must descend at least sixty-five feet. The perpendicular pitch at the cataract is one hundred and fifty feet; to these add fifty-eight feet, which the water falls in the last half mile, immediately above the falls, and we have two hundred and seventy-three feet, which the water falls, in a distance of about seven miles and an half. If either ducks or geese inadvertently alight in the rapids above the great cataract, they are incapable of getting on the wing again, and are instantly hurried on to destruction.

There is one appearance at this cataract worthy of some attention, and which I do not remember to have seen noted by any writer. Just below the great pitch, the water and foam may be seen puffed up in spherical figures, nearly as large as common cocks of hay;



they burst at the top, and project a column of spray to a prodigious height ; they then subside, and are succeeded by others, which burst in like manner.

This appearance is most conspicuous about half way between the island, that divides the falls, and the west side of the strait, where the largest column of water descends. I am, &c.,

ANDREW ELLICOTT.

Niagara, Dec. 10th, 1789.

* It is said by those who have visited this stupendous cataract, that the descent into the chasm is exceedingly difficult, because of the great height of the banks. A person, having descended, however, may go up to the bottom of the falls, and take shelter behind the torrent, between the falling water and the precipice, where there is a space sufficient to contain a number of people in perfect safety, and where conversation may be carried on without much interruption from the noise, which is less here than at a considerable distance. This is not unworthy the attention of the philosophick reader. —*Massachusetts Magazine*, II., 387.

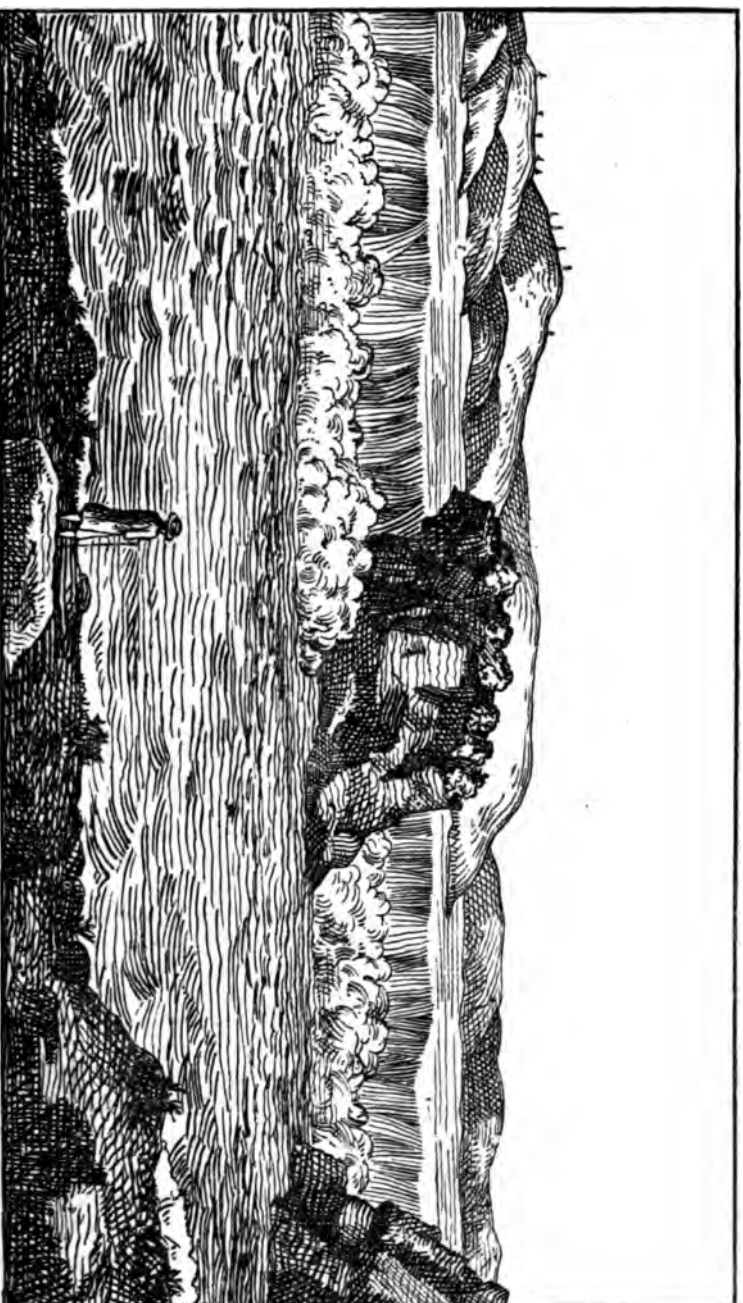
THE FALLS OF NIAGARA

1799

DESCRIBED BY CHARLES WILLIAMSON

Should curiosity induce you to visit the Falls of Niagara, you will proceed from Geneva by the State Road, to the Genesee River, which you will cross at New Hartford, west of which you will find the country settled for about twelve miles ; but after that, for about sixty-five miles, to Niagara River, the country still remains a wilderness. This road was used so much last year by people on business, or by those whom curiosity had led to visit the Falls of Niagara, that a station was fixed at the Big Plains to shelter travelers. At this place there

are two roads that lead to Niagara River ; the south road goes by Buffalo Creek, the other by Tonawandoe Village to Queen's Town Landing. The road to Buffalo Creek is more used both because it is better and because it commands a view of Lake Erie ; and the road from this to the falls is along the banks of Niagara River, a very interesting ride. The river is in no place less than a mile over, and the picture is enlivened by a variety of landscapes. Niagara River is the only outlet of Lake Superior, and all these immense lakes that afford from the falls an uninterrupted navigation of near two thousand miles to the westward. As you approach Chippaway, a military station two miles above the falls, the rapidity of the river increases, bounding to a great height when it meets with resistance from the inequality of the surface ; and this vast body of water at last washes over a precipice of one hundred and seventy feet. The falls can be viewed from several different places ; but they are seen to most advantage below. You can, with safety, approach the very edge of the fall, and may even go some distance between the sheet of falling water and the precipice ; but this experiment requires caution : the footing is unequal and slippery ; and blasts of condensed air rush out with such violence as to deprive you for some moments, of the power of breathing. From the falls to Queenstown, the nearest place to which shipping approach the falls, the roar is confined within a chasm in the rocks, one hundred and fifty feet deep, and to all appearance cut by the force of the water.



Del. 1790

VIEW OF NIAGARA FALLS IN 1790—FAC-SIMILE OF CUT IN MASSACHUSETTS MAGAZINE.



ITINERARY

FROM WILLIAMSON'S DESCRIPTION OF THE
SETTLEMENT OF THE GENESEE COUNTY

1799

The principal Taverns on the road
from Albany to Geneva, and from there
to Niagara, with their Distances :

Albany to Schenectady	16
Schenectady to Bent's	14
Bent's to ———	10
Dewights	16
Hudson's Indian Castle	14
Aldridge's German-Flats	10
Hotel Fort Schuyler	16

From Fort Schuyler to Laird's
on the great Genesee Road 10

Van Epps's, near the Oneida
Reservation 6

Wemps's, in the Oneida Reser-
vation 6

Sill's, at the Deep Spring 11

Keeler's junior 12

Tyler's, Onandago Hollow 10

Rice's, Nine Mile Creek 10

Cayuga Ferry 20

Powell's Hotel, Geneva 13

From Geneva to Canandarqua

Sanburn's 16

Searson's on the State Road 14

New Hartford 11

Peterson's at the Big Spring 6

Ganson's 6

To the station on the Big

Plain 27

To Buffalo Creek 43

—— 123

Miles 317

NOTES

IRVING'S NEW YORK.—Looking over
an old volume of newspaper cuttings the
other day I fell upon this scrap, which
may amuse some of your readers.

"The following curious passage occurs near
the commencement of the Sixth Book of
Irving's humorous History of New York,
where it stands in *plain prose*, though we have
divided it into lines for the sake of showing the
remarkable poetic rhythm by which it is marked.
It is copied *verbatim*, and forms part of the de-
scription of the arming of Peter Stuyvesant, the
Redoubtable, for battle. It may be classed
among literary curiosities.

"The gallant warrior starts from soft repose,
From golden visions and voluptuous ease ;
Where, in the dulcet ' piping time of peace,'
He sought sweet solace after all his toils.
No more, in Beauty's syren lap reclined,
He weaves fair garlands for his lady's brows;
No more entwines with flowers his shining
sword,
Nor through the live-long lazy summer's day
Chants forth his love-sick soul in madrigals.
To manhood roused he spurns the amorous
flute,
Doffs from his brawny back the robe of peace,
And clothes his pampered limbs in panoply of
steel.
O'er his dark brow where late the myrtle waved,
Where wanton roses breathed enervate love,
He rears the beaming casque and nodding
plume ;
Grasps the bright shield and shakes the ponder-
ous lance,
Or mounts with eager pride his fiery steed,
And burns for deeds of glorious chivalry."

That the comparison may be more
easily made I add the words in their
order of sentence and punctuation as
printed in the First Chapter of Book VI.
of the History, from a copy of Putnam's
Edition of 1850, presented to the New
York Historical Society as his own auto-

graphic lines attest, by Washington Irving himself, and I prefix a part of the sentence preceding them which may be also arranged in order of verse.

"But now the war drum rumbles from afar, the brazen trumpet brays its thrilling note, and the mad clash of hostile arms speaks fearful prophesies of coming troubles. The gallant warrior starts from soft repose; from golden visions and voluptuous ease; when in the dulcet 'piping time of peace,' he sought sweet solace after all his toils. No more in beauty's siren lap reclined, he weaves fair garlands for his lady's brows; no more entwines with flowers his shining sword, nor through the live-long summer's day chants forth his love-sick soul in madrigals. To manhood roused, he spurns the amorous flute; doffs from his brawny back the robe of peace, and clothes his pampered limbs in panoply of steel. O'er his dark brow, where late the myrtle waved, where wanton roses breathed enervate love, he rears the beaming casque and nodding plume; grasps the bright shield, and shakes the ponderous lance; or mounts with eager pride his fiery steed, and burns for deeds of glorious chivalry."

Diedrich Knickerbocker, in the next sentence, tells us we must not take this seriously, that "this is but a lofty and gigantic mode, in which we heroic writers always talk of war, thereby to give it a noble and inspiring aspect," but it is enough to show that the charming author 'knew himself to build the lofty rhyme' as well as the plainer structure of prose.

S. L.

New York City.

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ANDRÉ'S GRAVE AT TAPPAN.—In the summer of 1818 Captain Alden Partridge, a professor of military engineering in the United States Military Academy, made several pedestrian excursions for the purpose of determining from barometrical and thermometrical observations

the altitudes of noted heights and eminences. In a letter, dated August 31st, he thus describes his visit to the grave of André:

"August 24th.— * * * thence to the village of Tappan, which I reached (in the rain) a little before sunset. This village is celebrated as being the place where Major André, adjutant-general of the British army, was confined, tried and executed as a spy during our revolutionary war. I took my quarters for the night at a public house kept by Mr. Dubey, post-master of the place, who soon informed me that was the same house in which André was kept a prisoner. He also showed me the room in which he was confined, and told me it was in very nearly the same state as at the time of his confinement. The dimensions of this room by accurate admeasurement I found to be as follows, viz., length, 18 feet 6½ inches; breadth, 11 feet 7½ inches; height, 7 feet 5 inches. The north wall is of stone; on the other three sides it is enclosed by brick walls. It has one window on the west side, from which the place of his execution can be seen, and one door at the south end, opening into a passage, about 8 feet wide, which crosses the house from east to west."

"August 25th.—Weather very rainy and unpleasant—I, however, started about eight o'clock to visit the place of André's execution and burial. This is on a beautiful and commanding eminence, about half a mile west from the village of Tappan, at an elevation of 123 feet above the floor of the room in which he was confined, and 200 feet above tide water in Hudson's river.



The place is distinctly marked at a distance by two small cedars about 8 feet high, one of which has grown out of the southeast corner of the grave, and the other on the north side, nearly opposite the centre. The grave can be plainly distinguished—it has a small head and foot stone, but without any inscription, and is encompassed by a small enclosure of rough stones loosely placed upon each other. I have been thus minute upon this subject, because I conceive that every circumstance connected with it cannot fail of being interesting to Americans. Having remained at the grave until I was completely drenched with rain, I returned to my lodgings."

The value of the preceding description will be appreciated by those who gave attention to the lively discussion in the newspapers last fall in regard to the location of the grave.

It is probably the first circumstantial account of André's grave and its surroundings, from the time of burial in 1780 until the disinterment of the body by the British consul, August 10, 1821. The writer undoubtedly had the exact spot indicated to him by his host, Philip Dubey, who kept a tavern in the same house for the eighteen years preceding the Captain's visit.

As Dubey bought the tavern from a previous proprietor in 1800, twenty years after André's execution, he knew the location of the grave that gave this village public notoriety, and brought guests to his house.

The measurements made by Captain Partridge of André's prison room are an interesting addition to the history of this old stone house, described in the

December number of the Magazine of American History (III.. 743). It also confirms the tradition there stated, that André could see the place of execution from the window. W. K.

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THE GRAVE OF ANDRÉ.—It is strange that the residents of New York City remained in ignorance of the fact mentioned by Lieut. Shreve, that André's body was carried to that city immediately after the execution. Rivington, "the King's Printer," reproduced Miss Seward's Monody in his paper for July 11, 1781, nine months after the spy was hung. In it occur the following lines:

But no intreaty wakes the soft remorse,
Oh murder'd André! for thy sacred Corse;
Vain were an Army's, vain its Leader's sighs!
Damp in the Earth on Hudson's shore it lies!
Unshrouded welters in the wintry storm,
And gluts the riot of the Tappan Worm!
But oh! its dust, like Abel's blood shall rise,
And call for justice from the angry skies!
What tho' the Tyrants with malignant pride
To thy pale Corse each decent rite deny'd!
Thy graceful limbs in no kind covert laid,
Nor with the Christian Requiem sooth'd thy
shade!

I have looked in vain through the succeeding numbers for a denial of the Tappan Worm or a Christian burial.

Another victim of the popular delusion was Timothy Bigelow, who, on his voyage to Albany in 1815, made the following entry in his diary: "*July 20.* André's grave is in an open field in Tappan, with nothing to mark it but a small tree near it, about two miles west of the river."

Happily we are better informed than the ancients in regard to this matter.

PETERSFIELD.

ANDRÉ'S EXECUTION.—By an officer just left Washington's camp, we have received the melancholy account of the death of Major André, the Adjutant-General of the British army, who was taken as a spy, in negotiating a business with Genl Arnold, which, if it had succeeded, would have been nearly the overthrow of the Americans. This officer was present at his execution, who said that he met his fate with that courage and manliness of behaviour that deeply affected every one present, and that his severe destiny was universally lamented. So much was he esteemed that Gen. Washington shed tears when the rigorous sentence was put in execution. When he found that his fate was inevitably fixed and determined, and that all intercessions and every exertion of Sir Henry Clinton to save his life were in vain, he became perfectly resigned; so extremely composed was his mind that the night previous to his execution he drew the situation of the Vulture sloop, as she lay in the North River, with a view of West Point, which he sent by his servant to a general officer at New York. The only thing that any way discomposed him, or ruffled his mind, and at which his feelings appeared hurt, was the refusal of Genl. Washington to let him die a military death. In regard to this circumstance, the officer informed us that Gen. Washington would have granted this request, but, on consulting the board of general officers who signed his condemnation, they deemed it necessary to put that sentence in force that was laid down by the maxims of war; at the same time evincing the sincerest grief that they

were forced to comply with, and could not deviate from the established customs in such cases.—*Auburey's Travels*.

IULUS.

ANDRÉ'S EXECUTION JUSTIFIED.—

During the autumn of 1780 the American General Arnold, who commanded a large force at West Point, on the North River, betrayed the confidence reposed in him by his party. The secret correspondence between Arnold and the British commander was carried on through the medium of Major André, an English officer, who was seized in disguise, when papers were found on his person which clearly proved every particular of the transaction. He was tried by a board of general officers, as a spy, and condemned to be hanged; the sentence was carried into effect on the second of October.

The American General has been censured for directing this ignominious sentence to be carried into execution; but doubtless Major André was well aware, when he undertook the negotiation, of the fate that awaited him should he fall into the hands of the enemy. The laws of war award to spies the punishment of death. It would therefore be difficult to assign a reason why Major André should have been exempted from that fate to which all others are doomed under similar circumstances, although the amiable qualities of the man rendered the individual case a subject of peculiar commiseration.—*Col. MacKinnon's Origin and Services of the Coldstream Guards, II.*, 9.

W. K.

WASHINGTON AND ANDRÉ.—General Wayne, in a letter dated from Haver-

straw, 30th September, 1780, to General Irvine, printed in the Historical Magazine for October, 1862, uses the following significant phrase—the italics are in the original :

“Nothing from the enemy — neither ship or boat in view; the Genl. seems firm in his intention to *hang*,—Sir Harry Clinton demands André as a flag—on the representation of Genl *Arnold*—who as Com'ing officer at West Point, &c., says he did & had a right to give it —*but it won't do*—”

EDITOR.

WESTERN STAGE.—The Subscriber has erected a stage, which will commence running the tenth of May next weekly, from the city of Albany thro' Schenectady to Johnstown and Canojohary. The stage will leave Albany every Friday morning at 6 o'clock and arrive at Canojohary the next day. Will leave Canojohary on Tuesday morning at the same hour, and arrive in Albany the day following.

This stage being erected for the accommodation of passengers, the fare is fixed at only three pence per mile. Each passenger is allowed 14lb baggage gratis, & 150lb baggage is rated equal to a passenger. The Subscriber by endeavoring to merit the patronage of those gentlemen & ladies who may honor him with their company assures himself that he shall gain the approbation and countenance of the public in general—render a communication into the Western Country sure, cheap & expeditious — and eventually benefit himself—The public's devoted servant.

MOSES BEAL.

April 29th, 1793.

N. B. He will occasionally go as far

as the Little Falls if desired.—*Albany Gazette, May 27, 1793.*

Rhinebeck.

F. H. ROOF.

THE SMITH HOUSE AT HAVERSTRAW.—General Wayne, writing from this house September 27, 1780, to Washington, in reply to his letter announcing Arnold's treason, dates his letter from “Smith's White House.” The letter is printed in the November, 1862, number of the Historical Magazine. EDITOR.

THE PSEUDO-PRINCESS CHARLOTTE.—In the New Hampshire Gazette of January 14, 1774, appeared the following notice of this personage, to whom attention has again been recently called in the Evening Post of May 19, 1880. Some time after, she died in Berwick, Maine; and it was then again said that she was a near relation of the then Queen of England :

“Yesterday came to town [Portsmouth] in the Stage Coach from Boston, the LADY who is said to be the Duchess or Princess of Crownenburgh, in some of the southern Papers. She has gone by the above and different Names and Titles, as may be seen by our late Papers.

A correspondent says, it is a pity this Lady came from New York to Rhode Island in a Packet, for had she come through the Colony of Connecticut, we should certainly have known who and what she was, as it is generally the custom at all the Public Houses there, to ask a stranger what is his Name, and his business, where he came from, where he is going, &c., &c., before they will even give your Horse Oats.”

C. W. T.

Boston, Mass.

SONG OF THE VIRGINIA RIFLEMEN, 1776.—Preserved in a small parchment bound quarto entitled Capt Johannes Jabs Blauvelt, his Orderly Book, New York, March 28, 1776, now in the possession of James S. Haring, of Orangeburg, Rockland County, N. Y., is the following song, which is presented, with spelling and without punctuation, precisely as written. It is a good specimen of the Dutch-English language of the colonial mixture.

Com all you bref Virginea man I have you all to know
 It is to fight your enemy you must prepare to go
 Our King he hes fell out wyth us hes a mind to bindus slavs
 Before we well put up wyth it will reither choose our garevs
 We will put op with his Masety our anything thats gust
 And if he wont put op with et he may do his worste
 Our king he has fell out with ous he is very angry now
 I hope that brave america will conker general hou
 As for Lord north he es very proud and grand
 He has no friend in america as we can understand
 Long thim has ben trying some quarrel to begin
 That he might heuve a change the pretender to brijn in
 As for our gouvernor he acted very mene
 He stole away our powder out of our magazine
 He stole away our poueder and likwist our led
 And if hae dont return it he is surd to loose his head
 This is one of the worst wars that ever was be gun
 It is lyke the father that was aganst his sun
 I never hard of such a war no not sens neohs flood
 That any christin King creuves his subjects blood

Thier is manas a brave souldier must go and loose hys lyf
 And menyen louven husband must an leve his loven wif
 But we will kill them my brave bays lik brimston kild the bes
 Whear we cold find themse mongst the wosds and threes
 Dount you remember the issralits out of bondage roodis be
 And by the hand of moses led through the ridish sees
 And the hand of moses end by the power of god
 And by the hand of moses struck the water with rod

The next entry is in the Dutch language, that "Johannes Blauvelt neeft gehaet van Abraham ryku vooghi van die Staact Van Kaspaarus Conklyn 4 Gin mis." EDITOR.

PULASKI'S WAR HORSE.—To be sold at Public Auction, on Monday next, February 17th. A Charger, the most compleat Horse ever mounted by an officer. He was formerly the property of the late Count Polasky, who lost his life on him, in storming the Abbatis of Savannah, in Georgia. His present owner intending to depart from this city, is the reason of his being offered for sale. Notwithstanding the low condition he is in at present, his great abilities as a War Horse, is so well known to the officers of the British army, who served to the Southward, and to the world in general, who heard of Count Polasky, that embellishments are unnecessary. He is only seven years old, perfectly sound in wind and limbs. Sold last May for 130 Guineas. Bradly and Reardan.—*Royal Gazette, N. Y., Feb. 15, 1783.*

PETERSFIELD.

BAUMAN'S PLAN OF YORKTOWN.—The copper plate of this interesting plan was in the possession of a daughter of this distinguished engineer, who resided, I believe, in Dutchess County after the death of her father. It is said that it passed into the hands of a peddler for its metal value. As the centennial anniversary of the siege of Yorktown approaches it becomes a matter of extreme interest to know if it is still in existence.

T. H. R.

New York.

CORNWALLIS' ORDER BOOK, 1780-1.—In one of the local histories of North Carolina there appears a statement that the order books of the British General from Camden to Guilford Court House are in possession of some private person in North Carolina. Can any certain information be had concerning these documents?

H. P. T.

REPLIES

KING SEARS.—[IV., 461] A short biographical sketch of this once popular hero appeared in Stevens' Colonial Records of the New York Chamber of Commerce. As this work is out of print it is here reproduced in full:

Isaac Sears was one of the foremost figures in the stirring scenes enacted in America during the latter half of the past century. His profession as the Captain of a peaceful trader being broken up by the French war, he entered at once into privateering. In 1757 he took out the Dogger Decoy of 6 guns, and later the sloop of war Catherine; but his most daring exploits were while in charge of the sloop Belle-Isle of 14 guns, owned by John Schermerhorn & Co., [of New York] merchants, which put to sea in

1759. In September he fell in with a large French sloop of 24 guns and eighty men, and attacked her without hesitation. He was twice disabled and forced to withdraw to refit. The third time he grappled the Frenchman and a long contest took place, but the grappling giving way the sloop sheered off, with nine men killed and twenty wounded. A gale springing up separated the vessels. In 1761 he was shipwrecked on the Isle of Sables, and he with difficulty saved his own and the lives of his crew. The prestige of these exploits gave him a strong moral ascendancy over his fellow citizens, and he seems to have fairly won the title of *King*, which was given to him. In the resistance to the Stamp Act, and the daily struggles which took place with the soldiery about the Liberty Pole, Sears was always in the front rank, and exposed himself without hesitation. A complete sketch of his life would make a history of this stormy period, for there is hardly an event connected with it in which he does not appear. Fresneau in his poetical squib upon Gaine, the trimming editor of the New York Mercury, gives an amusing account of him:

"At this time there arose a certain King SEARS,
Who made it his study to banish our fears.
He was, without doubt, a person of merit,
Great knowledge, some wit, and abundance of
spirit;
Could talk like a lawyer, and that without fee,
And threatened perdition to all that drank
TEA."

He was one of the Committee of Correspondence of Fifty-one in 1774, and clung steadfastly to his old friend McDougall in the divisions in that body. He was also one of the General Committee of One Hundred chosen by the citizens in 1775. He was known from one end of America to the other as a daring Son of Liberty. When John Hancock passed through New York in May, 1775, he lodged with Mr. Sears. In the autumn of that year Sears entered the city at noonday with a company of Connecticut Light-Horse and destroyed the Tory press of Rivington, which had made itself obnoxious to the Whigs. Before the War he

was engaged in a small importing business, which does not appear to have been very satisfactory, as he accepted the post of Inspector of Pot and Pearl ashes, which he held till 1772. During the war he was engaged in some business in Boston, but returned to New York at the peace and made a partnership with his son-in-law, Parshal N. Smith, who appears at an earlier period as a captain of an eastern trader. Their business was not successful, and Mr. Sears again resumed his voyages. He died in China on the 28th October, 1786. His son Isaac died at Washington in February, 1795.

Sears was the leader of the 'long shore men, who were mostly from New England, and he exercised an almost despotic authority over this hardy and restless body of men, whose sympathies were all in favor of liberty, and whose animosity to Great Britain was kept alive by the perpetual abuses of authority by the British officers, among which the operations of the press gang were particularly felt by them.

EDITOR.

AN ANCIENT GOLD MEDAL.—(IV., 214.) The Magdeburg Medal, described in the March number, derives its importance from the supposition that it at one time belonged to Jacob Leisler. From the number of pieces still extant credited to that historical personage, I was inclined to enroll him among our earliest American collectors, until I met with a note in your Magazine for May, 1878 (II., 309) which in my judgment explains the matter. It is an advertisement inserted by Mrs. Farmar in a New York newspaper of 30th August, 1783, and reads as follows :

"To be sold, an original picture of Christopher Columbus, the Discoverer of America ; also a parcel of very

ancient Gold and Silver Medals, well worth the attention of the curious. Enquire of Mrs. Maria Farmar, in Hanover Square."

As Captain Jasper Farmar, the husband of Maria, was one of the most successful privateersmen of his day, the inference is that the "parcel of very ancient Gold and Silver Medals" was part of the spoil of those light-infantrymen of the sea. Mrs. Farmar probably preserved it on account of the metal, and not for any historical association.

NUMISMATIST.

THE JEWS IN NEWPORT.—[IV., 456] Arnold (History of Rhode Island, I., 479,) says that they petitioned in 1684 for protection. They contributed for a century to the prosperity of the colony, making Newport their centre. Not one of their descendants now remain there, but Abraham Touro (a son of their last priest), who died at Boston in 1822, left a fund of \$15,000 for the support of the Synagogue and Cemetery on Touro street, Newport.—*Notes to Massachusetts Historical Collections*, VI., 95. J. A. S.

THE ANDRÉ PLOT. — (III., 638.) Sparks, in his Life and Treason of General Arnold, gives an account which almost answers the query of Tappaan. He described the scene on the opening, by Hamilton, of the despatches disclosing the treason of Arnold at Robinson's House and Washington's conduct.

"The mystery was here solved, and the whole extent of the plot was made manifest. No uncertainty now existed as to the course Arnold had taken. It was clear he had gone to the enemy.

Hamilton was immediately ordered to mount a horse and ride to Verplanck's Point, that preparations might be made for stopping him should he not already have passed that post. Washington called Lafayette and Knox, to whom he told what had happened, and showed the papers. He was perfectly calm, and only said to Lafayette, '*Whom can we trust now?*' For a considerable time no other persons were acquainted with the secret, nor did Washington betray in his actions or countenance any symptoms of anxiety or excitement."

Colonel Gouvion arrested Smith on the night of the 25th, the day on which Washington arrived at Arnold's headquarters from his interview with Rochambeau at Hartford. Gouvion had accompanied the General in the suite of the Marquis de Lafayette. He was his Chief of Artillery. Washington was therefore certain he could not have been in the plot; and he was on the spot.

EDITOR.

CASSELLI DISSERT.—(IV., 220.) This pamphlet of sixteen pages was written by Johann Philip Cassel, of Bremen, born 1707, died 1783. He was Professor of History, etc., there, and published a number of learned historical and philological essays; also works on the Hanseatic League, on the medals of Bremen, etc. Besides the one mentioned, he wrote one entitled "*Dissertationis philologico Historica de Navigationibus fortuitis in Americane, ante C. Columbum factis; Magdeburgi, 1742. Sm. 40, pp. 30.*" These essays are well known to scholars. Adam of Bremen, whose *Historia Ecclesiastica*, written in

the eleventh century, was first published in 1595, first told the story of the Frisian voyage, placing it in the year 900. Blefkenius, in his *Islandia*, repeats it. Adelung, in his *Geschichte der Schiffahrten*, etc., 1768, doubts its authenticity. Essays on the pre-Columbian discovery of America, omitting the Icelandic one, have been published by Fritsch, Hadelich, Deuber and others. The subject has been more recently investigated by Humboldt, Deuber and Peschel.

J. C. B.

SAMUEL DODGE.—(III., 203.) An account of this family may be found in the "Todd Genealogy, by R. H. Greene, New York, 1867," a copy of which is in the Astor Library. Jeremiah of Cow Neck, L. I., had a son Samuel, who enlisted at the age of sixteen, was ensign at Saratoga, captain at the close of the war, and married Ann Stansbury of Baltimore. He had a cousin Samuel, Jr. (son of Samuel, a younger brother of Jeremiah), who enlisted, probably at Poughkeepsie, in 1776, became lieutenant, and served throughout the war. He died, leaving no issue.

J. C. B.

THE BOWERIE.—(IV., 224-4.) This word is properly spelled, "Bouwerij," and derived from "bouw," tillage or "bouwen," to till, cultivate, and is equivalent to the modern Dutch word "boerderij," a farm or the business of farming. Wherever it occurs in the old records, it distinctly means a farm or plantation, without reference to a "shaded lane."

B. F.

Albany.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post Office.)

MEMOIR AND LETTERS OF CHARLES

SUMNER. By EDWARD L. PIERCE. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 380—403. ROBERTS BROTHERS, Boston, 1878.

By his will Mr. Sumner left to three gentlemen, of whom Mr. Pierce is one, the entire control of his manuscripts. The fourteen volumes of his works revised by himself begin with the Oration on the True Grandeur of Nations, delivered July 4, 1845, he himself held to be the initial step in his public career. In this famous oration he threw down the gauntlet against slavery and war, and entered with vigor and enthusiasm on an aggressive career of personal combat which only closed with his life. In the present memoir his biographer has confined himself to the period preceding this public assumption of a moral mission. The early training which was the basis of his thorough and Catholic education, the æsthetic tendencies of his cultured mind, and the wide acquaintance with the ruling classes of society abroad and at home, are all subjects of interest in the study of one whose name will stand as long as the English language, or the name of the Great Republic shall remain, as the Apostle of freedom to the slave. Of a Puritan family, grandson of a distinguished officer of the revolution, and the son of a patriotic and public spirited gentleman, Sumner naturally inherited an honorable pride of lineage, of race, and of country. Travel, and the seductive blandishments of the higher social life of England and the Continent, did not serve to mar his love of country, or divert him from a belief in her institutions, and he remained to the close a true American. No American statesman had a more thorough personality than Sumner. None would less brook contradiction of his opinions, direct or implied. It was this very self-assertion that gave him his power. Arrogance he met with scorn, assumption with the silence of contempt, denunciation with an invective as bitter as withering, and a keen thrust which never failed to find the fault in the harness of the adversary. He was at once the most rude and most polite of men—the most disagreeable and charming of companions. He brooked no independent argument, but if allowed his own free course, was one of the most fascinating conversationists of his day. In his letters he is at his best; graceful, suggestive, and often highly imaginative, his easy phrase is rarely tainted with the exaggeration which disfigured the flights of his forensic eloquence.

From his earliest days he was of a thoughtful, studious habit; by one of those strange inconsistencies which life often presents, his early

ambition was to receive a West Point education, and devote himself to the profession of the very art against which his first invective was directed. But this was not to be, and the youthful aspirant for military glory passed from the Latin school to the quiet shades of Harvard, from which he was graduated in 1830 at the age of nineteen. As a boy he had been a constant reader, and at the Latin school he had acquired a love for the classics. At college he seems to have pursued these tastes for classical and belles-lettres literature to the sacrifice of the exact sciences. The influence of this period was never lost upon him—indeed gave color to his entire life. His orations abound in allusions from classic and mythic lore; and quotations from the ancients are as common in his speeches as though he had been trained in the English Parliamentary school of orators, who thought a speech would fall dead upon the hustings unless wound up with a bit of Latin or Greek. From college he went to the Harvard Law School, where he fell into a close intimacy with the great jurist, Judge Story, whose extensive learning and personal fascination exercised a strong attraction upon the youth in whose mind letters and law were already struggling for mastery. Sumner took to the law with avidity, but it was the literature of the law, not the practice, which had for him the greatest charm. The history of law is almost the history of mankind—the history of human error, the history of human progress—history itself, in its broadest sense. Hence, ethics and international law were to him the most engrossing themes. How wide his range his own words, written from the Law School in 1831 to a friend and classmate, best tell. "Volumes upon volumes are to be mastered of the niceties of the law, and the whole circle of literature and science and history must be compassed."

After Judge Story, the person who had at this period most influence on his destiny, was Dr. Francis Lieber, whose acquaintance he made in Washington in 1834 soon after leaving the law school. On this visit he met with many distinguished men, Wheaton, Binney, Peters and Choate. Returned to Boston, he began the practice of his profession, his first case being the defence of a man indicted for sending a challenge. His associate in the case was George S. Hillard with whom he had made a law partnership. He is said by his biographer to have succeeded as well as the average of young lawyers. In 1837, by the assistance of his friends, he carried out an ardent desire of his youth to visit Europe, taking with him letters to the eminent jurists and savans of the Old World, and

the sympathies of a large circle of friends. His letters from abroad, and numerous letters of his friends to him, form to the general reader the most attractive part of this volume. The courts, theatres, and balls, public and private, and the characteristics of the eminent personages with whom he came in contact are described with easy freedom. In England he was received with cordiality, and is still remembered by those who gladly welcomed Everett, Ticknor, Adams, Longfellow, Motley and Winthrop, as "the most genial of them all." Young as he was he was not spoiled by the attention lavished upon him. Indeed, many of his opinions concerning English statesmen were corrected to their disadvantage after personal interviews. Lyndhurst he judged to be "unprincipled as a politician and as a man," and Brougham he "could no longer paint as the pure and enlightened orator of Christianity, civilization and humanity." He was wearied with Macaulay's ringing voice, and liked "Bulwer better than he (Sumner) wished." In the second volume we find his impressions of Italy and Germany. In Venice, Florence and Rome he cultivated his taste for the fine arts, which grew upon him as age advanced, and formed his chief home pleasures; and filled up the intervals of admiration by a study of Italian authors, from Boccaccio to Manzoni in the scenes they describe. After his summer in the classic ground, he went to Germany for the winter, where he studied German at Heidelberg. One of the most charming letters in the volume is that written here to Judge Story. The succeeding May, 1840, he returned home, and tried his best to assimilate himself to his profession; but in vain. His mind recurred to the scenes he had left, and could not be held down to the dry details of law—though he embraced eagerly every opening that presented in the higher range of the practice. There was at this period a greater jealousy in the profession of the belles-lettres than now. Law was an exacting mistress. That a practitioner should indulge in a magazine article on a subject of literature or art was a sufficient bar to paying cases. Meanwhile two questions arose, which presented him an opening for the display of the extensive learning he had acquired in the broad range of his study. The right of search even in its limited form of inquiry was claimed by the British Secretary and resisted by the American Minister. Mr. Sumner maintained the right in elaborate and able argument in the press. Mr. Webster resisted it, and the British Government finally waived it. But by mutual treaty it was agreed upon by Lord Lyons and Mr. Seward in the treaty of 1862, as far as it affected vessels suspected of being engaged in the slave trade—and this was no doubt all that Mr. Sumner desired in his support of the system. It is an instance, however, of the constant habit of his mind, to

subordinate every consideration, even national, to the one main purpose of his life, the abolition of slavery. As yet, however, he had not distinctly joined the Abolitionists. His first public connection with this question in any form was his vehement denunciation of the position taken by Mr. Webster in the case of the *Creole*, a vessel on which, during her voyage from Hampton Roads to New Orleans, one hundred and thirty-five slaves rose in mutiny. The vessel was violently seized and taken into Nassau. Mr. Webster demanded the return of the slaves. Channing replied in an indignant pamphlet, and Sumner was eagerly enlisted on the same side. His literary career was now drawing to a close, and every nerve of his stalwart, sinewy frame, every power of his well-trained massive intellect, all directed by his single purpose and unconquerable will, were to be thrown in one unalterable direction, the abolition of slavery.

It is because there is so little of political discussion in these volumes that they are so fascinating. To many no doubt they are as yet strangers, because of the fear that their subject will be found ponderous and labored. Not so. Here we are not ushered into the Cabinet of the Minister, or the parlor of the statesman, but made familiar in the quiet study of an appreciative lover of literature, of art and of polite society.

BIBLIOGRAPHIA GENEALOGICA AMERICANA: an Alphabetical Index to American Genealogies and Pedigrees contained in State, County and Town Histories, Printed Genealogies, and kindred works. By DANIEL S. DURRIE. Second edition, revised and enlarged. 8vo, pp. 239. JOEL MUNSELL. Albany, 1878.

The first edition of this well-known Genealogic Index appeared in 1868, and contained an alphabetic arrangement of more than ten thousand names, extracted from several hundred volumes of historical and biographical publications. The wisdom of the course adopted by the learned and distinguished compiler in giving to the world the result of his study with as reasonable completeness as any such works admit of, is now shown. With this starting-point of ascertained information and the results of subsequent labors in the same field, he is now enabled to add, at the close of a decade, about five thousand additional references. To these, in another decade, will no doubt be added even a larger number, and the historian and genealogist will hereafter have from this publication a thorough knowledge of all that has been printed in these branches. It should be on the shelves of every American historical library.

SUMMER VACATIONS AT MOOSEHEAD LAKE AND VICINITY. A Practical Guide Book for Tourists; describing routes for the canoe-man over the principal waters of Northern Maine, with hints to campers, and estimates of expense for tours. (Illustrated, &c.) By LUCIUS L. HUBBARD. 32mo, pp. 145. A. WILLIAMS & CO. Boston, 1879.

We commend this beautiful little guide book most unhesitatingly. Season after season in the forties we have tramped and canoed along the routes recommended here, and what would we not have cheerfully given for such an admirable practical adviser. In the summer of 1847 we left the boat at Bangor, walked to Old Town, took the little steamer propelled by a stern wheel over the rapids, to the mouth of the Piscataquis, walked along its border and over the beautiful table land to the foot of Moosehead Lake; thence by canoe to Mount Kineo, and along Moose river through Brassua and Long ponds and Holden settlements, where we dismissed our guide and the canoe, and footed it again by the ruins of the old tavern of the "Lion and the Eagle," which marked the border line, and thence by the old Canada road, that which Arnold took in the winter of 1775-6, and through the valley of the Chaudière to Quebec. If any one desire to make such an excursion, we can guarantee him with the aid of this guide book, a delightful trip. But there are others shorter and as charming. The illustrations are admirably executed, and there is a capital map.

HISTORY OF THE HARVARD CHURCH IN CHARLESTOWN, 1815-1879, WITH SERVICES AT THE ORDINATION OF MR. PITT DILLINGHAM, OCTOBER 4, 1876; PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL, AND THE PASTOR'S FIRST SERMON. 8vo, pp. 294. Printed for the Society, 1879.

From the historical sketch of this church it appears that the congregation which erected a church and purchased the Baptist meeting on High Street, Charlestown, in 1815, separated from the First Church in Charlestown. They were discontented with the Calvinistic spirit which controlled the original organization, and was strongest at that period under the guidance of the Rev. Dr. Morse, "the acknowledged leader and special champion of the Calvinistic party in New England." In the words of the author, the new organization was carried along in the "magnetic and irresistible current of liberal Christianity, which was rapidly attracting to its standard the intelligent and cultured portion

of a large community." The pulpit was successively filled by Mr. Thomas Prentiss, 1817; Mr. James Walker, 1818-1839 (later the beloved President of Harvard College); Mr. George Edward Ellis, 1840-1869; the Rev. Charles Edward Grinnell, 1869-1873, and has, since 1876, been occupied by Mr. Pitt Dillingham. They have in turn worthily represented the liberal theology of which Channing was the first exponent in America.

The volume is admirably edited and elegantly printed, and is an excellent contribution to a special class of literature which has an interest of its own. It has a copious, well arranged index.

CAMP-MEETINGS; THEIR ORIGIN, HISTORY AND UTILITY, ALSO THEIR PERVERSION AND HOW TO CORRECT IT; embracing a careful review of the Sabbath question. By S. C. SWALLOW. 32mo, pp. 68. NELSON & PHILLIPS. New York, 1879.

The camp-meeting is thoroughly an American institution—a sort of religious barbecue, and resembling it in more ways than one. It first seems to have been devised in the year 1799 by the brothers, John and William McGee, both preachers, the former Methodist, the latter Presbyterian, and both serving congregations in West Tennessee, who set off together on a tour through "The Barrens" to the State of Ohio. On their way they stopped at a settlement on Red River, where they were invited to preach. They were followed by another Presbyterian minister named Hoge. The sermons were powerful, the weather no doubt warm, the public excitement intense, extending over a wide district of country. The house being too small, a grove was selected, a stand built. The people flocked in with wagons; tents were made of the forest boughs, and the first camp-meeting was inaugurated by the Methodist McGee.

Thus it is seen that for this sensational mode of religious instruction, which has peculiar attraction for the emotional nature of the African, the quiet and dispassionate Presbyterians must bear their share of responsibility, of blame, or of praise. In 1807 Lorenzo Dow introduced the American camp-meeting in England. While the author does not hesitate to condemn the abuse of the institution, he holds that they are still needed to neutralize the selfishness of long-isolated local churches. History is full of the power of that strange force which seems to be generated by the contact of masses of men, but of which no satisfactory explanation has yet been given. It is visible on these occasions. It need not be neglected; but there are other and better ways of promoting the cause of religion than by scare.

ART AND ARTISTS IN CONNECTICUT.

By H. W. FRENCH. *The Pioneers of Art in America.* 4to, pp. 176. LEE & SHEPARD. Boston, 1879.

The history of the fine arts in the State of Connecticut, would, the author supposes, seem at first sight too narrow a subject to attract general interest, but he thoroughly vindicates her claim to separate treatment, and presents in these careful chapters both a satisfactory account of the beginning and development of art in the colony which took its culture and tone from Yale and an analysis of the lives and labors of her distinguished artists. The Art Walhalla, like the House of Representatives, is becoming a very democratic and populous institution, and we freely confess that the fame of some of the artists, male and female, of the former, like that of some of the great orators of the latter, have not reached our ears, but the names of Trumbull, Cole, Huntington, Church, have world-wide reputation, and all of these are connected with the art of our sister State. The book is profusely illustrated, but in a manner with which we have little sympathy.

PHILOSOPHY, HISTORICAL AND CRIT-

ICAL. By ANDRÉ LEFÈVRE. Translated with an introduction by A. H. Keane. 16mo, pp. 598. J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co. Philadelphia, 1879.

Lefèvre is a materialist of the most advanced modern school, uncompromising in his opinions, clear in his method, and strong in his logic. For this his book is, as his translator remarks, all the more dangerous. In a word, he is an atheist in the thorough definition of a word which is more misapplied than any other term in the language. The theory of evolution, here called the great intellectual fact of the day, does not necessarily imply a disbelief in Deity or a first cause.

The first part of the book treats of Primitive Times; Antiquity; the Intermediate Period, or that of the decadence of the Greek Schools; Judaism and Christianity; The Renaissance; Modern Times, and is a history of the different systems of philosophy from the beginning of recorded thought. The second part develops the author's own theories in chapters entitled The Universe; The Living World; The Intellectual Mechanism in the Individual and the Intellectual Mechanism in presence of the Universe and Society.

His analysis of the different philosophic and theologic schools, and of the minds of the men who founded them from Epicurus to Augustine, from Bacon to Voltaire, and of Comte and Stuart Mill, are admirable in their keen appreciation of subtle distinctions and the most valuable part of

the book. They are all measured and judged from his own point of view. The translation is perfect.

OLD TIMES; A MAGAZINE DEVOTED

to the Preservation and Publication of Documents relating to the early History of North Yarmouth, Maine, including, as far as possible, any incidents worthy of record relative to the towns of Harpswell, Freeport, Pownal, Cumberland and Yarmouth, all offshoots of the old town. Vol. 3, No. 3, July 1, 1879. 8vo, pp. 361, 396. AUGUSTUS W. CORLISS. Yarmouth, Maine, 1879.

The success of this enterprise is an example of the good historical work that can be done by an earnest student. Mr. Corliss is a Captain in the 8th Infantry, U. S. A., and Post Commander at Fort McDermit, Nevada. In the leisure of his official duties he has found time to edit the Magazine of which this is the eleventh number. He is owner, editor, publisher and printer, having taught himself the art of the latter with an 8 x 10 inch handpress. He writes that he has material for twelve more issues, and that material continues to flow in abundantly, a large part being of a genealogical character. The venture has earned the success it deserves.

AROOSTOOK. With some Account of the Excursion thither of the Editors of Maine in the Year 1858, and of the Colony of Swedes, settled in the town of New Sweden, by EDWARD R. ELWELL, editor Portland Transcript. 8vo, pp. 50. TRANSCRIPT PRINTING COMPANY. Portland, 1878.

In these pages one of the fraternity gives an excellent account of the success of a practical effort on the part of the editors of Maine to encourage the settlement of the fertile portions of the State of Maine, which was secured by the persistence of her people and the friendly diplomacy of Daniel Webster and Lord Ashburton in 1842, which alone averted a breach between their respective governments, and a national instead of the local "Aroostook war," as the struggle between the American and Canadian settlers was termed. Having footed or staged it over the whole of this beautiful region, from St. Johns to the Piscataquis, we can bear personal testimony to the accuracy of the description of the fertility of soil and beauty of the landscape.

A second chapter gives an account of the second editorial excursion undertaken in 1878, at the invitation of the people of Northern Aroostook to

view the progress made under the initiative wisely taken twenty years previous and carried forward. There are interesting details of the progress made in clearing and farming, of the simple habits of the Acadian French, and the picturesque villages which retain the characteristics of Normandy and Touraine in adornment and color, and of the Colony of New Sweden, founded by W. W. Thomas, Jr., and now in full tide of prosperity.

THIRTY YEARS IN CALIFORNIA. A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE STATE FROM 1849 TO 1879. By S. H. WILLEY, D. D. 8vo, pp. 76. A. L. BANCROFT & CO. San Francisco, 1879.

The future historian will recognize with satisfaction the results of the vast impulse given to historical investigation by the Centennial celebration. The materials are being gathered with industry and made accessible everywhere. It is one of our chief pleasures to notice every outgrowth of this healthy sentiment. Dr. Willey landed in California on the 23d of February, 1849. Peace with Mexico had been ratified and the country was settling down into quietude. His sketch therefore covers the history of the American State. Strangely different now from what it was in our young days, long before the Mexican war, when, hearing that a friend had gone to California, a youthful curiosity to find the place on the map was only gratified with a meagre outline relieved by no indication of topography or settlement. The escape of California in 1846 from Mormon occupation is described and many early incidents related. The personal interest is in the author's account of his life as a school teacher and preacher and the beginnings of the Howard Presbyterian Church in California in 1850. Hard labor it was to turn the thoughts of men from the visible Mammon which glittered in the sands and from the hillsides.

WILLIAM WELLS OF SOUTHCOLD, AND HIS DESCENDANTS A. D. 1638 TO 1878. By the Rev. CHARLES WELLS HAYES. 8vo, pp. 300. BAKER, JONES & CO. Buffalo, N. Y., 1878.

In the opinion of the compiler of this exhaustive genealogy, the ancient cathedral city of Norwich was the English birthplace of William Wells of Southcold, the common ancestor of the Long Island families of that name. By tradition he was son of the Rev. William Wells, Rector of the Church of St. Peter Mancroft, and Prebendary of Norwich Cathedral 1613-20; who was descended from one of the most ancient baronial families in the kingdom. William Wells, the first of the Long Island family, is supposed to have arrived from Connecticut, in the following

of the Rev. John Youngs, at the eastern extremity of Long Island in September, 1640, where a religious society was formed under his direction. He married in or before 1653 Bridget, widow of Henry Tuthill, of Southold, and second, about 1654, Mary, whose family name is said to have been Youngs, from whom the line in the name of Wells is descended. He left two sons, William and Joshua. A well-arranged index adds to the practical genealogic value of the work, which is well printed on good paper and with a serviceable cover. There is a plate of the family arms and some tombstone illustrations.

ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY COUNCIL AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, JULY 4, 1879, by HENRY CABOT LODGE. 8vo, pp. 44. Printed by order of the City Council, 1879.

The spirit of the Nation is the same as when Independence day was first celebrated. Exuberance is not the necessary accompaniment of deep feeling. Now that we are full one hundred years and more, we can take a quiet view of ourselves, of our past, of our present, of our future. This Mr. Lodge has done in his scholarly oration. His rapid summary of the intent, conduct and results of the military fiasco of the second War with Great Britain, is admirable in its conciseness. He shows us that the kernel of our nationality was at stake; it was vindicated. Our naval victories forever established the freedom of the seas, and the terror of our marine still holds in check the aggressive spirit of our English cousins. The divergence between the social systems, which increased in extent as improvements in machinery made cotton one of the factors of civilization, and increased the slave power, is well narrated, and with it the growth of the separation which ended in open war. The South raised the banner of absolute State supremacy, the North replied with the cry of National Unity. Even the word Union was discarded by many as susceptible of double meaning, as involving the idea of separation. But Mr. Lodge is mistaken in his statement that the Union was in danger in 1814. Had Massachusetts struck the blow she meditated, she "would have been dashed to pieces"—not the Union. Nor yet can we accede to the statement that it was the democracy of Plymouth and the aristocracy of Jamestown which later came to arms. The slaveholders were in an immense minority in the southern armies. Two systems were in arms, it is true, but the ownership of slaves can not be held to form an aristocracy, not yet is the use of the word tenantry justified as applied to compulsory laborers.

The danger to democracy, the terrible foe to the system, Mr. Lodge sees in the strife between classes. This we have not yet, and if it be to come it is by no means certain that the powers of repression are not as strong in a democracy as in any other form of government. That we are not exempt from the dangers which threaten all society is not to be denied. That we are not as much exposed to them as other nations we firmly believe. There is one safety valve in democracies, the power of the majority to right their own wrongs. Thus in our more liberal States, as New York, for instance, the causes of complaint are removed from the poorer classes by legislation; asylums, hospitals, charitable institutions of every nature relieve the laboring class of its burthen, and leave their arms free for self support and self advancement. Whether this will prove sufficient is a question that this generation has not been called upon to decide. The attention of the best thought in the world is now turned to the difficult adjustment of the rights of capital and labor. Society is never in danger of evils which it foresees. The hidden grangrenes are those which corrupt and destroy; and concealment is not possible in democracies. Regeneration is not necessary, but neither as individuals nor as society can we stand still. The rights of the individual are to be respected, but the welfare of the republic is and must be paramount.

LIVES OF THE EMINENT DEAD, AND BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF PROMINENT LIVING CITIZENS OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY, PENN. By M. AUGE. 8vo, pp. 568. Published by the author, Norristown, Penn., 1879.

It can hardly be expected that any elaborate County history can have more than a local interest. The mass of its pages must naturally be given to persons and events of minor concern. This excellent collection is, however, not subject to this general criticism, a reasonable proportion of the volume recording the lives of men of national interest. Chief among these, among the dead, was David Rittenhouse, the celebrated mathematician and astronomer, who drew the initial part of the boundary since known as Mason and Dixon's line, and later determined the limits of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and other States. He was Treasurer of Pennsylvania from 1777 to 1789; succeeded Dr. Franklin as President of the American Philosophical Society in 1791, and was the first Director of the United States Mint in 1792. Next comes the distinguished family of the Muhlenbergs, Peter the Revolutionary soldier, Governor of the State and United States Senator, and Frederick, the first Speaker of the United States House of Representatives. But this vol-

ume is not confined to a record of the dead. Chapters are given to General Adam T. Slemmer, who firmly held Fort Pickens for the Union against all the efforts of the Southern forces, and to Major-General W. S. Hancock, the gallant hero of the Second Army Corps, who commanded the left centre at Gettysburg, and won immortal fame by his gallantry and magnificent generalship; and others of lesser fame. The book is published by subscription, and we heartily commend it to our readers.

WYNKOOP GENEALOGY IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA; also a table of Dutch given names, by RICHARD WYNKOOP, of the City of New York. Second edition, 8vo., pp. 130. Press of WYNKOOP & HALLENBECK, New York, 1878.

This is a labor of love, and has been performed with evident thoroughness. The compiler has not been able to trace a direct connection between the earliest of the name of Wynkoop in America and the Holland family from which it is no doubt derived. The name first appears on this side in 1639, when one Peter Wynkoop was concerned in certain court proceedings in the province of New Amsterdam. A quaint coat of arms, evidently of fanciful construction, rather than the product of a Herald's office, and bearing the excellent motto which the Dutch settlers of New York thoroughly adhered to, *Virtutum hilaritate colere*, is reproduced from an engraved copper plate in the possession of the author. A reference to the index of surnames shows the numerous intermarriages of the Wynkoops with representative New York families of the older stock. The table of Dutch given names, with their English equivalents, is full and useful to genealogists.

CANAL REMINISCENCES; RECOLLECTIONS OF TRAVEL IN THE OLD DAYS ON THE JAMES RIVER AND KANAWHA CANAL. By GEORGE W. BAGLEY. Small 4to, pp. 37. WEST, JOHNSON & CO. Richmond, 1879.

These are reminiscences of what the writer calls "an obsolescent mode of travel," which may have been delightful, but certainly was not rapid. They begin with a description of a trip from Cumberland county to Lynchburg about 1835, the days of batteaux, which consumed a week between Lynchburg and Richmond. The James and Kanawha is the canal, the beginnings of which are here narrated, together with its final triumph over the old stage coach. There are some pleasant personal recollections also.

A PAPER CITY. BY D. R. LOCKE
(PETROLEUM V. NASBY). 8vo, pp. 431.
LEE & SHEPARD. Bos'ton, 1879.

In these pages one of the most characteristic of American writers describes one of the most entertaining phases of American character in its development of the latter half of the nineteenth century. The wonders of the earlier half, the immense carrying trade, the growth of a commerce which literally whitened every sea with its sails, are commonplace in comparison with the birth of western cities which dot the prairie with almost equal abundance. Side by side with these triumphs of our enterprise and industry, there are in the memory of all who have watched the development of the country, thousands of cities, or mirages of cities rather, extensively laid out on paper, but never built with hands.

It is of one of these paper cities that the inimitable Nasby announces his purpose to write—a comic Gibbon—"the rise, progress and fall." The tale is of New Canton, a town of Illinois. It began on a very small scale, interested a speculative projector who raised a land company, which on a borrowed capital of five hundred dollars, printed a prospectus, bought broad acres of land on credit, borrowed more money, issued more maps and plans, attracted purchasers, and gradually expanded values and brought in money to the land company, which the ingenious promoter, secretary and treasurer thereof, assumed as his share of the profits, embezzled and fled.

With his flight, New Canton, says its chronicler, evaporated into thin air; the houses moved off to a neighboring village, while only boards with ambitious names remained to tell where New Canton was meant to be. A love story and some well drawn sketches of character add interest to the "over true tale."

A SKETCH OF GRANNY SHORT'S BARBECUE AND THE GENERAL STATUTES OF KENTUCKY. By ROBERT M. BRADLEY. Vol. I. *Granny Short's Barbecue.* 8vo, pp. 103. BRADLEY & GILBERT. Louisville, 1879.

This amusing pamphlet is intended to convey a serious lesson and warning to the law makers and law breakers—the author considers the two terms as synonymous—of Kentucky. In the incongruity of the legislation on the Statute book of the State, is found a reason for the almost chaotic condition of society, political and social, of the grand old commonwealth. There American physical life has reached a higher stage of development with which the intellectual has not kept pace. The story of *Granny Short's Barbecue* presents a sad while comical record of the doings and sayings which

attended a race for the Senate in Kentucky, which came off in the Counties of Garrard and Lincoln in 1840, and which may be taken as a specimen of the conduct of elections throughout the State. It is intended, the author informs us, to be the forerunner of volumes which will deal with the natural results of such proceedings.

HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

Adapted from the French of Rev. P. E. GAZEAU, S. T., with Review Questions added. 16mo, pp. 501. THE CATHOLIC PUBLICATION SOCIETY. New York, 1878.

With the death of Theodorus the Great in 395 A. D., begins the history of the middle ages as the period of transition between the apogee of the Roman empire and the beginning of the modern order of civilization. It is here divided into five epochs: 1. The Invasion and Conversion of the Barbarians. 2. The Formation of Christian Europe. 3. Fuedal Europe. 4. The Papacy and the Christian Republic. 5. Religious and Political Anarchy. This last epoch closed with the taking of Constantinople by the Turks in 1543. The middle ages thus cover a period of eleven hundred and forty-eight years. This history is given under appropriate divisions and subdivisions, which is for the use of schools.

MAJOR JONES' SCENES IN GEORGIA.

Containing the whole of his chronicles of Pineville, its Incidents and Characters, &c. With sixteen illustrations from original designs, by DURLEY. 16mo, pp. 786. T. B. PETERSON & BROS. Phila., 1879.

POLLY PEABLOSSOM'S WEDDING, AND OTHER TALES. Edited by T. A. BURKE. With numerous Illustrations. 12mo, pp. 195. T. B. PETERSON & BROS. Phila., 1879.

In these humorous volumes are reprinted a number of stories which first appeared a quarter of a century ago, and depicted some of the peculiar features of the Georgia backwoodsmen, and of that curious specimen of mankind known by the soubriquet of Cracker. They are sketches of life as it was before railroads and the telegraph had begun that general planing if not polishing process which is gradually smoothing down all typical distinctions and making our vast continent the abode of an almost homogeneous race. They are of the kind which delighted our fathers, and will yet amuse our children as faithful pictures of a period which seems as far removed from our own as the age of bronze or stone.

A GENEALOGIC HISTORY OF THE HARWOOD FAMILIES DESCENDED FROM JAMES HARWOOD, who was of English origin, and resided in Chelmsford, Mass. By WATSON H. HARWOOD. 12mo, pp. 33. A. F. BIGELOW. Potsdam, N. Y., 1879.

James Harwood married Lydia Barrett at Chelmsford, Mass., April, 1678. They removed to Littleton, Mass., in 1717. The pamphlet gives a list of their descendants, with occasional genealogic notes. There is a complete name index properly numbered at the close.

REGISTER OF BOOKS RECEIVED IN 1880

HISTORICAL

THE NORTH AMERICANS OF ANTIQUITY, by John T. Short. 8vo. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1880.

ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA, Memorial Volume, by Rev. J. William Jones, D. D. 8vo. Randolph & English, Richmond, Va., 1880.

THE READERS' HANDBOOK OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1761-1783, by Justin Winsor. 12mo. Houghton, Osgood & Co., Boston, 1880.

HISTORY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, by Mary L. Booth. Illustrated. 8vo. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1880.

THE HISTORY AND TRADITIONS OF MARBLEHEAD, by Samuel Roads, Jr. 8vo. Houghton, Osgood & Co., Boston, 1880.

RECOLLECTIONS AND OPINIONS OF AN OLD PIONEER, by Peter H. Burnett. 8vo. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1880.

HISTORY OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN DEWITT, GRAND PENSIONARY OF HOLLAND, by James Geddes. Vol. I., 1623-1654. 8vo. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1880.

OUR INDIAN WARDS, by George W. Manypenny. 8vo. Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati.

HISTORY OF THE CAMPAIGN OF THE ARMY OF VIRGINIA UNDER JOHN POPE, BRIG. GEN'L, by George H. Gordon. 8vo. Houghton, Osgood & Co., Boston, 1880.

HISTORY OF NORTH CAROLINA FROM THE EARLIEST DISCOVERIES TO THE PRESENT TIME, by John W. Moore. 12mo. Alfred Williams & Co., Raleigh, 1880.

CINCINNATI'S BEGINNINGS, by Francis W. Miller. 8vo. Peter G. Thomson, Cincinnati, 1880.

HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE FROM THE TEUTONIC INVASION OF GREAT BRITAIN TO THE CLOSE OF THE GEORGIAN ERA, by Henry E. Shepherd. 12mo. E. T. Hale & Son, New York, 1880.

A SHORT OUTLINE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, for Review Grades, by David B. Scott, Jr. 12mo. Collins & Brother, New York, 1880.

A COPY OF THE POLL LIST OF THE ELECTION FOR REPRESENTATIVES FOR THE CITY AND COUNTY OF NEW YORK, FOR THE YEARS 1761, 1768, 1769. 3 vols., 4to. Printed for S. Whitney Phoenix, New York, 1880.

THE HISTORY OF REDDING, CONN., by Charles Burr Todd. 16mo. John A. Gray Press, 1880.

THE HUGUENOTS IN THE NIPMUCK COUNTRY, OR OXFORD PRIOR TO 1713, by George F. Daniels. 16mo. Estes & Lauriat, Boston, 1880.

TIMES BEFORE THE REFORMATION, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF FRA GIROLAMO SAVONAROLA, by William Dinwiddie. 16mo. Robert Carter & Bros., New York, 1880.

HISTORICAL PAMPHLETS

THE ONE HUNDRED PRIZE QUESTIONS IN CANADIAN HISTORY AND THE ANSWERS, by Hermes. 16mo. Dawson Brothers, Montreal, 1880.

JONATHAN DICKINSON AND THE COLLEGE OF NEW JERSEY. An historical discourse. By Henry C. Cameron, D. D. 8vo. C. S. Robinson, Princeton, N. J., 1880.

NEW HAMPSHIRE WITHOUT THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT, 1689-1690, by Charles W. Tuttle. 8vo. John Wilson & Son, Cambridge, Mass., 1880.

- ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA.** First Annual Report of the Executive Committee, 1879-80, Boston, May 15, 1880. 8vo. John Wilson and Son, Cambridge, 1880.
- AN HISTORICAL ADDRESS DELIVERED AT GROTON, MASS., FEB. 20, 1880,** by Samuel Abbott Green. 8vo. Groton, 1880.
- TRANSACTIONS OF THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC.** Sessions of 1879-80. 8vo. Morning Chronicle Office, Quebec, 1880.
- THE TIMACUA LANGUAGE.** Paper read before the American Philosophical Society, Feb. 20, 1880. By Albert S. Gatschet. Am. Phil. Soc., 1880.
- THE CORRECT ARMS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.** A paper read before the Albany Institute, December 2, 1879, by Henry A. Homes. 8vo. Weed, Parsons & Co., Albany, 1880.
- SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF RHODE ISLAND.** Personal Narratives of
 • Events in the War of the Rebellion. No. 1. Second series. First Cruise of the Montauk, by Samuel T. Browne. No. 2. A Country Boys' first three Months in the Army, by C. Henry Barney. 4to. The N. Bangs Williams Co., Providence, R. I., 1880.
- AMERICAN POLITICAL—ANTI-MASONRY, WITH ITS "GOOD ENOUGH MORGAN,"** by Henry O. Reilly. 8vo. American News Company, New York, 1880.
- THE SETTLEMENT OF GERMANTOWN, AND THE CAUSES WHICH LED TO IT,** by Samuel W. Pennypacker. Reprint from Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography. 8vo. Collins, Philadelphia, 1880.
- RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL TRACTS** No. 8. Some Account of the Bills of Credit or Paper Money of Rhode Island, 1710-1786. Rhode Island Historical Tracts No. 9. A True Representation of the Plan formed at Albany in 1754 for uniting the Colonies. 4to. Sidney S. Rider, Providence, 1880.
- ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE CONFEDERATE SURVIVORS' ASSOCIATION IN AUGUSTA, GA., APRIL 26, 1880,** by Col. Charles C. Jones, Jr. 8vo. M. M. Hill & Co., Augusta Ga.
- PAUL REVERE'S SIGNAL.** The true Story of the Signal Lanterns in Christ Church, Boston, by John Lee Watson. 8vo. Trow's Printing Co., New York, 1880.
- HERNANDO DE SOTO—ADVENTURES ENCOUNTERED AND THE ROUTE PURSUED THROUGH GEORGIA,** by Charles C. Jones, Jr. 8vo. J. H. Estill, Savannah, Ga., 1880.
- INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF SIGN LANGUAGE AMONG THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS AS ILLUSTRATING THE GESTURE SPEECH OF MANKIND,** by Garrick Mallery. 4to. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1880.
- THE RECORD—FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, MORRISTOWN, N. J.** 8vo. Morristown, N. J., 1880.
- BIOGRAPHICAL AND GENEALOGICAL**
- LIFE OF REV. CHARLES NERINCKX, WITH A CHAPTER ON THE EARLY CATHOLIC MISSIONS OF KENTUCKY,** by Rev. Camillus P. Maes. 8vo. Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, 1880.
- REMINISCENCES OF REV. WM. ELLERY CHANNING, D.D.,** by Elizabeth Palmer Peabody. 12mo. Roberts Brothers, Boston, 1880.
- WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON AND HIS TIMES,** by Oliver Johnson. 12mo. B. B. Russell & Co., Boston, 1880.
- REMINISCENCES OF LEVI COFFIN, REPUTED PRESIDENT OF THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD.** 8vo. Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, 1880.
- THE LIFE OF WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING, D.D.** The Centenary Memorial edition, by his nephew, William Ellery Channing. 8vo. American Unitarian Association, Boston, 1880.
- THE REMINISCENCES OF AN IDLER,** by Henry Wikoff. 8vo. Fords, Howard & Hurlbert, New York, 1880.

ABOUT GRANT, by John L. Swift. 16mo. Lee & Shepard, Boston, 1880.

LIVES OF THE CATHOLIC HEROES AND HEROINES OF AMERICA, by John O'Kane Murray. 8vo. James Sheehy, New York, 1880.

MAGELLAN, OR THE FIRST VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD, by George M. Towle. 16mo. Lee & Shepard, Boston, 1880.

BIOGRAPHICAL PAMPHLETS

PROCEEDINGS AT THE DEDICATION OF A MONUMENT TO SERGEANT ABRAHAM STAPLES OF MENDON, MASS. 8vo. Sidney S. Rider Providence, R. I., 1880.

LADY DEBORAH MOODY. A Discourse delivered before the New York Historical Society by James W. Gerard. 8vo. Douglas Taylor, New York, 1880.

THE LEATHERWOOD GOD. An account of the Appearance and Pretensions of Joseph C. Dylks in 1828, by R. H. Taneyhill. 12mo. Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati.

THE AMERICAN PORTRAIT GALLERY, WITH BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES, by Lillian C. Buttre. J. C. Buttre, New York, 1880.

MISCELLANEOUS

THE YOUNGER EDDA, by Rasmus B. Anderson. 16mo. S. C. Griggs & Co., Chicago, 1880.

THE INTER-OCEANIC CANAL AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE. 12mo. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1880.

THE POETICAL WORKS OF BAYARD TAYLOR. 16mo. Houghton, Osgood & Co., Boston, 1880.

METHODISM, OLD AND NEW, by J. R. Flanigen. 8vo. J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, 1880.

THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE IN THE UNITED STATES, by O. C. McMillan. 16mo. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1880.

ROCKY MOUNTAIN HEALTH RESORTS, by Charles Denison, M. D. 16mo. Houghton, Osgood & Co., Boston, 1880.

CIVIL SERVICE IN GREAT BRITAIN, by Dorman B. Eaton. 8vo. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1880.

RADICAL-MECHANICS OF ANIMAL LOCOMOTION, WITH REMARKS ON THE SETTING-UP OF SOLDIERS, by William Pratt Wainwright. 12mo. D. Van Nostrand, New York, 1880.

BOSTON MONDAY LECTURES.—LABOR, by Joseph Cook. 12mo. Houghton, Osgood & Co., Boston, 1880.

AMERICAN ALMANAC AND TREASURY OF FACTS FOR THE YEAR 1880, by Ainsworth R. Spofford. The American News Company, New York, 1880.

MISCELLANIES, by John D. Caton. 8vo. Houghton, Osgood & Co., Boston, 1880.

THE TWINS OF TABLE MOUNTAIN AND OTHER STORIES, by Bret Harte. 18mo. Houghton, Osgood & Co., Boston, 1880.

MISCELLANEOUS PAMPHLETS

LETTERS FROM EUROPE, by Hon. William D. Kelley. 8vo. Porter & Coates, Philadelphia, 1880.

ECONOMIC MONOGRAPHS. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1880.

No. VI. FREE SHIPS, by John Codman.

No. XIX. ANDREW JACKSON AND THE BANK OF THE UNITED STATES, by William L. Royall.

No. VIII. LABOR-MAKING MACHINERY, by Fred. Perry Powers.

MEMORANDA RELATING TO THE EARLY PRESS OF IOWA AT IOWA CITY AND DUBUQUE, by John Springer. 8vo. Iowa State Press Office, 1880.

WORSHIP OF THE SUN. The story told by a Coin of Constantine the Great. By Henry Phillips, Jr. 4to. Privately printed, Philadelphia, 1880.

ON THE ANNELIDA CHAETOPODA OF THE VIRGINIA COAST, by H. E. Webster. Transactions of Albany Institute, Albany, 1880.

ETUDE SUR UNE CARTE INCONNUE, LA PREMIERE DRESSÉE PAR LOUIS JOLIET EN 1674. Par Gabriel Gravier. 8vo. Maisonneuve & Co., Paris, 1880.

CROSSING THE ATLANTIC, illustrated by Augustus Hoppin. Houghton, Osgood & Co., Boston, 1880.

REPORT OF THE OPERATIONS OF THE NUMISMATIC AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA FOR THE YEARS 1878-1879. Printed for the Society, Philadelphia, 1880.

THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE ASTOR LIBRARY FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 31, 1879. 8vo. Weed, Parsons & Co., Albany, 1880.

ANNOUNCEMENT

"Observations on Judge Jones' Loyalist History of the American Revolution," by H. P. Johnston, will shortly appear from the press of Messrs. D. Appleton & Co. It calls attention to certain important statements made by the Judge, which are disproved by the correct record. The number of these errors noticed by Mr. Johnston suggests the probability of more, in regard to which no records remain. Mr. Johnston introduces manuscript proof in some instances to refute the Judge. Readers of Jones will be curious to examine these refutations. They are but the beginning of the series of criticisms, disclaimers and disprovals, which the tone and statements of Jones could not fail to elicit. His editor, Mr. de Lancey, will have his hands full to sustain his author.

EDITOR.

OBITUARY

EDMUND BAILEY O'CALLAGHAN
M.D., LL.D.,

HISTORIAN OF NEW NETHERLAND AND
NEW YORK.

The Historical study of our country has recently lost a patient, careful, judicious investigator, the fruit of whose labors has long been the resource and the safe guide of many seeking to familiarize themselves with our country's early days.

The history of New York, from its earliest colonization by the sons of Holland, and the studied cognate with it, formed the field in which he labored for years with recognized ability; and beside what he committed to writing and gave to the press, he amassed an immense fund

of knowledge now lost, and to be recovered, if at all, only by similar sacrifices.

He was a native of Mallow, near Cork, in the south of Ireland, born on the 29th of February, 1797, and was the youngest of a large family, all brought up with care and enjoying the advantages of a liberal education. His eldest brother Theodore, if we mistake not, held a commission in the British army, and two of his other brothers, Eugene and David, took orders in the Catholic Church, and were distinguished for the breadth and depth of their learning. Edmund Bailey, after the close of his studies in Ireland, spent two years in Paris, chiefly in medical studies, having chosen as his profession the healing art.

Like many young men of talent, he looked to this continent as the future home, relying on his ability to win his way. In 1823 he came to Canada, and completing his professional studies in Quebec, was admitted to practice there in 1827.

The movement for Catholic Emancipation was then agitating Ireland and England, and societies were formed there and in America to aid in the struggle. Dr. O'Callaghan took an active part in forming the association called "The Friends of Ireland" in Quebec, and was the Secretary of the organization, giving the cause all the earnestness of his character. Meanwhile, he was winning friends by his medical skill and by the wit and humor which made him a charming member of society. Finding that Quebec offered but a limited prospect for his talents, he removed to Montreal, and soon became prominent in the political affairs of the Province. His ability as a speaker and writer led, in 1834, to his selection as editor of the *Vindicator*, the organ of the patriots in Canada. He was also elected to the provincial Parliament as a member for Yamaska. There he became a leader, on the popular side. On the 2d of November, 1835, he moved an address to the Governor in regard to the complaints against Judge Gale, and his motion was carried after a warm debate, although no action had yet been taken on Lord Gosford's message to Parliament. He was active in the House and by his journal in demanding the reforms deemed necessary for the wellbeing of Canada. Like other leaders, he dressed in Canadian homespun to encourage home manufactures and diminish importations from England. He was a marked man, and on the 6th of November the Doric Club, a tory organization, in favor with the government attacked the office of his newspaper, completely destroying the type, presses and material. He accompanied Mr. Papineau to the Richelieu River, the heart of the district where the strongest opposition to government prevailed. Both, however, condemned a resort to arms and did all they could to prevent it, but when it became



evident that a resort to force would be necessary and the Canadian militia took the field, he did not flinch from danger. He took part in the action at St. Denis, where Colonel Gore was repulsed, and his associate in the *Vindicator* and in the legislative halls, Hon. Ovide Perrault, was shot dead by his side.

When after the defeat at St. Charles, Papineau, seeing the hopelessness of the appeal to arms, sought safety in the United States, Dr. O'Callaghan accompanied him, and a reward for his body on a charge of high treason was offered by Lord Gosford in his proclamation of November 29, 1837. In New York, Dr. O'Callaghan was warmly received, and at once made many lasting friends, one of the earliest being the late Reuben Hyde Walworth, Chancellor of New York. During the latter part of his life, Dr. O'Callaghan avoided all allusion to his Canadian career; it seemed indeed to be a subject of painful memory, and in his large library, devoted to American and especially Canadian history, you look on the shelves in vain for the books and documents that contain the internal history of that struggle.

When, too, in time the English Government, gathering wisdom, granted all that the Canadians labored and fought to secure, the exiled leaders with Papineau returned to resume their old position at the head of colonial affairs, but Dr. O'Callaghan remained in New York, and never even sought to have the ban removed from his name.

He took up his residence in Albany, and there resumed the practice of his profession, being occasionally elsewhere engaged in affairs that brought him into contact with prominent men. He also edited an industrial paper called the *Northern Light*. When the anti-rent troubles were attracting attention, Dr. O'Callaghan began to study the rights of the Patroons and acquiring a knowledge of Dutch, examined the early Dutch records in the hands of the State and some ancient families. Astonished at the vast amount of historical information which had been secluded from English readers by the language in which it was written, Dr. O'Callaghan began a systematic history of the colony, and produced his "History of New Netherland," in two octavo volumes. It came to the public and to students as a revelation. It opened a new world. The history of the Dutch colony on the Hudson, Connecticut, and Delaware was known to most people only by the satire of Washington Irving's "Knickerbocker's History of New York." All that had seriously been written was vague and prepared by those who never examined the Dutch records. Dr. O'Callaghan did more for the descendants of the settlers of New Netherland than any of themselves had ever done. He showed the colony in its origin, steady, industrious colonists, as religious as New Englanders,

without their severity; men who could work and introduce European animals, grains, fruit, industries, could set up church and school, organize a government with many popular features, and all this without cant, boast, or hypocrisy.

The History of New Netherland gave the author a wide reputation, but entailed loss rather than profit. An edition of a thousand copies of the first volume was sold by the publishers, but the account of sales, to his astonishment, showed him to be indebted to the house, many copies having been sent to the press for notice, and advertising not limited by prudence.

The author accordingly was his own publisher in the case of the second volume, printing five hundred copies, and with the return repaying the whole outlay, and leaving him a small amount. Talking of it he would sometimes ask friends who had any mathematical turn to solve the sum, and explain how one thousand copies sold could bring him one hundred dollars in debt, and five hundred copies sold leave him with one hundred dollars in hand.

The "History of New Netherland" placed Dr. O'Callaghan at once in a high position among scholars. It was a work of research, judicious, and fresh and vigorous in style. One of the fruits was the action of the State in sending John R. Brodhead to England, France, and Holland to collect in the archives of those Governments documents relating to American, and especially New York, history. Mr. Brodhead returned with a vast amount of useful material. Then the State proposed to publish a documentary history, printing valuable documents, and reprinting rare tracts. Dr. O'Callaghan was called to edit this work, and when the State decided to print the documents collected in Europe, translating those in French and Dutch, the task of editing them was committed to Dr. O'Callaghan. This work he accomplished in a most satisfactory manner, and the eleven quarto volumes, including a full index, are a monument to his ability, and invaluable in every collection on the colonial period. His researches were not confined to the annals of one State. Dr. O'Callaghan was one of the first to recognize the great value for history of the "Jesuit Relations," as they are now called, a series of forty little volumes published in France in the seventeenth century, giving the reports of the Jesuit missions in Canada, when that term embraced all the great lakes and the valley of the Mississippi, much of New York, Maine, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. He read a paper before the New York Historical Society, giving a description of each volume and its contents. This paper, printed in pamphlet form, went far and wide, and was translated into French. Immediately scholars began to try and consult the "Jesuit Relations";

but they were very rare. A few privileged collectors had some volumes, the public libraries none. No complete set was known in Europe or America. Dr. O'Callaghan had given, innocently enough, a list of the volumes possessed by various gentlemen and institutions. This led to a curious episode. The late Albert Gallatin possessed several, and was greatly annoyed by people calling upon him begging to see his "Jesuit Relations." As each and all these gentlemen prefaced his request by an allusion to Dr. O'Callaghan, the ex-secretary of the treasury came to regard the historian as the greatest enemy of his peace, although Dr. O'Callaghan was perfectly unconscious of the result of his paper. One day the historian had occasion to call upon Mr. Gallatin on a matter of business, and on being ushered in sent up his card. Mr. Gallatin looked in amazement at the bit of pasteboard. Here was the enemy of his peace come to beard him in his own house. He went down to the parlor in a perfect fury, and opened on Dr. O'Callaghan a tempest of reproaches. Dr. O'Callaghan, always punctilious and sensitive, was taken utterly by surprise. Entirely unconscious of having given any offence, he drew himself up and said, when he could find room to speak: "Mr. Gallatin, I have heard of French politeness, but I never had a sample of it until now," and with a bow he left the house, to tell in after days, as only he could tell, the story to his friends.

He superintended for Mr. James Lenox the printing of the Relation for 1676, made by that gentleman from a copy of the original manuscript, and the reprint of two almost unique volumes in the series. At a subsequent period Dr. O'Callaghan printed a very small number of Biard's Relation, in *fac-simile* of the original; and in the style of the Jesuit Relations the account of the early Jesuit Mission in Acadia and Maine, as given in the "Annuaire Litteraire" and in the "Historia Societatis Jesu," so that they might be placed with the volumes of the Relations.

Besides the studies already named, he turned his attention to the issues of the Bible in this country, and after long research compiled a catalogue of all published in this country, which he issued in a volume full of curious information.

During his residence in Albany he was attached to the office of the Secretary of State, and edited a number of volumes from its colonial archives, the journals of the Legislative Council, with an historical sketch, a "Calendar of State Papers," "Lists of Land Grants," "Revolutionary Papers," and others of the kind. But he found more material, and issued the "Register of New Netherland," a list, compiled with great labor and care, of all who held office in the colony while subject to Holland. He also issued a series of New York tracts, embracing

the "Diary of Governor Clark," "Bobin's Letters," "Voyages of Slave Ships," "Commissary Wilson's Orderly Book," and the "Orderly Book of General Burgoyne."

The early records and proceedings of the municipality of New York are in Dutch, and were never printed, nor were the first in English. For several years a correspondence had been conducted inviting Dr. O'Callaghan to New York to prepare these for publication, his knowledge of the Dutch of that period as used in New Netherland making him one of the very few men living who could translate the early documents properly. He at last in 1870 consented, and came to New York. Arrangements were made to print these papers, and though not stipulated for in the agreement, Dr. O'Callaghan superintended the printing, adapted the indexes he had prepared, and revised the proof-sheets. He also edited the earliest wills on record in the State. Unfortunately this printing was given out by the city during the corrupt times. The work was suddenly stopped, and the volumes, though printed, have never appeared. It was a severe blow to Dr. O'Callaghan, who had given up a home and pleasant associations in Albany to come to New York especially for this work. He wished to complete it, but not only was this denied, but the city authorities sought to ignore their own act in inviting him to undertake the work.

This preyed upon him greatly, and soon after an accident rendered him almost helpless; but his mind continued active. He was confined to his house, and before long to his room. At first his time was spent among the books which he had collected during his long and studious life; a working library of American history of considerable extent and great value. But as the disease increased, he was laid on a bed from which he was never to rise, lingering for two years in pain, but always cheerful, clear in mind, and buoyed up in sickness, as he had been in health, by the practice of religious duties and the consolation of the sacraments.

On Saturday, May 29, 1880, there were signs of great weakness; the sacrament of Extreme Unction was administered, and in the evening he expired without a struggle, retaining his faculties to the close, making on his breast the sign of the faith which he had professed and practiced. The funeral service took place in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Fifth Avenue, on Wednesday June 2, and was attended by the New York Historical Society and many of his friends, and by the Catholic Union of New York, in which he had been a member of the Council.

At the end of the Mass the Rev. Clarence Walworth, of Albany, for years the pastor of Dr. O'Callaghan, ascended the pulpit, and taking as his text "Every scribe instructed in the kingdom of heaven is like to a man that is a householder who bringeth forth out of his treas-

ure new things and old " (St. Matthew xiii., 59), spoke eloquently and touchingly of the departed friend who lay before him. Applying the words of his text, he declared him a great and good man, a man of faith and truth. As a historian he followed no philosophy of history, marshalling and distorting acts to suit it, but he gave the facts in all their truth, and from these facts formed his picture of the past. Full of honesty himself, he bore impatiently to see ignorance or want of fairness arrange historical data so as to sanction false views. This love of truth made him accurate in detail, and gave a value to his works which rendered them an authority, and established the reputation which he had so long enjoyed among scholars. A sincere Christian, he recognized and appreciated the religious influences on our early history. He spoke of his practical life as a Catholic Christian in his frequentation of the sacraments, and his zeal for the beauty of God's house, shown in his gift to St. Mary's Church in Albany, and in his constant and liberal contributions to all calls of religion and charity. As a friend he was a lasting as well as a most attractive and sympathetic one, retaining to the last his attachment to early friends. But as he was man, he was not without fault, and while we may hope that his long and well-spent life and the sufferings which he bore like another Job may have freed him from much of the purification hereafter, we must still pray for him, that his release may be speedy.

His Eminence Cardinal McCloskey then assumed his cope and mitre, and pronounced absolution, after which the remains were conveyed to Calvary Cemetery, the pall-bearers being Thurlow Weed, the Hon. John Kelly, George H. Moore, E. F. De Lancey, William S. Preston, John Gilmary Shea, F. H. Churchill and Henry Amy.

Dr. O'Callaghan's contributions to American history were numerous: History of New Netherland, or New York under the Dutch, 2 vols., 8vo, New York, 1846-9; Jesuit Relations, 8vo, New York, 1847; in French, Montreal, 18mo, 1850; Documentary History of the State of New York, 4 vols., 4to and 8vo, Albany, 1849-51; Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York, 11 vols., 4to, Albany, 1855-61; Remonstrance of New Netherland, 4to, Albany, 1856; Commissary Wilson's Orderly Book, 4to, Albany, 1857; Orderly Book of Lieut.-Gen. John Burgoyne, 4to, Albany, 1860; Names of Persons for whom Marriage Licenses were issued previous to 1784, 8vo, Albany, 1860; Journals of the Legislative Council of New York, 8vo, Albany, 1860; Origin of the Legislative Assemblies of the State of New York, 4to, Albany, 1861; A List of the Editions of the Holy Scriptures and Parts thereof printed in America previous to 1860, 8vo, Albany, 1861;

Woolley's Two Years' Journal in New York, 8vo, New York, 1860; The Register of New Netherland, 1626-1674, 8vo, Albany, 1865; Calendar of the Land Papers, 8vo, Albany, 1864; Calendar of Historical Manuscripts in the Office of the Secretary of State, 4 vols., 4to, Dutch, English and Revolutionary, Albany, 1865-1868; Journal of the Slo p Mary, 4to, Albany, 1866; Voyage of George Clarke, Esq., to America, 4to, Albany, 1867; Voyages of the Slavers, 4to, Albany, 1870; Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland, 1638-74, Albany, 1869; Copie de Trois Lettres écrites ès années 1625-6 par le Rev. P. C. Lallemant, 8vo, Albany, 1870; Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France en l'année 1626, 8vo, Albany, 1870; Lettre du Rev. P. Lallemant, 22 Nov. 1629, 8vo, Albany, 1870; Lettre du Père Charles Lallemant, 1627, 8vo, Albany, 1870; De Regione et Moribus Canadensium, Auctore Josepho Juvencio, 8vo, Albany, 1871; Canadicæ Missionis Relatio, 1611-13, 8vo, Albany, 1871; Missio Canadensis, Epistola ex Portu-regali in Acadia a R. P. Petro Biardo, 8vo, Albany, 1870; Relatio Rerum Gestarum in Novo Francica Missionis Annis 1613-4, 8vo, Albany, 1871; Relation de la Nouvelle France (Biard), 8vo, Albany, 1871; Letters of Isaac Bobin, Esq., 4to, Albany, 1871; Proceedings of the Common Council of New Amsterdam and New York, 8 vols., 8vo, New York, 1870 (printed, but never published); New York Wills, 8vo, New York, 1871 (printed, but never published).

Dr. O'Callaghan collected valuable material also for biographies of early physicians in America.

In 1846 the University of St. Louis bestowed upon him the degree of Doctor of Medicine, and the degree of Doctor of Laws was subsequently conferred by St. John's College, Fordham. He was an active member of the New York Historical Society, many papers from his pen having been read before that body.

The New York Historical Society adopted the following resolutions on the occasion of his death:

"Resolved, That the New York Historical Society with deep sensibility adds to the list of its departed members the name of Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan, M. D., LL.D.

"Resolved, That in recording upon its minutes the death of this devoted historical scholar, this Society desires to renew its grateful acknowledgments of indebtedness to him for the invaluable services he has rendered his State and Country in the field of American history during the past forty years.

"Resolved, That the sympathy of the Society be tendered to the family of its deceased associate."

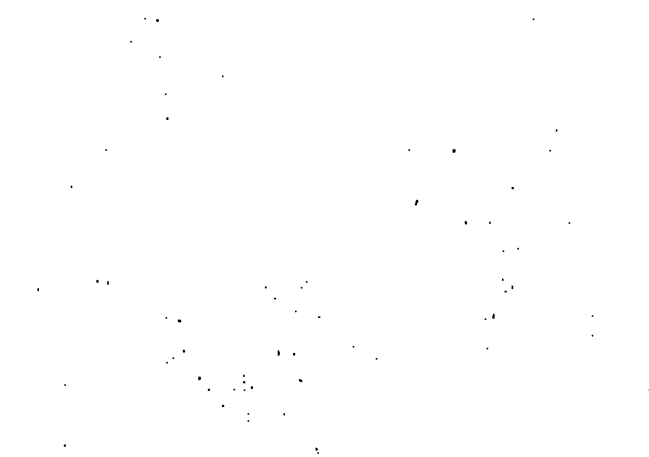
He was also a corresponding member of many other historical societies in this country.

JOHN G. SHEA.



WASHINGTON

Engraved by J. B. G. from a portrait by John Trumbull, R.S.A.



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THE TRADITIONAL WASHINGTON VINDICATED

UPON the last recurrence of Washington's birthday many of the old platitudes were brought out and aired, while various declarations appeared respecting an alleged change in the public estimate of the Father of his Country. When, however, an attempt was made to classify these affirmations, they sturdily refused to be classified. According to some, a change had taken place for the better, while others said it was for the worse. On the one hand it was taught that Washington was no longer regarded as the pattern of perfection, and on the other that time was simply adding lustre to the splendor of his reputation. Again it was said that Washington, in our day, was not to be regarded as a demi-god, while a more enterprising individual laid before the world the fact that recent investigations rendered it highly probable that George Washington was a lineal descendant of Odin. Some said that the Sage of Mount Vernon had gone into obscurity, that classes of the population were tired of him, that the anniversary was not celebrated as of yore; while still others congratulated their readers upon the fact, that the twenty-second of February had become an eminently national day, and was yearly growing in the estimation of a proud, appreciative and grateful people.

This variety of sesquipedalian expression, however, at once so ingenious and so charming, is capable of explanation. The return of each anniversary brings to a class of writers the stern necessity of saying something, though they have nothing to say, but they are always equal to the emergency, and when seated upon the tripod they readily identify their elegant fancies with the opinion of mankind. Thus an accommodating public appreciates all aspects of the subject at once, affirming or denying with equal cordiality and zeal. This process is not always favorable to truth. In fact, it often renders questions of



history dependent upon what some Bohemian had or did not have for breakfast; yet it renders the individual of some consequence in his own eyes.

Without dwelling upon this aspect of the case, however, let us notice that the declaration that Washington is no longer universally applauded implies that formerly he was invariably extolled, which is incorrect. In fact, Washington was never free from criticism. Some of his enemies, like the notorious Tom Paine, were malignant to the last degree. The faults of Washington, whatever they may have been, were faithfully improved by the opposition; but whoever proposes to return to them now will not have the excuse of the ancient back-biter, who plead the public good. In view, therefore, of some things that have been said of late, we may inquire once more into the personal history and character of Washington, and ask what manner of man he was.

This question has been replied to in the sober and discriminating works of Marshall, Sparks, Irving and Everett, writers who have presented Washington, not as a demi-god, nor even as perfect, but rather as a great and noble man, who laid his country and humanity at large under deep and lasting obligation. The portraiture of Washington by these writers is incomplete, while the time for a perfect delineation of Washington has perhaps gone by. No Boswell attended the daily walks of the Sage of Mount Vernon to note each varied phase of individuality from hour to hour. Yet the representation given by the writers above mentioned is in the main correct. Their works embody the intelligent conception of the public at large respecting Washington. Other conceptions are indeed maintained, but are they not to be regarded upon the whole as belonging, by a kind of letters patent, to a class of persons not easily reached by ordinary methods of instruction?

With respect to the alleged change in public opinion already referred to, it may be said that there are always those who are inclined to extremes, persons who indeed seem to be touched with the old fetich-worshipping spirit, and who for a time are disposed to believe that some immortalized individual is divine, but who, upon discovering their mistake, proceed to abuse their former divinity, as the Polynesian mocks some dethroned god, and at the same time discover in their sudden change a radical revolution in the sentiments of mankind.

Still another small class insist that a change has taken place in public opinion, for the reason, that, in an iconoclastic or adventurous spirit, they desire a change. This, perhaps, is why we are told, from time to time, with so much effusion, that Washington is no longer a demi-god, and that the popular views are myths. There is a certain degree of art, or

rather cunning, in this mode of attack, as it invests the hero with offensive attributes, which generate germs of personal hostility in vulgar and unreflecting minds.

Particular charges have also been made concerning the views popularly entertained of Washington's childhood and youth, and, therefore, this survey may commence with his early life, especially as the child is generally the father of the man.

The Odinic theory concerning the origin of Washington may not be so difficult to maintain as some suppose, since Odin was a very ordinary individual, dying in his bed in Scandinavia, and being burned, like his ancestors, on a funereal pyre. The task is one, not for the jester in motley with cap and bells, but for the genealogist, who will hardly feel obliged to prove that the son of a plain Virginia planter was heaven-born, or allied to the stars. Indeed, those writers who are worthy of much attention, and capable of shaping opinion, have never been unduly solicitous concerning the remote origin of Washington; but, recognizing the sphere out of which he raised himself by his own exertions, they have generously declared the superiority of merit over rank and fortune.

The family of Washington appears to have been sufficiently ancient and respectable, though as regards the question of his descent there may be something to learn. When advanced in life Washington himself made inquiries respecting his family, and in 1792 wrote to Isaac Heard, Garter King of Arms at the College of Arms, London, requesting information. To this letter Mr. Heard replied in 1796. The interest which Washington felt was commendable. The study of genealogy is of the highest importance as well to the individual as to the clan. The man who is indifferent to his origin may be careless about his destiny. A contempt for the past is prophetic of the future. The interest often taken by public men in their tribal history is sometimes misunderstood. The point of departure is linked with the ultimate point of arrival by not altogether unknown laws. The individual who would know whither he is going, may inquire with propriety whence he came.

Whatever may have been the remote origin of the Washingtons, their status in Virginia is well known. The resources of the father of our Washington secured to him only a very humble education; while at his majority he could look forward to nothing more than a little plantation on the Rappahannock as his portion of the family estate. The death of an elder brother nevertheless left him in the possession of a more ample patrimony, which he increased by his marriage; while assiduous

study after retiring from school added largely to his knowledge and general attainments, though no one ever fancied that he came to be a learned man. Little more than general reading was added to his civic and military attainments, together with a knowledge of husbandry, in which our Cincinnatus found a source of delight. But if his classical knowledge was not large, there was no deficiency in his moral training. His mother, in her day a belle, was of a devout disposition, while in this respect his father did not fall behind. Early impressions were thus made upon the mind and heart of the boy respecting the nature and claims of the Divine Being, the importance of filial piety and the supreme obligations of truth. To all these teachings his tender and impressional nature responded, and he became a reverent and truthful child. Two unpublished letters by his mother remain, in one of which, written after the capture of Fort Du Quesne, she exhibits great affection for her son. This is said to be the only piece of writing in her own hand in which she mentions "George," saying that she had had great trouble, and that George had been in the army, but had now left it.' In the other letter, addressed to her brother at London, she says: "You seem to blame me for not writing to you, butt I doe a shour you it is Note for wante of a very great Regard for you and the family, butt as I don't ship tobacco the Captains never calls on me, soe that I never know when tha come or when tha go.'" These misspelled lines show the true disposition of the woman whom Washington was proud to honor as his mother, while they are worth infinitely more than any of the polished sentences so painfully framed by mincing eulogists of the Father of his Country.

Washington appears as a boy to have been somewhat precocious, as is indicated by the fact that at the age of thirteen he had drawn up "Rules of Civility & decent Behaviour," which may have been original. It is nevertheless true that as a boy he was characterized by a boy's faults. He was more or less thoughtless, and perhaps mischievous, and had a violent temper. This by degrees he learned to control, yet at times it overcame him; and at the battle of Monmouth he was so filled with wrath by the conduct of Lee that he is said to have expressed himself in oaths. Washington in a passion was a spectacle, but this fact, however emphasized, cannot change our estimate of the man, who is to be judged like those works of art which are valued according to their merits.

But let us not anticipate. We were speaking of Washington's youth, which, notwithstanding a hot temper, that in advanced life, upon certain

occasions, found vent—was characterized by the dispositions which generally pervaded his actions as a man. If there is any truth in testimony, Washington, as a youth, might have been described as a “good” boy, though his goodness was not of that fatal type which hurries its subjects with such unerring precision away from this mundane sphere, where their goodness might have been so profitably employed. Yet there are those who appear almost unwilling to admit that Washington was good in a safe degree, and who, under the guidance of Mark Twain, are convulsed with laughter when brought face to face with the young Virginian’s loyalty to truth. In some quarters the story of Washington and his hatchet is made a standing jest, the intellectual meridian requiring that all stories of this kind should be regarded as false. Let us, therefore, glance at this incident, since it stands connected with a prominent phase of Washington’s character, both in childhood and age.

The particulars of the case are too familiar to be dwelt upon. In substance, it will be remembered, as the account usually runs, that Washington, when a boy, had a hatchet given to him, of which he was very proud; and that, on one occasion, with fatal thoroughness, he tried its keen edge upon a young cherry tree, though when questioned on the subject he confessed the truth, his nature shrinking from falsehood.

So far as we know, the story first appeared in a life of Washington by Weems, who states that he had it from an aged lady connected with the Washington family. But who was Weems? This question the late Bishop Meade of Virginia sought to answer, and his well meant but poor account of the man becomes poorer when manipulated by the hostile critic, who speaks of Weems’ production as “the lying little book,” and of its author as absolutely insensible to the claims of truth. One might, therefore, suppose that Weems was a first-class imposter. This, however, is a little too fast. It has been conceded that he was an ordained minister of the Episcopal Church, though the statement that he took Orders in Maryland needs confirmation. It is more probable that he was one of those “young gentlemen from the Southward” mentioned by Bishop White in his Memoirs, who, upon the conclusion of peace with England, repaired to that country and was ordained by the Bishop of London, in accordance with a special act of Parliament. Possibly he returned in the same ship with Bishop White, who landed in New York, Easter Day, 1786, an act which may be regarded as synchronous with the renaissance of the ecclesiastical body of which he is so properly regarded the founder.

Weems has been represented as pretending that he was Washington’s

Rector, though as a matter of history he never pretended to any such relation. His own book teaches that he never even saw Washington in church, though one of his books had Washington's approval.' The seventh edition of his *Life of Washington*, on the title page, claims that he was "formerly Rector of Mount Vernon," while proof is at hand of the fact, evidently unknown to good Bishop Meade, that he officiated there regularly as minister.

Mason L. Weems has been unjustly treated, though this is not the place to enter upon any defence of his life, especially as portions of it, in certain respects, are hardly defensible. Weems was always eccentric, and when want drove him to bookselling, he allowed his eccentricities full play; yet no one who knew him and his history questioned the goodness of his heart, which glowed with charity. The kindness which this man showed to others, without regard to rank or fortune, should certainly purchase immunity from unmerited reproach, while the faithfulness with which he spoke unpalatable truth at the cost of his own popularity and prosperity, should shield him from the charge of deliberately circulating what he knew to be false. It is true, as Mr. Duyckinck says, that in the hands of Weems the trumpet of fame never sounded an uncertain blast. His style was stilted, his rhetoric was ornate, and his paragraphs overdone; though, but for a slight excess of verbiage, certain passages would be entitled to high rank for their eloquence and beauty. It has been suggested that a sketch published by Dr. Beattie of his eldest son, in 1794, gave Weems the idea of the *Life of Washington*, but a reasonable degree of attention to the subject would have shown that at least four editions of his work were published before he wrote a line to justify the suspicion that he had ever *seen* Beattie's sketch.'

Corry's *Life of Washington*, published at London in 1800, probably attracted the attention of Weems, while its influence is clearly perceptible on his title page of 1808. There is nothing in the character of Weems to discredit the story he tells concerning Washington, and therefore we may ask, if there is anything in the story itself. In this connection it may be said, that the only apparent reason for regarding it as false, is found in the fact that iconoclastic necessities require that it should be found false. There is certainly nothing improbable in the idea that, once upon a time, a small boy had a hatchet; and that, having a hatchet, he should desire to test its merits; and that, in testing its merits, he should try it on a tree; and further, that, being a boy of tolerable honesty, he should admit the act when questioned. Yet in this

connection, taking advantage of the peculiar phraseology of Weems' work, Mark Twain, we are told, has convulsed "three thousand people" all at once. This subject appears to possess elements exceedingly funny. Indeed, he has succeeded so well with Washington, he might perhaps try the case of the little boy whose monument stands in Milwaukee, a boy who was whipped to death because he "could not tell a lie."

This story, then, as funny as it may appear in the jester's eye, contains nothing to justify doubt. A case of the kind would be remembered when the boy had passed into history. An additional reason for its remembrance would be found in the Laws of Virginia, which made the injury of fruit trees such a serious offence. The laws of 1691, 1733 and 1752, provided if a beast barked a fruit tree the owner should be fined one hundred pounds of tobacco and a cask to put it in. The malicious injury of a tree would therefore be treated with much greater severity. By the Ninth of George I. c. 22, enlarged by Sixth George II. c. 37, Tenth George II, c. 32, and Thirty-one George II. c. 42, the penalty for cutting or injuring a fruit tree was *death*. Some of the Governors favored the theory that the Statute laws of England applied in the colonies, but whether this was the case in Virginia or not at the period under consideration does not affect the question,⁹ since both at home and abroad the offence was a serious one. In a new country it was especially so, and the loss of a fine cherry tree would probably be remembered in the family, though we may feel reasonably sure that George ran much less risk of swinging in this case than he did at a later period, when he lifted up, not his little hatchet, but a heavy axe, against the root of Usurpation's tree. Such, then, is one of the "myths" connected with the early life of Washington. When it is accepted as a myth, however, the acceptance will not be based upon a guffaw.

Another "myth" relates to his appointment as midshipman, which we are told was manufactured out of an attempt to send Washington to sea in a tobacco ship, as an apprentice before the mast, in hope that, by good conduct, he might rise to be the captain of such a ship. In proof that the writers who have touched upon this subject were wrong, and that it would have been impossible for Washington to have secured the appointment of midshipman, a letter from his uncle is quoted. This person was Joseph Ball, the brother of Washington's mother, who, May 19th, 1747, wrote from London, saying among other things, "I understand you are advised and have some thoughts of putting your son George to sea. I think he had better be put apprentice to a tinker, for



a common sailor before the mast has by no means the common liberty of the subject," afterwards saying, "as to any considerable preferment in the navy, it is not to be expected, as there are always so many gaping for it here who have interest, and he has none." Stress is laid upon the words "he has none."⁵ But how could Mr. Ball, a lawyer living in London, know much about the real state of the case? Washington's brother, Lawrence, had served in the West Indies and was an accomplished gentleman. Though Joseph Ball may not have known the fact, he stood high with General Wentworth and Admiral Vernon. Lawrence Washington was in correspondence with Vernon, after whom the estate of Mount Vernon took its name. There is not the slightest probability that such a person as Lawrence Washington would think of putting his young brother before the mast on a Virginia tobacco ship. Mr. Ball did not learn the intentions of his sister respecting her son, from direct correspondence. He says, "I *understand* that you are advised * * * of putting your son George to sea." Mr. Ball did not know the nature of the plan; while George's mother did oppose it, as Weems declares, and as we learn from the letter of Mr. Jackson, quoted by Sparks (Vol. I. p. 11).

The reference to tinkers, indicates, of course, that Mr. Ball, was annoyed by what he considered the poor judgment of his sister, yet his letter, which is now given for the first time complete, shows that Mrs. Washington was not in so prosperous circumstances as could be desired and was in want of timber, which her brother could not spare.⁶

As it happens, however, this account of the appointment of Washington as midshipman did not originate with the "Rector of Mount Vernon." The matter evidently appeared in print at a very early period, though the writer has not yet been able to fix the precise date. An English work, Stearns' "Oracle," was published in London in 1791, and re-issued with a New York imprint the same year. On page 447 is the following statement respecting Washington:

"When he was fifteen years of age he entered as a midshipman on board a British vessel of war that was stationed on the coast of Virginia; but the plan was abandoned on account of the reluctance his mother had against it." This is repeated in the Philadelphia Magazine, January, 1798, which says that, "after his baggage had been packed up for embarkation, the plan was abandoned in obedience to the calls of maternal affection" (p. 15).

Thus it is clear that before Washington had finished his first term in the presidential office, the account of his appointment as midshipman

had passed into the history of both the New and the Old World, and was accepted. A search among the English publications which cover the period during which Washington began to attract the notice of the world, would probably bring to light the original statement, when it may also appear that the Wentworths or the Vernons gave it currency.

Another point has been brought to notice, as embarrassing, though it really involves no difficulty. Mr. Weems tells us, in brief, that George's father one day wrote his son's name in the soft ground, filled the furrow with seed, covered it over, and left the boy to discover his name in the sprouting greenery that in time appeared. Upon making the discovery, George ran to his father in surprise, and learned a pious lesson of cause and effect, the boy agreeing with his father that it was not the result of chance, and that, indeed, the universe itself must be due to a first great Cause. Turning to the works of Dr. Beattie, it appears that that philosopher pursued a similar course with his son. The inference is that the story was stolen by Weems from Beattie, and made to do service in a new relation. This might appear conclusive at the outset, especially to one who approaches the subject under the impression that Weems, so profuse in rhetoric, was a deliberate manufacturer of apocryphal stories.

Where the author of the Life of Washington obtained his information he does not say, though it belongs to the same class as the anecdotes derived from a member of the family. The objector creates his difficulty, by supposing that Weems had no other source of information than Beattie, and, in fact, by supposing, what is notably erroneous, that Beattie gave Weems the idea of his book. He does this without considering the probability of Beattie himself having been a copyist, or taking into account the fact that the veracity of the poet and philosopher may be attacked on nearly the same principle that the attack is made upon Weems. In reality, this device of Beattie's is almost as old as flowers and seeds themselves, and quite as old as religion. We might add, as old as love, for poets and amorous swains in all ages have conveyed tender declaration by flowers and floriculture, as well as by hacking trunks of trees, and have disputed this department with the moralist and the divine. That the father of Washington employed such a method is by no means improbable. Still, may it not be claimed that the story of Beattie suggested the *language* employed by Weems? If, upon a careful comparison, a sufficient similarity of language should appear, that might readily be admitted. Because, however, an individual in



describing a sunset upon the Hudson uses the language of another, it does not follow that he never saw a sunset upon the Hudson. Literature abounds with cases to the point.

The late Dr. Spring, in his Autobiography, where he details some of his European experiences, tells the reader that when visiting the splendid cathedral at Rouen one of the party of friends with whom he was traveling deliberately knocked off the nose of a "marble saint." There are those to-day who would mutilate the effigy of Washington. They are image-breakers, like the New York embassy at Rouen, and want something to destroy. Our fellow citizens found themselves in the clutches of the *gens d'armes*, and, after paying roundly, surrendered the nose and got off. In the same way the critics of Washington will at least be obliged to surrender the proofs of their iconoclastic zeal.

We are asked for a new conception of the character of Washington, but it will prove quite out of the question to furnish a new Washington. The old one will remain. The circumstances of his life, so far as known, have been stated fairly. His disposition has been well described. Some minute particulars are wanting and will remain wanting to the end of time. This gives a certain play to the imagination, but all great characters are in a measure viewed in the ideal; while the greater and nobler the character the larger is the justification. Perfect biographies do not exist. There is that in individuals which no word-painting can convey, and when the object of regard passes from sight, something at least is hopelessly lost. "Who," says one, "will give us a biography of Washington as he was?" We ask in reply, "Who will bring the dead to life?" A new Washington we cannot create. His character is indelibly printed upon the hearts of the people. A few fresh details come to us from time to time, but, notwithstanding the stock phrase of a class, "recent investigations," the estimate of Washington, so far as the masses of intelligent people may be concerned, remains what it was. Washington is still viewed as having been an exceptionally truthful boy, acknowledging the obligation of filial love and respect; reverent, though occasionally given to pranks, and as exercising command over his youthful associates in a manner prophetic of his after life. In playing the soldier, he always took the part of commander; while a little later, in fact while still a boy, his probity, executive ability and high sense of honor, advanced him to positions not easily reached by men of experience and age. Contemporaneous testimony proves the remarkable manner in which he executed his various trusts in early life.

From year to year his character grew, so that when the supreme

moment came all eyes turned to him, and found him exactly suited to the times. To complain that his biographers found him enveloped in incense is not to the point. His reputation was based upon fact and was created during his life. They could not help finding him anything except just what he was. They might have treated him differently, and even knocked off his nose. But the nose would have been restored. Washington in his lifetime impressed nearly all men in the same way. The shameless abuse that he received from Tom Paine and his crew was exceptional, and it only served as a background for the better exhibition of his great reputation. So great was the splendor of his character that Jefferson tried to conceal a certain hostility, while Gates, his military rival, was ashamed of his own intrigues; the agent of these intrigues confessing, upon what he supposed to be his dying bed, the baseless character of his insinuations, and repenting the part that he had performed.

Without, however, pursuing any strict chronological order, let us observe the manner in which Washington entered upon his military career at the period of the Revolution. He appears to have been called to his high position by the voice of the people. Nominated by John Adams, and unanimously elected by the Continental Congress, he accepted with reluctance, having serious, but needless doubts, concerning his fitness for the place. He at once proceeded to take command of the army. The route to Cambridge was attended by one continued ovation, it being the expression of the popular devotion not only to the cause, but to the man. His presence everywhere excited wild outbursts of enthusiasm. All classes of people believed profoundly in his high mission, at least until his mission interfered with some narrow interest. Concerning his personal appearance upon his arrival at Cambridge, Thacher says: "His Excellency was on horseback, in company with several military gentlemen. It was not difficult to distinguish him from all others. He is tall and well proportioned, and his personal appearance truly noble and majestic."

Mrs. Adams was not quite so moderate, and wrote to her husband that "the gentleman and the soldier" were blended in him, and that modesty marked every line and feature of his face, quoting some lines from Dryden:

" Mark his majestic fabric ! He's a temple
Sacred by birth and built by hands divine ;
His soul's the deity that lodges there ;
Nor is the pile unworthy of the god."

Here we have the demi-god sometimes referred to as no longer existing: but in reality this view of Washington was the view entertained by some of the ladies, whose privilege it is to view the lords of creation in their own way. It would be a mistake to suppose that the people, with all their enthusiasm, entertained any such conception of the hero.

Upon an inspection of the army assembled at Cambridge, he found it little better than a military convention held in the open fields, consisting of about fourteen thousand men, without discipline, wanting in suitable clothing, and lacking every kind of supplies, including ammunition. Yet he at once began to make the best of the situation, and, writing to Lee, July 10th, says: "This unhappy and devoted province has been so long in a state of anarchy, and the yoke of ministerial oppression has been laid so heavily on it, that great allowances are to be made for troops raised under such circumstances. The deficiency of numbers, discipline and stores can lead only to this conclusion, that their spirit has exceeded their strength."

The condition of the army, however, soon began to tell upon him. while, properly enough, he attributed the lack of discipline to the fact that the officers had been elected by the men, and conceived that they were still dependent upon them. Washington also found a provincial spirit prevailing, and proposed strong measures to break it up. He would not only take the appointment of all regimental officers away from the men, but from the provincial authorities, vesting the power in Congress. After stating the difficulties of the case when writing to Lee, he says: "I submit, therefore, for your consideration whether there is or is not a propriety in that resolution of Congress, which leaves the ultimate appointment of all officers below the rank of general to the governments where the Regiments originated, now the army is become Continental. To me it appears improper in two points of view; first, it is giving that power and weight to the individual Colony which ought of right to belong only to the whole; and next, it damps the spirit and ardor of Volunteers from all but the four New England Governments, as none but their people have the least chance of getting into office—would it not be better, therefore, to have the warrants which the Commander in Chief is authorized to give pro tempore approved or disapproved by the Continental Congress, or a Committee of their body, which I should suppose in any long recess must always sit.

In this case every gentleman will stand an equal chance of being

promoted according to his merit; in the other, all officers will be confined to the inhabitants of the four New England Governments, which in my opinion is impolitick to a degree."

This plan was the offspring of the national sentiment which, after the war, led him to favor the establishment of the Military Academy at West Point. Washington also, proposed as a part of a general uniform for the Continental troops, a kind of hunting shirt.

The plan respecting the appointment of officers overlooked the importance of placing in command officers with whom the troops could sympathize on local grounds. But above all, the language of Washington seems to indicate that he did not at that time appreciate the magnitude of the coming struggle, and was inclined to consider the difficulty too much as a sectional affair, that was to be fought out chiefly by New Englanders.

Very soon, indeed, Washington began to take a still lower view of New England men than he had hitherto expressed, and, in fact, speaks in a tone that we should hardly expect in one who had been nominated for his place by Massachusetts, and had been received with such generous enthusiasm. This perhaps may be quoted to prove that benefits conferred could not render him blind to personal defects nor interfere with the conscientious discharge of duty. However this may be, he is found, August 29th, indulging in some severe strictures. The letter containing them was addressed to Richard Henry Lee, and it appears, in Mr. Sparks' collection of the Letters of Washington. It is, however, a matter of surprise to find that the letter is not printed in full, while there is no intimation whatsoever that any portion of it has been omitted. We regret to be obliged to say that cases of this kind go very far to shake the faith of investigators respecting the integrity of Mr. Sparks' editorial labors. Manifestly he was too much afraid of the reputation of Washington, and needlessly tender of the feelings of Massachusetts men. There are passages in the letter not in Washington's usual good taste. This letter was written in "Camp at Cambridge," and in one of the suppressed passages Washington says to Lee, "As we have now nearly completed our lines of defence, we have nothing, in my opinion, to fear from the enemy provided we can keep our men to their duty, and make them watchful and vigilant; but it is among the most difficult tasks I ever undertook in my life to induce these people to believe that there is or can be any danger till the bayonet is pushed at their breasts; not that it proceeds from any superior prowess, but rather from an unaccountable kind of stupidity in the lower class of these people, which, I



believe, prevails but too generally among the Massachusetts part of the army, who are nearly all of the same kidney with the privates, and adds not a little to my difficulties, as there is no such thing as getting officers of this stamp to carry orders into execution—to curry favor with the men (by whom they were chosen, and on whose smile they may possibly think that they may again rely), seems to be one of the principal objects of their attention.”

Clearly, Washington was very much annoyed at the time, or he would hardly have indulged in a general charge of stupidity with respect to men who had fought at Lexington and Bunker Hill. But he has not done with them yet, and we can readily appreciate the feelings of Mr. Sparks when he came to the following passage, which he sought to remand to obscurity. Washington rather gleefully says:

“I have made a pretty good slam amongst such kind of officers as the Massachusetts Government abound in since I came to this camp. Having broke one Colonel and two Captains for cowardly behavior in the action on Bunker Hill—two Captains for drawing more pay and provisions than they had men in their company, and one for being absent from his post when the enemy appeared there, and burnt a house just by it. Besides these, I have at this time one Colonel, one Major, one Captain and two subalterns under arrest for tryal. In short, I spare none and yet fear it will not all do, as these people seem to be too attentive to everything but their own interests.”

The broken Colonel referred to appears to have been Colonel Gerish. Dr. Church, in his letter in Force's Archives (II., 1714), speaks of “the cowardice of clumsy Gerrish and Colonel Scammons;” yet it is difficult to discover how the men in general, by entering upon the Rebellion against the King, could be viewed as attending exclusively to their own interests. If they had acted with regard to the small amounts of Continental money and food and clothing received, they must have been stupid indeed, and would have done better by keeping to their farms. Worthless men had, of course, come to the front. It is always the case under similar circumstances. The system of electing officers only made the matter worse, since capacity and integrity cannot be created by any town-meeting process. For a time an undesirable class of men in New England, as elsewhere, improved the great uprising to insinuate themselves into place; and Washington treated them as they deserved. There is, therefore, nothing in this letter to make the admirers of Washington feel uneasy, much less anything to be suppressed. Our traditional Washington was human, and could give undeserving

officers, who were of "the same kidney with the privates," "a pretty good slam." No doubt he improved the service, while the publication of his language will do his reputation no harm. The attempt to increase his fame by suppressing passages like these, is simply seeking to improve the sun by expunging his spots.

In this letter Washington shows that at the time he was overburdened with care and responsibility. He wrote under great pressure and made an occasional slip in grammar. Towards the end of this letter is the following passage, also not found in Mr. Sparks' volume: "There has been so many great and capital errors and abuses to rectify, so many examples to make, and so little inclination in the officers of inferior rank to contribute their aid to accomplish this work, that my life has been nothing else (since I have been here) but one continued round of annoyance and fatigue; in short, no pecuniary recompence could induce me to undergo what I have, especially as I expect by showing so little countenance to irregularities and public abuses, to render myself obnoxious to the great part of the people. But as I have already exceeded the bounds of a letter, I will not trouble you with matters relative to my own feelings."

Washington, in his letter to Lund Washington, nine days earlier, showed a desire to discriminate, saying: "The people of this Government have obtained a character which they by no means deserved—their officers, generally speaking, are the most indifferent people I ever saw."*

It will prove of special interest, perhaps, to indicate how Washington was viewed by elegant and fastidious French visitors, at a time, too, before the conflict with Great Britain was decided, and before it was known whether Washington was to appear in history as a great Hero or a defeated Rebel. We select first the estimate of Chastelleux. General de Chastelleux, in connection with a visit to the "headquarters of his *Excellency*, for so Washington is called by the Army and the infant America," describes him as "a large man, five feet nine inches in height, of a noble and mild countenance." At dinner, he says, "some glasses of Claret and Madeira hastened the acquaintance I desired to make, and soon I found myself at my ease near the greatest and best of all men. The goodness and kindness which characterise him are felt in everything that surrounds him, but the confidence he inspires is never familiar, because the feeling he inspires has the same origin in the breasts of all, a profound esteem for his virtues, and a high opinion of his talents." Then when Washington showed his guest the little room where he was to rest for the night, he "excused himself for the small

space he had to offer, but with a noble politeness, that was neither burdensome nor overstrained." At dinner, when the cloth had been removed, fruits and nuts were served, "of which General Washington ordinarily partook for two hours, toasting and engaging in conversation," but always speaking with "a modesty and conciseness which proved that it was only to please me that he spoke of himself."

Repelling all suspicion of enthusiasm, Chastelleux says, later, of Washington: "Brave without temerity, laborious without ambition, generous without prodigality, noble without pride, virtuous without severity, he seems always to have restrained himself within the limit where the virtues in clothing themselves in livelier, more changeable and more doubtful colors might be taken for faults. This is the seventh year that he has commanded the army and obeyed Congress; this is saying enough, especially in America, where all the eulogies are made which this simple fact implies. Let it be said that Condé was bold, Turenne prudent, Eugene adroit, Catinat disinterested. Not so can Washington be characterised. It will be said of him: *At the end of a long civil war he had nothing to reproach himself of.* If anything can be more marvellous than such a character, it is the unanimity of the suffrages in his favor; Warrior, Magistrate, People all love and admire him, all speak of him only with tenderness and veneration. * * * I do not exclude outward form in speaking of the perfect harmony which Washington presents. His figure is noble and tall, well formed and perfectly proportioned, his countenance mild and agreeable, but such as no one would mention any particular features, and on leaving him there only remains the recollection of a beautiful figure. His air is neither grave nor familiar, and on his forehead there is the impress of thought, but never of disquietude; in inspiring respect he inspires confidence, and his smile is always that of benevolence."

Such was Washington as Chastelleux found him, a rebel against his government, with his future still unknown.

Another guest, Count Dumas, who was attached to the French forces in Rhode Island, and who went to Connecticut to meet Washington, says: "We had been impatient to see the hero of liberty. His dignified address, his simplicity of manners and mild gravity surpass our expectation and win every heart." Again he says that at dinner, which was remarkably plain, "I had perfect leisure to admire the perfect harmony of his noble and fine countenance, with the simplicity of his language and the justice and truth of his observations. He generally sat long at the table, and animated the conversation with unaffected cheerfulness."

Claude Blanchard, commissary of the French army, says: "His face is handsome, noble and mild. He is tall (at the least five feet eight inches). In the evening I was at supper with him, and I mark it a fortunate day that in which I have been able to behold a man so truly great." He also says, "His physiognomy has something grave and serious, but it is never stern, and, on the contrary, becomes softened by the most gracious and amiable smile. He is affable and converses with his officers familiarly and gaily." He adds the following respecting one of his table habits: "I was told that Washington said grace when there was no clergyman, but I did not perceive that he made this prayer, yet I remember that in taking his place at table he made a gesture and said a word, which I took for a piece of politeness, and which was perhaps a religious action."

These representations are not of an apocryphal nature framed out of men's fancies in later times, a tissue of tradition that has grown with the lapse of years. They are the words of men who knew Washington, and such testimonies might be multiplied almost indefinitely by witnesses of the highest credibility, who had observed the hero under all circumstances, and who had watched his motions in public and private, upon the battlefield and in the cabinet, and in all the varied relations that in the course of years he was called to sustain. The business of the detractor, therefore, is to show that he has better means of knowing Washington at the end of a century than they had when the object of their admiration was still alive.

It is a little curious to notice here that the writers who object to Weems are inclined to follow in his steps, so far at least as his disinclination to the "demigod" may be concerned; for it is the "Rector of Mount Vernon" who complains that, "In most of the elegant orations pronouncing his praise, you see nothing of Washington below *the clouds* * * * 'tis only Washington the hero and the demigod." But attention has already been called to the fact that no one ever made Washington a demigod. In studying Weems, certain writers seem to have acquired his rhetorical habits, and thus broadcast fling the undisciplined phrase. Yet if Washington had been held up by writers in the extravagant fashion supposed, it would not have been altogether surprising. Nothing appears more ungrateful on the part of a people under incalculable indebtedness to a great benefactor than parsimonious praise. Still, there are those who seem to grudge even the poor adjective which bears the same relation to the merits of Washington that the painted cloud holds to the snowy form floating sublimely along the blue sky.

It would not require any labored proof, however, to demonstrate that the biographers of Washington are seriously misrepresented, and often, too, by men who appear to have no real acquaintance with the authors forming the subject of sneers. Hence that author who by one critic is accused of representing Washington as more than human, is condemned by another for making Washington a mere "prig," saying, that the man who not only created the nation, but who did so much with his pen to create our national literature, did not know how to spell. In this respect Washington excelled many of the most eminent public men; though with his wife and mother orthography was an accomplishment little cultivated. Fortunately, however, the great name of Washington is in no way dependent upon any question of orthography or grammar, and the eulogist who really has any profound faith in his hero should not trouble himself to correct the one or amend the other.

As already intimated, the traditional Washington found critics in his life time, though their efforts to injure him proved in vain, notwithstanding they even resorted to forged letters and sent them out broadcast by means of the press. His critics were sadly annoyed by his popularity, but they poured their slanderous tales into unwilling ears. Jefferson, while acknowledging the incorruptible integrity of Washington, tried to reach Washington himself by censuring his administration. In referring to Washington's treatment of the French Revolution, Jefferson said that, "like the rest of mankind, he was disgusted with the atrocities of the French Revolution, and was not sufficiently aware of the difference between those who were used as the instruments of their perpetration, and the steady and rational character of the American people." That Washington, however, failed to appreciate the character of the American people, was not the verdict of the people themselves, who sustained him against the faction in this country so desperately bent upon compromising the United States. In Genet and the French Minister, who sought to use the ports of America for their abominable purpose, Washington saw two agents capable of accomplishing great mischief; and, when the time came, he proceeded against the Jacobins with a strong hand, rendering them powerless for harm. Washington was a Conservative. Posterity has sanctioned his policy, which was that of a statesman, and not of a politician, as in the latter character he never appeared. In fact, no politician could have risen to such power and influence as that which attended Washington. Twice he was unanimously elected to the highest office that the people could bestow.

In both cases the election was undesired, preferring, after the severe labors of the Revolution, to spend the rest of his days in private life; while the second election was actually forced upon him, it being the general conviction that no other man would prove equal to the situation while the newly-devised government was still on trial. Never again, perhaps, to the end of time, will this country witness a movement so general, so irresistible, and so grand in favor of a Presidential nominee.

In every case his fame rested upon what was real, though Washington was never recognized as remarkable in one department independent of everything else. In this respect, his principal biographers have written with great circumspection. In some places they even show a nervous dread of basing his claims upon anything tinctured with tradition or doubt. Marshall voices the verdict of the best writers where he describes his hero as "solid rather than brilliant." No one claims that he was great in the sense that Cæsar and Napoleon are called great. It is allowed that he would not have succeeded in the place of Cæsar in Gaul, and that he would not have conquered at Pharsalia. On the other hand it is claimed that the Emperor would have failed in a position similar to that of Washington, Washington was great, in that he possessed a rare combination of gifts, no one of which alone would have dazzled the world, and which altogether even required the peculiar field that they actually enjoyed for the exhibition of their value and power. Everett, with all his lofty appreciation and enthusiasm, carefully guards his expressions, and as generous as may be the words with which he brings his sketch to a close, it will be difficult to prove, either from history or reason, that his estimate of Washington is too high. No such example of spotless integrity has ever been found in connection with the great wisdom and practical judgment which characterized the harmonious and thoroughly balanced mind of Washington.

With regard to the personal habits of Washington, we may give the following description, published in the "Oracle," in 1791:

"He is very regular, temperate and industrious; rises in winter and summer at the dawn of day; generally reads or writes some time before breakfast; breakfasts about seven o'clock on three small Indian hoe cakes, and as many dishes of tea, and often rides immediately to his different farms, and remains with his laborers until a little after two o'clock, then returns and dresses. At three he dines, commonly on a single dish, and drinks from half a pint to a pint of Madeira wine. This, with one small glass of punch, a draught of beer, and two dishes of tea (which he takes half an hour before the setting of the sun), constitutes



his whole sustenance until the next day. But his table is always furnished with elegance and exuberance; and whether he has company or not, he remains at the table an hour in familiar conversation, then everyone is called upon to give some absent friend a toast. * * After he has dined, he applies himself to business, and about nine retires to rest; but when he has company he attends politely upon them till they wish to withdraw." (p. 481).

But it is of interest to observe the impression Washington made upon another class. For this purpose let us take the description of one who evidently knew him well, and understood exactly how he ranked in the estimation of those best qualified to judge of his character and worth. This description perhaps contains one statement that may strike some as new, yet more than one prominent biographer has prepared us for it in saying that in his youth Washington had the small-pox. Upon the whole, it will not appear much newer than the fact brought out upon the last twenty-second of February as *very* new, namely, that throughout the Revolution he served his country without pay, an astounding fact in the eyes of office-holders and politicians. The writer in the Philadelphia Monthly of June, 1798, speaks as follows:

"General Washington is a tall, well-made man, rather large boned, and has a tolerably genteel address. His features are manly and bold, his eyes of a bluish cast and very lively; his hair a deep brown; his face rather long and marked with the smallpox; his complexion sunburnt and without much colour, and his countenance sensible, composed and thoughtful; there is a remarkable air of dignity about him, with a striking degree of gracefulness. He has an excellent understanding, without much quickness; is strictly just, vigilant and generous; an affectionate husband, a faithful friend, a father to the deserving; gentle in his manners, in temper rather reserved; a total stranger to religious prejudices; * * * in his morals irreproachable; he was never known to exceed the bounds of the most rigid temperance—in a word, all his friends and acquaintances universally allow that no man ever united in his own person a more perfect alliance of the virtues of a philosopher with the talents of a statesman and a general. Candor, sincerity, affability and simplicity seem to be the striking features of his character."

It would perhaps be difficult in the entire range of Washingtoniana to find in so limited a space a description that, upon the whole, affords so admirable a representation of the man. It is a pre-Raphaelite picture. It is indeed one of the class of pictures over which a species of



club-men yawn. But club-men often yawn. The picture lacks the attraction, one might say the *virtue*, of vice. There is not the slightest doubt that very many persons now tired of the picture would at once become exceedingly interested, if a first-class scandal could be brought out and linked with Washington's name. After the fashion of dogs, as described by Carlyle, they reserve their highest relish for inferior things, and, when vulgar curiosity is disappointed, go their way; yet this perfect alliance of the virtues of a philosopher with the talents of a statesman is what secured to Washington the high place which he now holds.

In opening the old magazine in which the foregoing sketch is preserved, the reader feels well nigh like one who comes upon some forgotten album, and finds the photograph of an old and familiar friend. Washington here appears, not in a cloud of incense, not as a demi-god, and yet not as a common man. Here we have, in fact, very nearly the traditional or, it might be said, the "Immortal Washington" of the average appreciative American. The vindication of Washington, therefore, would consist simply in presenting the man as he was.

The brief sketch quoted furnishes many a topic upon which it would be pleasant to dwell. The statement that Washington was a stranger to religious prejudices, for instance, recalls his reply to the address of the Roman Catholics, who engaged their lives and fortunes to achieve American Independence, as well as that to the Jews. At the same time the religious opinions of Washington were not colorless. He was bred in the system of the Church of England, as it obtained in Virginia, where the system was tolerant, or as some have thought, lax. Yet, whatever may have been the tendencies there during the last century, the system was preserved in its integrity, and Washington was in sympathy with the established order, observing all the forms. In the earlier portion of his life, before his time became otherwise absorbed, he was an active vestryman. He was also an attendant upon the Communion. In the French and Indian war he would officiate in the absence of the chaplain. He read the Burial Service at the funeral of Braddock; and Lee Massey, whose discourses, preached in the hearing of Washington, are carefully preserved, said that he never knew so "constant a Churchman" as he, saying also that his behavior at church was deeply reverential, and produced the happiest effects upon the congregation. In advanced age he may not have attended the Communion in public, as formerly, but of this we have no proof. The proof, however, is also wanting that he actually *did* maintain his



former practice. When the period arrived, in which all eyes were fixed upon his movements, it would appear as though his natural reserve modified his customs in general, and that he retreated more within his own deep nature. The same was true with regard to his Masonic connection, for though remaining a true member of the Brotherhood, he seldom visited the lodges to take part in their affairs. He, however, never relaxed his habit of church-going, and was in his place on Sunday morning with unfailing regularity. When traveling, as for instance in New England, after attending the Episcopal Church in the morning, he would appear at the Congregational house of worship in the afternoon, showing what is called his freedom from religious prejudices; while his last words in his chamber at Mount Vernon were: "It is well."

In the language of one who, though solicitous respecting the fame of Washington, nevertheless scarcely exaggerates, it may be said: "If the title of a great man ought to be reserved for him who cannot be charged with the indiscretion of a vice, who spent his life in establishing the independence, the glory and durable prosperity of his country, who succeeded in all that he undertook, and whose successes were never won at the expense of honor, justice, integrity, or by the sacrifice of a single principle, this title will not be denied to Washington."

B. F. DE COSTA

¹ This letter is in possession of Colonel Frank M. Etting, of Philadelphia.

² In the possession of Thomas Addis Emmet, M. D., of New York City.

3

RECOMMENDATION

By GEORGE WASHINGTON

Mount Vernon, July 3, 1799

Reverend Sir,

For your kind compliment—"The Immortal Mentor," I beg you to accept my best thanks. I have perused it with singular satisfaction; and I hesitate not to say that it is, *in my opinion at least*, an *invaluable* compilation. I cannot but hope that a book whose contents do such *credit to its title*, will meet with a very generous patronage.

Should that Patronage equal my wishes, you will have no reason to regret that you ever printed the Immortal Mentor.

With respect I am Reverend Sir

Your most Obedient Humble Servant

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

The Rev. Mr. Weems.

(The foregoing is found on the inside of the cover of a copy of the "Immortal Mentor.")

⁴ Of the Life of Washington by Weems, it is said (Hough's Washingtoniana, II., 274) that two editions were printed in the life-time of the first President. Of this no proof appears. The editions run as follows:

- (a) A History of the Life, Death, Virtues and Exploits of General George Washington. Dedicated to Mrs. Washington, etc., etc., with the well known lines,

"A life how useful to his country led!

How loved! while living!—how revered! now dead!

Lisp, lisp his name, ye children yet unborn!

And with like deeds your own great names adorn."

The book was "Printed for the Rev. M. L. Weems, of Lodge No. 80. Dumfries. Green & English, Georgetown. Price 20. 3d. only." 12mo, pp. 80. The date is wanting. (In Carter-Brown Library.)

- (b) Another edition, evidently of 1800, but no date, was published for the author by S. Kalloch, Elizabethtown, New Jersey. 8vo, pp. 61. In Congressional Library.
- (c) A history of the Life, Death, and Virtues and Exploits of George Washington. Second Edition improved. J. Bioren. Philadelphia. pp. 82. No date. Cong. Library and Brinley Catalogue, Part 2, N. Y. Hist. Soc.
- (d) The same, a Third Edition improved. Philadelphia, J. Bioren. pp. 84. Brinley Catalogue. No date.
- (e) The same, Third Edition improved. Elizabethtown, Shepherd Kalloch. 8vo, pp. 61. No date. Brinley Catalogue, Cong. Library, N. Y. Hist. Soc.
- (f) The only Copyright entry recorded in the Philadelphia Records, from 1790 to 1811, is one of the Sixth Edition, entered Aug. 7, 1808, by M. L. Weems, the title being, "The Life of Washington the Great: Enriched with a number of curious anecdotes, perfectly in character, and equally honorable to himself, and exemplary to his young Countrymen. (Motto—4 lines of doggerel.) Sixth Edition, greatly improved. By M. L. Weems, formerly Rector of Mount Vernon Parish." (No publisher, or place, or date recorded.) The writer knows of no copy of this edition. It is referred to on the back of the title page of the Ninth Edition.
- (g) The "Seventh Edition, greatly improved," was printed in 1808, at Philadelphia, for the author. 12mo, pp. 228. A copy is in the hands of Miss A. R. Riley, Washington, D. C.

Though the early editions are without date, it will appear that there were five different volumes prior to the sixth edition, after which, the editions run regularly. Mr. Duyckinck speaks of the eleventh edition as the perfect one, but the ninth is as perfect as the eleventh, while the sixth probably contained 228 pages like succeeding editions. A recent Philadelphia edition contains an additional chapter.

⁵ See on the relation of the home laws to the Colonies, Blackstone's "Laws of England," London, 1803, vol. I., p. 107.

Stratford by Bow, 19th May, 1747.

Sister

I rec'd yo'rs of the 13th of December left by Mr. James Dun, and am glad to hear of you, and childrens, and Sister Pearsons and Cousin Daniel's Health, though I don't know whether you mean Mr. Daniel or his wife; and I wonder you don't mention Rawleigh Travers. I suppose he is dead, though I never heard of it.

I think you are Right to leave the House where you are and to go upon your own land, but as for the timber, I have scarce enough for my own plantation; so I can spare you none of that, but as for stone, you may take what you please to build you a House. When peace comes, (which I hope will be within a year,) I will send Cousin Kitty a small token to Remember me by.

I understand you are advised & have some thought of putting your son George to Sea. I think he had better be put apprentice to a tinker, for a common Sailor before the mast has by no means the common liberty of the Subject; for they will press him from a ship where he has 50 shillings a month and make him take three and twenty, and cut him & slash him and use him like a negro, or rather like a dog. And as for any considerable preferment in the navy, it is not to be expected, there are so many always gaping for it here, who have Interest, and he has none. And if he should get to be master of a Virginia Ship (which will be difficult to do), a Planter that has three or four hundred acres of Land, and Three or four Slaves, if he be Industrious, may live more comfortable and leave his family in better bread, than such a master of a ship can. And if the planter can get ever so little before hand, let him begin to Chinck; that is, buy Goods for Tobacco (I never knew the man miss while they went on so), but he must never pretend to buy for money and sell for Tobacco. I never knew any of them but what lost more than they got; neither must he send his Tobacco to England to be sold here, and Goods sent him; if he does, he will soon get in the merchant's Debt, and never get out again. He must not be too hasty to be rich; but must go on Gently and with Patience, as things will naturally go. This method, without aiming at being a fine Gentleman before his time, will carry a man more comfortably and surely through the world, than going to sea, unless it be a Great Chance indeed.

I pray God keep you and yours. My Wife and Daughter join with me in Love and Respect to you and yours and the rest of our Relations. I am

Yr Loving Brother.

J. B.

When you write again direct to me at Stratfordby Bow nigh London
To Mrs. Mary Washington
nigh the falls Rapp'k River Virg'a

This Letter was furnished by Mr. R. W. Downman of Washington City, who is a descendant of Joseph Ball, and has his Letter Book.

⁷ I am indebted for a copy of this letter to Mr. Herbert Lathrop, of New York City, who is a most zealous and industrious delver in the field of history.

⁸ In the Letter referred to he also speaks of the broken colonels, and blames the conduct of the officers at Bunker Hill, observing, "I dare say the men would fight very well, (if properly officered), although they were exceedingly dirty and nasty people." These terms, though used in the English sense, are sufficiently disagreeable. There is little doubt but that Washington's opinion on these points was temporary, and that when discipline was applied the evils complained of were remedied. See the Letter in the *Historical Record*, II., 550.



WASHINGTON TOMB.



100

THE DE WINT HOUSE AT TAPPAN, N. Y.

WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS

The quaint old building known by the name of Washington's headquarters at Tappan, although associated with one of the most important events of the revolution,—the trial and execution of Major André,—has as yet little more than local reputation. It was erected in the year 1700 as is attested by figures some four feet in height set in the front brick wall of the building.

Among the interesting relics in the possession of the Historical Society of Rockland County is an old parchment deed, executed "on the first day of June in the Thirteenth Year of the Glorious Reign of our Sovereign Lady Anne by the grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, anno Domini One thousand seven hundred and fourteen," conveying to one "Deirk Straatmaaker, Freeman, one sixteenth part of Orangetown, alias Tapan, for the sum of Forty Pounds, current money of New York." This property included the now historic house. It was purchased by Johannes De Wint, a wealthy planter from the West India Island of St. Thomas, about 1756.

The house stands on the southeast corner of Tappan or Orangetown, as it was more often called during the Revolutionary period, a few yards to the southward of the road leading west from the present railroad station, toward the single street which for more than a century has constituted the town. There is nothing remarkable about its situation, although the country about it partakes of the picturesque undulating character common to Rockland County, but it admirably served the purposes of an army headquarters from its apparent seclusion, while in reality within easy reach of the high road of military and general travel. It was first occupied by Washington in the summer of 1780, when tradition reports that one of his aids rode up to the door one morning, and informed Mrs. Blauvelt, a married daughter of De Wint, that the General would soon arrive and occupy the building as his headquarters. Although Mrs. Blauvelt was a firm adherent of the crown, she recognized the honor of receiving the Commander-in-Chief of the American Armies as her guest.

The movement of the British forces to the eastward, threatening the safety of the French contingent which landed at Newport in the sum-



Orangetown was not again the camping ground of the army. When the troops moved down on the famous campaign which closed at Yorktown, they took the inner road from King's Ferry, leaving the village far on their left. Washington was again at Tappan in the spring of 1783, as appears from a letter of Capt. Ten Eyck to Col. Henry Glen, preserved in the Glen papers. Washington went down the river early in May with Governor Clinton to confer with Sir Guy Carleton, concerning the evacuation of New York City and the final withdrawal of the British forces from the territory of the United States. Washington was rowed down the stream from his Newburg headquarters in his barge, attended by a sloop with his baggage, house and table furniture, etc. He was escorted by five companies of Light Infantry under the command of Major Nicholas Fish and a small party of horse. Sir Guy Carleton went up the river to meet him in a sloop of war. The conference took place on the 6th, as appears from Washington's letter to Sir Guy after the interview, enclosing to him the resolutions of Congress concerning the treaty between Great Britain and the United States. On Thursday, the 8th May, the American party dined on board the sloop, where they were received with military honors and entertained with stately courtesy by Sir Guy. Trumbull, who was present at the interview, noticed the strong resemblance the two great officers bore to each other—alike sedate and impressive in their manners. Tradition has it that the conferences were held at the Van Brugh Livingston house, on the height which overlooks the river at Dobbs' Ferry, on the eastern shore of the Hudson, but it seems certain that his headquarters were at Tappan. Capt. Ten Eyck's letter distinctly states the fact, and as the regiment to which he belonged composed the ferry guard at West Point, he was in a situation to know what transpired on the river. On this occasion Trumbull gave him a detail of the meeting. Washington remained several days on this expedition. He was at Orangetown on the 3d, and although he was at Newburg on the 9th and 10th, it would seem that he again went down the river, as Ten Eyck's letter, written on the 10th from West Point, distinctly states that "Gen. Washington arrived yesterday (Thursday, May 15) from Tappan." This conference is one of the most interesting passages in the history of the Hudson. When Washington and Clinton went on board the British sloop of war they were saluted with the firing of a number of cannon. When they left the sloop she fired seventeen guns—in honor of Washington's exalted military rank. This was the first complimentary salute fired by Great Britain in honor of an officer of the United States, and virtually the first salute to the nation.

Whether Washington made his headquarters on this occasion at the De Wint house does not appear, but once more in this eventful year he was its inmate. Some particulars of this visit are recorded in a letter communicated to Mr. Henry Whittemore, Secretary of the Rockland County Historical Society and the present custodian and occupant of the Tappan headquarters, by Mr. Gabriel Furman of Newburg. The writer of the letter, Elizabeth De Wint, survived her husband, John De Wint, many years, dying at Fishkill-on-Hudson in 1857, aged ninety-six years. Mr. Furman married one of her grand-children, and recalls her relation of many pleasant reminiscences of her early life at Tappan during the last part of the revolutionary war, and especially of the balls and parties given at their house, at one of which she opened the dance in a minuet with General Washington. The letter is dated at Cedar Grove, November 12, 1820, and is addressed to a friend and relative, Mrs. Maria Hook, at New York.

"Dear Maria—I was very happy to receive a letter from you and find that you were comfortably settled in your winter quarters before the great snow storm, which nobody remembers the like but myself, and which I believe I shall never forget, as it was the cause of my enjoying the company of General Washington for nearly three days at Tappan. It was in November, 1783, the day of the month I do not exactly remember. He was going to West Point with 8 or 10 officers to march the troops to the City to take possession when the British evacuated it. They all called at your grand-father's, and were detained there by the snow storm. I introduced cards by way of amusement. Colonel Humphreys told me it was the first time the General had played cards since the commencement of the Revolution."

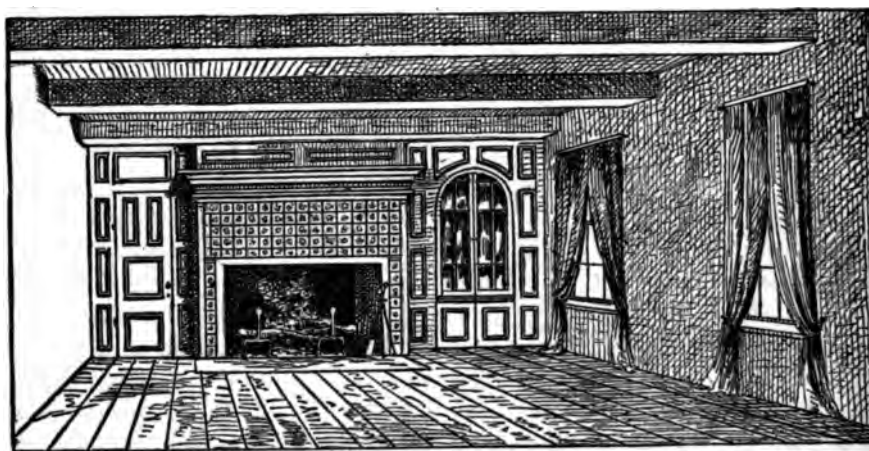
Mr. John De Wint, the husband, was at this time in New York. A letter is still preserved, addressed to his wife from the city on November 4, 1783, which contains this passage: "The troops are beginning to embark, and is believed they will all be gone by the 20th. The definitive treaty was signed on the 3d September last, the particulars not yet transpired; so we shall certainly enjoy the blessings of peace in this good country, and I hope other blessings will unite therewith to make us happy."

Mrs. De Wint was alone, therefore, to do the honors of her mansion. Her recollection of the time of the visit is correct. Washington, after issuing his Farewell Address to the Armies of the United States, from his headquarters at Rocky Hill, near Princeton, New Jersey, on the 2d November, broke up his household, despatched Captain Bezaleel

The Sparkill was the seat of Indian encampments. On its bank, just below the hill called the Sugar Loaf, in the high road, Mr. Alfred Mabie, while engaged some years ago on the work of the Northern Railroad of New Jersey, found about two feet below the surface a hearth of round blackened stones and a number of oyster shells, evidently the scene of an Indian clam bake. The Indian name of the Sparkill was Minneseagou.

Independent efforts were made last year by Mr. William Rogers of New York City, the owner of the De Wint house, Washington Headquarters, and Dr. James J. Stephens, of Tappan, the owner of the Mabie House, now known as the old Seventy-six Stone House, to secure the purchase of these relics of the past by the State. Their destruction would be a misfortune and a serious loss to the people of the State. The Hudson is visited by thousands of tourists every summer. As time rolls on, an increasing interest in the historic recollections of this beautiful river will add to its natural attractions. The more of these points it presents, the greater will be the number of those who will not only sail up the river but linger on its banks. The historic associations of the Rhine have brought countless sums of money to the villages on its borders. With a wise policy the countless spots on the American stream with their Indian legends, colonial romance and revolutionary story, will bring to it a travel as extensive and as profitable.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS



WASHINGTON'S ROOM.

THE WASHINGTON MANOR HOUSE, SULGRAVE

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, ENGLAND

Sulgrave, or Solegrave, as it is called in some of the earlier deeds, was erected into a lordship by act of Parliament in 1760. In the Domesday survey it contained "four hides," and was divided into four permanent holdings. The river Tove, which is the boundary between the counties of Northampton and Buckingham, takes its rise from Holywell Spring in this lordship. From the time of the Conquest it had been in the family of the Pinkeneys, who held the barony of Weeden, of which Sulgrave was a part. Later the Pinkeney estate was divided into the St. Andrew's Priory and Elington Manors.

In the time of Edward III. the Prior of St. Andrews, Northampton, was one of two persons certified to be lords of Sulgrave by a service of money to the castle guard of Windsor. On the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII., in 1539, the manor of Sulgrave, a parcel of the dissolved priory of St. Andrew, with all the lands in Sulgrave and other lands belonging to the priory, were granted to Lawrence Washington of Northampton, Gent., from whom it passed to his son and heir, Robert Washington, who, jointly with his eldest son, Lawrence Washington, sold the manor of Sulgrave in 1610 to his nephew, Lawrence Makepeace. "Lawrence Washington, after the sale of this estate, retired to Brington, where he died."

Baker, in his elaborate volume on the History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton, London, 1822-1830, from which these details are taken, subjoins to his account of the manor a pedigree of the Washingtons of Sulgrave, from the heralds' visitations and title deeds, in which he traces the descent of the family from John Washington of Whitfield, Lancaster county, and says in the context that after the death of Lawrence Washington, who sold the manor, "his second son, John Washington, emigrated to America about the middle of the seventeenth century, and was great-grandfather of the American patriot, George Washington."

Whaley, in his older History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire, compiled from the manuscript collection of the learned antiquary, John Bridges, Oxford, 1791, gives some other details. The Lawrence Washington to whom Henry VIII. granted the manor was, he says, the son



of John Washington of Warton, Lancashire, by Margaret, the daughter of Robert Kitson of Warton. On his death he left the estate in Sulgrave to Robert Washington, his eldest son by Ann, the daughter of Robert Pargiter, by whose posterity it was long enjoyed, and from whom it received the name of "Washington's Manor."

The church, dedicated to St. James, is described to consist "of a body and south ile leaded and chancel tiled. At the west end is a low embattled tower, in which are five bells. The length of the church and chancel is seventy-one foot; the breadth of the body and ile, twenty-nine foot. The length of the tower is twelve foot and the breadth nine foot." The old register was burned some time ago with the Vicarage house. The succeeding one begins in 1649. This church was given very early to the Convent of St. Andrew in Northampton by Bartholomew, the Son of Godfrey de Sulgrave, with the consent of his Superior, Lord Robert de Pinkeney. * * * *

At the upper end of the north aisle are these arms, *two bars in chief three mullets*, upon an old marble; underneath is the figure of a man, in brass, and at his feet the following inscription, on a brass tablet:

"Here lyeth the body of Laurence Washington and of Anne his wyf, by whom he had issue, iiii sons and vii daughters . . . died the . . . day of . . . M De. . . and Anne deceased the vii day of . . . An. Dom. 1564."

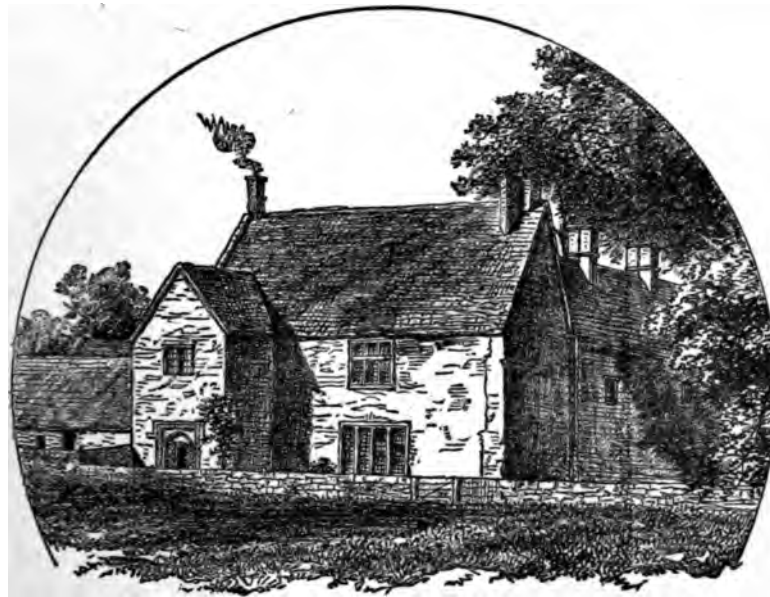
In 1860 the Rev. John Nassau Simpkinson, Rector of Brington Northants, in a work by him entitled, "The Washingtons; a tale of a country parish in the 17th Century, based on authentic documents," takes up the family history. Here we find that it was at the instance and suggestion of his uncle, Sir Thomas Kitson, a great London merchant, that Lawrence Washington turned his attention to the wool trade in the very crisis of the great sheep farming movement in the midland counties, and abandoning his profession as a lawyer, settled in Northampton, where he soon acquired consideration and influence. A friend to the principles and cause of the Reformation, his acquisition of the grant of the manor and lands of Sulgrave gave him a prominent position among the landed gentry of the county. Recalling to mind the ill-fortune which was supposed to cleave to the holders of the church property which Henry VIII. seized on breaking up the estates of the monasteries, Mr. Simpkinson notes that it was the fatal third generation that was compelled to leave Sulgrave, and that it was Lawrence, grandson of the original grantee, who removed to Brington and accepted from Lord Spencer, his friend and relation through the Kitsons, a small house in the parish of Brington, close to Althorp Park.

The rector questions the accuracy of Baker's statement that Lawrence Washington "retired to Brington where he died," and gives his reasons for his doubt. He considers that the residence of Lawrence Washington at Brington began in 1606, and was *terminated* by the sale of the Sulgrave estate, in the cutting off of the entail of which he joined. From these arguments, which he supplements by other corroborative circumstances, it appears that the Washingtons occupied the Sulgrave Manor House from 1539 to 1606, a period of sixty-seven years.

In the Northamptonshire Directory the additional information is given that the first lord of the Washington manor by the grant of Henry VIII., in 1539, was a lawyer of Gray's Inn, Lord and Mayor of Northampton in 1532, and again in 1545. It is his body that lies in the Church of St. James, in the tomb which has been described.

Without entering into the discussion on the line of descent of the Washingtons of Virginia from English progenitors, these brief notes are presented as of interest to American readers. The engraving which is here given is taken from a photographic view of the Manor House made in 1877, and kindly furnished by Mr. Frank H. Norton, of New York.

EDITOR



WASHINGTON MANOR HOUSE, SULGRAVE.



LETTERS OF WASHINGTON

THIRTY-TWO

NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME PUBLISHED

1782-1783

CXX

From a duplicate—the gift of William A. Fitzhugh to the New York Historical Society

Philadelphia, 6 Feb, 1782

Sir,

My knowledge of the goodness of your Excellency's heart induces me, without hesitation, to request your attention to an affair, which is of consequence to a particular Friend of mine, Colonel Fitzhugh of Maryland.

While the common Enemy were in possession of the Chesapeake, they committed great depredations upon that Gentleman's property, burning his Houses and carrying away upwards of forty of his most valuable Slaves. Five of those people, in endeavouring to make their escape from York, were taken in the Bay and put on board the *Magnanime*; no person appearing with proper authority to claim them, they were unavoidably carried off with the fleet to the West Indies.

I take the liberty of indorsing a list of the names and a description of the persons of the Slaves—Should they be still on board the Fleet, I will take it as a very great favor, if your Excellency will direct them to be sent back by any Vessel coming either to Virginia or Maryland; or should they have been sent on Shore and put under the care of any particular Gentleman, you will oblige me by giving him information to whom they belong, and desiring him to send them back to their Master who will pay

the expences of their passage.

I have heard with infinite pleasure of your Excellency's safe arrival at Martinico, and am now impatiently waiting the result of the Operation under your direction. If the united good wishes of a gratefull people can contribute to your success your Campaign in the West Indies will be as glorious as that in America.

I have the honor to be, with perfect respect and the warmest personal attachment, Sir, Your Excellency's

Most obedient and humble Servant,

[GO WASHINGTON]

His Excellency

Count de Grasse

CXXI

From the original—the gift of William A. Fitzhugh—in the New York Historical Society.

Phila, Feb 8th, 1782

Sir,

The letter of which the inclosed is duplicate and put under cover for you to forward, will I hope produce the effect you wish it to have with the Count de Grasse. The original I shall request the Minister of France to send with his first dispatches to the West Indies.

I thank you for the communication in your letter of—— The present moment will not allow me to add more than my congratulatory compliments to Mrs. Fitzhugh & yourself on the marriage of the Captain—to whom & his young bride I wish every imaginable joy—please to make a tender of my best respects to Colo & Mrs Plater.

With much truth & affectn

I am Dr Sir

Yr most Obedt Hble Servt

GO WASHINGTON

Colo William Fitzhugh

CXXII

Communicated by Edward E. Sprague

Newburgh April 1st 1782

Sir

On my way from Philadelphia to this place I had the pleasure to receive your favor of the 20th of March, covering an Oration delivered by Mr. Tutor Megs on the surrender of Lord Cornwallis.

I entreat you will make that gentleman sensible of the high gratification I have received from his ingenious performance, and that you will be convinced of the ardent passion I have for the promotion of the cause of Literature in general, and especially of the pleasure I feel in the *increasing* reputation & utility of the *Seat of Learning* under your immediate direction— With every sentiment of personal regard

I have the honor to be

Yr most obedt Ser,

GO WASHINGTON

The Revd Ezra Stiles D.D.

Presidt of Yale College New Haven

CXXIII

From the original—gift of William A. Fitzhugh
to the New York Historical Society

Newburgh 17 April 1782

Dear Sir,

Your favor of the 28th ulto came to my hands by the last Post— Inclosed is a duplicate of my Letter to Count de Grasse, which I hope will get to his hands. If the original committed to the care of the Chev^r De la Luzerne miscarried.

I am glad to hear your son William is so well satisfied with the reception given him by Gen^l Greene—with his

appointment—and with the country he is in— Cloathing has been sent on for the Southern Army, but they got dissipated and lost in the transportation.

I have no idea that any number of men can be obtained at this stage of the contest by voluntary enlistment, and fear we are only deceiving ourselves, and lingering out the war by attempting it. Our Battns I am certain can never be compleated in this way to answer the purposes of the Campaign, the consequence of which must be that instead of following up our blows, we give the enemy time to recover—or we must to carry on offensive operations have recourse to the ineffectual—expensive—and ruinous expedient of calling out militia—which never did—nor ever will answer any valuable purpose—

My best respects, in which Mrs Washington's are united, attend Mrs Fitzhugh, and I am with sincere esteem and regard

Dr Sir Yr obdt & affe Hble Servt

GO WASHINGTON

The Honble William Fitzhugh Esq
Maryland

CXXIV

From the original in the United States Naval
Lyceum Library, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Newburgh 22d April 1782

My dear Sir—

I have only time by Mr Eveleigh to acknowledge the rec^t of your private letter of the 2d, & to thank you for it—

The moment I am at leizure & a good opportunity offers, I shall write you more fully on the subject.

Permit me to recommend the Letters
herewith inclosed to your care—if no
better opportunity offers, be so good as
to forward them by the first Post.

Most sincerely & affectionately

I am Yrs,

GO WASHINGTON

Majr Genl Lincoln

CXXV

Communicated by Simon Gratz

Newburgh Apl 22d, [17]82

Dear Sir,

Your favor of the 21st ulto, covering
a letter for the present Lord Fairfax,
came to my hands about eight days ago
—the latter was immediately sealed and
sent into New York with other letters
which came at the same time from Colo
Martin— Altho' the good old Lord had
lived to an advanced age, I feel a con-
cern at his death—and wish the parti-
tion of his Estate had been more in
your favor.

I have received and thank you for
your favor of the 18th of Jany—the
assurances of unabated friendship on
your part are flattering and pleasing to
me; and call for an acknowledgement—
which I can make with truth—of re-
ciprocal regard on mine. It will ever
give me pleasure to hear of your health
& prosperity— With much esteem and
sincere affection,

I am Dr Sir

Yr most Obedt Servt

GO WASHINGTON

Bryan Fairfax Esq

Fairfax Cty Virginia

CXXVI

From the Clinton MSS. in the State Library,
Albany

Head Quarters New Burgh

25th April 1782

Sirs

You will be pleased to Issue provisions
for the Subsistence of the levies of this
State, which will be assembled at Fish-
kill in a few days under the orders of
Govr Clinton taking care that your
Issues to them be made under the same
restrictions and regulations as are estab-
lished for your Government in Your
Issues made to the Continental Troops
and particularly observing that no man
is to be furnished untill it is Certified
that he is regularly mustered and re-
ceived agreeable to the orders of the
Governor

I am sir Yr mo Huml Ser,

G WASHINGTON

Comfort Sands Esq & Co

CXXVII

Communicated by Lt. F. Hanford, U. S. Navy

Head Quarters 23rd May 1782

Sir

I have been honored with your Excel-
lency's Letter of Yesterday, with its
inclosures respecting Mr. Muirson.

Sensible of the Impropriety of suffer-
ing persons of his character to remain
in the Country at this Time, I inclose
to your Excellency a permission to Capt
Pray who commands at Dobb's Ferry to
pass Mr. Muirson within the Enemy's
Lines. The Time for his going in I
submit to your Excellency knowing that
you will not wish his Continuance
longer than is necessary.

It was my Expectation that your
Levy Recruits would have been delivered

by the State to their Regiments. But two officers having been ordered on to Receive those at Fishkill from Colo Weizenfels I think it will be best for those from Colo Willet's Regiment to be delivered at the same place.

I have the Honor to be Sir
Your Excellency's Most humble Servt
G. WASHINGTON
His Exy Gov Clinton

CXXVIII

Communicated by F. H. Roof

Head Quarters 24 May 1782

Gentn,

You will proceed to Fishkill and there apply to Colonel Weissenfels for the proportion of the Levies destined for your Line, one half of which are for the Regiment of Artillery and the other half for the two Regiments of Infantry.

You are to receive no men but such as are able bodied and every way fit for soldiers.

So soon as you have recd your proportion of Col Weissenfels Regiment you will send them on to the Regiments for which they are destined, under the care of an Officer, and the remaining Officers will meet at Fishkill to receive those which will be sent from Capt. Willet's Regiment, which are to be divided in the same manner.

Before you send away the Recruits you will make a return to me of the number you have recd.

I am &c G. WASHINGTON.

Tt Capt Machin

Lt Forman

Ensign Swarthout

York Line

CXXIX

Communicated by Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet

Headquarters 21st June 1782

Sir

The Thousand Barrels of salted provisions which the Contract obliges you to furnish, I conceive to be intended for the contingent purposes of the Army, depending on particular operations, and not for immediate Issues—previous therefore to replying to your Question respectg the places of Deposit, I will be glad to know, whether the Contractors for the movg Army, mean to supply any Quantity of salted provisions for immediate Issue, or occasional Expenditures—for the latter, should it be your Intention, I have no hesitation to give you an instant reply—and upon a resolution of that point, I shall be enabled better to determine the former

I am Sir—Your most Obed Servt

G. WASHINGTON

Timothy Edwards Esqr

CXXX

Communicated by Edward E. Sprague

Philada July 22nd 1782

Madam,

Your favor of the 17th conveying to me your Pastoral on the subject of Lord Cornwallis's capture, has given me great satisfaction.

Had you known the pleasure that it would have communicated, I flatter myself your diffidence would not have delayed it to this time.

Amidst all the compliments which have been made on this occasion, be assured Madam that the agreeable manner and the very pleasing sentiments in which

yours is conveyed, have affected my mind with the most lively sensations of joy and satisfaction.

This address from a person of your refined taste and elegance of expression, affords a pleasure beyond my powers of utterance; & I have only to lament that the Hero of your Pastoral is not more deserving of your Pen, but the circumstance shall be placed among the happiest events of my life.

I have the honor to be Madam

Yr most obt and respectful Servt
Go WASHINGTON

Mrs. Stockton

CXXXI

Communicated by Edward E. Sprague

Head Quarters 6th Augst 1782.

Sir

I have received your two letters of the 9th & 21st of July—the first of which reached me but last Evening by the Hand of Mr. Ten Eyck.

On the subject of the Indians, I am at a Loss what to reply to you; the matter has been often under the Deliberation of Congress at times much more favorable for conciliating the affections of that people; but, either the means for carrying the Measure you mention into execution, have not been in their power, or the measure itself has not been thot proper to be adopted; at the present time, I am persuaded, that the finances of the United States are not competent to the Object, in the Extent in which you view it.—In the mean time, it may be well to make the best we can of the favorable disposition of the tribe now under our immediate protection—but it is not in my power to give you the

Means—the Subject shall be mentioned to the Secretary at War; to whom your Ideas shall be communicated, with my full approbation of your sentiments

Not considering it to be within my province to give Directions for the Issue of cloathing to your Three Years state Troops, I will transmit your Letter & Return to the Secretary at War, under whose Direction all Issues of Cloathing are to be made, and desire him to give Instructions respecting that Subject.

With much Regard I am Sir

Your most hum Servt

Go WASHINGTON

Colo Marinus Willet

CXXXII

From the Livingston Correspondence—Communicated by S. L. M. Barlow

Head Quarters 11 August 1782

Sir

Your Excellency's Letter of the 29 July came to hand only the day before Yesterday—the intention of Confining the Flags to Dobbs ferry, was to prevent the disadvantages arising from the continual and unrestricted intercourse that was kept up with the enemy from various parts of the Continent, and more particularly from Elizabeth-Town.

I have no objection to your Excellency's granting Passports to any of your Citizens under the circumstances you mention, being convinced that you will suffer no person to go in, whose character and views in going you are not perfectly acquainted with—

With great regard

I have the honor to be Sir

Your Excellency's Most obedt Servt

Go. WASHINGTON

His Excellency Governor Livingston

CXXXIII

Communicated by J. Watson Webb

Head Quarters Sept 25 1782

Sir

You will cause two days provisions to be drawn and cooked for the Light Infantry by tomorrow night; and hold that Corps in *perfect readiness* to march at day break on Friday Morning next.

You will select a sufficient number of men least capable of Marching or others to take care of your Camp

I am S r

your most obedt Servt

GO WASHINGTON,

Colonel Webb

CXXXIV

Communicated by J. Watson Webb

Head Quarters November 11 1782

Sir,

As there has been no official Report made to me of the Arrangement of the Connecticut Line, I cannot interfere in matter; nor would I choose to make alterations in it, before the first day of January, when it is to become final,—if there does not appear to have been some deviation from the principles contained in the Act of Congress of the 7th of August, or injurious to the public interest.

The good of the Service, I hoped would have been the governing principle in arranging the officers; and I cannot but flatter myself the agreements among the several grades of officers, may yet be rendered subservient to that end.

As soon as Colo Jackson shall be able to join the Light Corps (which it is expected will be the case in a few days) I

shall have no objection to your attending to the particular interests of your Regiment in the Line

I am Sir

Your most obedient Servant

GO WASHINGTON

Colo S. B. Webb

CXXXV

Communicated by Mary E. Norwood

Private

Head Quarters Decr 3rd 1782

Dear Sir

Your favor of the 28th ulto came duly to hand—I have been under the necessity of delaying an answer until this time

The Relief for the Lines is to move from Camp this morning—Colonel Webb has directions to send two Companies to Bedford, who will be there this Evening or to-morrow Morning, and wait until they receive your Orders— The necessary advices respecting the Infantry Companies & Dismounted Dragoons are also given to Colonel Sheldon, by this conveyance.

You will therefore attempt to carry the proposed Plan into execution on Thursday Night the 5th instant unless some accident should intervene to prevent it— In conducting the business you will be governed entirely by your own discretion— Should anything happen to render the Enterprize impracticable you will join Colo Sheldon, or if he shall have marched you will follow with the whole Party to Dobb's Ferry

I am Dear Sir with great regard

Your most obedt Servt

GO WASHINGTON.



P.S.

Should any Intelligence arrive you will have it instantly forwarded to me— & leave the same word with Colo Sheldon

Major Tallmadge
and Regt Light Dragoons, Stanwix

CXXXVI

Communicated by Mrs. George T. Balch

Head Quarters December 10 1782

Dear Sir,

I received your favor of the 8th last Evening by Express tho you have not met with that success you deserved and probably would have obtained had the Enterprise proceeded, yet I cannot but think your whole conduct in the affair was such as ought to entitle you still more to my confidence and esteem—for however it may be the practice of the World, and those who see objects but partially, or thro' a false medium to consider *that* only as meritorious which is attended with success, I have accustomed myself to judge of human Actions very differently and to appreciate them by the manner in which they are conducted, more than by the Event; which it is not in the power of human foresight and prudence to command— In this point of view I see nothing irreparable & little occasion of serious regret, except the wound of the gallant Captain Brewster, from which I sincerely hope he may recover— Another time you will have less opposition from the Winds and Weather, and success will amply compensate you for this little disappointment.

I have almost determined to post you with the Infantry of the Legion contig-

uous to the Sound, in which case I shall expect you to persevere in your endeavours to keep me perfectly advised of the State of the Enemy—and perhaps some favourable moment may yet occur

I am Dear Sir

With sincere regard & esteem

Your most obt Servt

GO WASHINGTON

Major Tallmadge

P. S. Your letter of the 5th with the enclosures were safely delivered to me.

CXXXVII

Communicated by Goldsborough Banyer

Newburgh—23rd Decr 1782 .

Dear Sir—

By yesterday's Post I received advice of the completion of the Bargain I mentioned to you in my last—and that I should be drawn upon in a few days for the amount—viz : £1880 Virg'a Curr'y which differs from the Curr'y of this State $\frac{1}{3}$ —Dollars in Virginia passing for no more than six thirty's shilgs

I shall take the liberty of calling upon your Excellency with my Bond for this money in the course of two or three days lest any impedimt in the River should occasion a disappointment.

The Gentn to whom the money is to be paid wished to have it lodged in Philadelphia— If your Excellency knows any person on whom dependence can be placed, that would receive the money here and give a draught for it there I shall thank you for mentioning it when we meet—

I am with great esteem & regard,

Dr Sir Yr Most obt & affecte Servt

GO WASHINGTON

His Excell'y Govr Clinton

CXXXVIII

Communicated by John Davies

Philadelphia Dec 25th 1782

My Lord—

I have the pleasure of your Lordships favor of the 13th. If the accounts be true the Enemy have no occasion to boast of their Northern Campaign.

Should your business call you to Princetown and you can make it convenient to extend your ride to Philadelphia, I shall be happy in seeing you.

Mrs. Washington is better than I could have expected after the heavy loss she met with—your kind condolence on the occasion adds to the esteem of

Your Lordships most Ob.
and hum. Serv

GEO WASHINGTON.

Major Genl Lord Sterling

1783

CXXXIX

Communicated by Mrs. H. A. Farnsworth.

Headquarters, January 21, 1783

Sir,

I have lately received your Letter of the 4th, and have now to give my approbation to the Plan contained therein, for suppressing the illicit intercourse which prevails so scandalously with the enemy.

As this is an object in itself very important and particularly recommended by Congress, I cannot but think it proper that the Boatmen actually employed to assist you in the performance of this Service, should be entitled to receive public provisions. You are

therefore hereby authorized to draw from the Contractors for such proportion of them as you shall judge essentially necessary; taking care to limit the number as much as the circumstances will admit, to prevent impositions of every kind, and to give the Vouchers in such manner as that they may be authenticated by a further sanction from Head Quarters if necessary.

The Quarter Mastr Genl upon your application to him will give what aid he is able towards furnishing Fuel for your command

I am sir, with great esteem,

Your very Hble Servant

GO WASHINGTON

Major Tallmadge

CXL

From the Steuben papers in the N. Y. Historical Society

Head Quarters Newburg

Feb 18, 1783

Dear Baron

On 18 of Janry I wrote to Colonel Stewart urging in the strongest terms I was master of the necessity of his immediately joining the Army; since which time I have not heard a word from him. I now think myself obliged, in justice to my official character and duty to the Public to signify to you as head of the Department, that it will be essential to the service either for Colonel Stewart to repair to Camp without one moment's loss of time, or that another Inspector should be appointed to the Army as soon as possibly may be.

The Baron will be pleased to understand that the occasion of my being so

explicit on this subject, is because I have repeatedly heard that Colonel Stewart had entirely recovered his health, and cannot in that case conceive of any just reason for his being absent, and because I am fully convinced the Service is every day suffering very great inconveniences & injuries for want of himself or some other gentleman of character and abilities to execute the duties of the office he sustains. It being impossible for Major Barber (notwithstanding he made the greatest exertions) to perform the whole business of the Department monthly in the manner it ought to be done

I am Dear Baron
with sentiments of the highest esteem,
[GO WASHINGTON]

Maj Genl The Baron Steuben

CXLI

Communicated by Charles Bruff

Head Quarters, 31st March 1783

Sir

The Article in the provisional Treaty respecting Negroes, which you mention to Sir Guy Carleton, had escaped my Notice, but upon a recurrence to the Treaty, I find it as you have stated. I have therefore thot it may not be amiss to send in your Letter to Sir Guy, and have accordingly done it.

Altho I have several Servants in like predicament with yours, I have not yet made any attempt for their recovery.

Sir Guy Carleton's reply to you will decide upon the propriety or expediency of any pursuit to obtain them. If that reply should not be transmitted thro my

Hands, I will thank you for a Communication of it.

With much Regard, I am

Sir Your most obedient Servt

GO WASHINGTON

Colo Theo Bland

A Delegate in Congress

Philadelphia

On the reverse is :

Genl Washington's letter respecting my Negroes, carried off by the British contrary to Treaty.

CXLII

Communicated by C. E. Van Cortlandt, from the Glen papers,

Head Quarters, New Burgh,

April 14, 1783

Sir,

Official accounts of the happy conclusion of a Peace have been transmitted by Sir Guy Carleton to General Haldimand at Quebec by his officers who passed thro this place a few days since, but as a very considerable time must elapse before these Gentlemen can arrive at Quebec and the news be communicated from thence to the British posts in the upper country, and as humanity dictates that not a moment should be lost in endeavoring to prevent any further incursions of the Indians (who it is said have already struck at Wyoming) I have thought it proper to write to General McLean, commanding the British Force in that quarter, and to inclose to him the King of Great Britain's Proclamation for the cessation of Hostilities, and this Letter I must direct you to forward to him at Niagara by some trusty Indian

runner with all possible expedition—the expense attending this business shall be repaid on your informing me of it.

You will at the same time give orders to the troops and Indians under your command to forbear all acts of Hostility against the troops of his Britannic Majesty other than for their own immediate defence.

I am Sir, Your very humble &
obedient servant

GO WASHINGTON

To Colonel Marinus Willet

P S—The dispatch is left under a flying seal that you may see the newspaper which is enclosed, after reading you will please to return the paper seal & send forward

Yours, J. Trumbull Sec

CXLIII

Communicated by Ann M. King

Newburgh, 21 April, 1783

Private.

Dear Sir

In answer to your private letter of the 16th I can promise no more than a disposition to promote your wishes—& this if it is in my power, and circumstances are not opposed to it, will carry me to the extent of your desire; but no Peace establishment is yet adopted nor do I know upon what terms it will—whether Continental—State—or any at all.—Whether the present Troops (who have part of their term of Service to perform) with their Officers will be employed or new Corps raised—in a word I am at this moment quite in the dark

—consequently cannot speak with decision to you.—

With great regard, I am—Dr Sir
Yr most obed Servt

GO WASHINGTON

Lt Colo Smith

Com'g Dobbs Ferry

CXLIV

Communicated by Winthrop Wetherbee

Newburgh, 21st May, 1783

Dear Sir,

I wrote to you a few days ago for some Books, &c.— Since then, I have seen the following Books advertised for sale by Miles & Hicks at their Printing office, which I beg the favor of you to procure, and send to me.—

Charles the 12th of Sweeden

Lewis the 15th 2 vols.

History of the Life & Reign of the

Czar Peter, the Great

Robertsons Histry of America 2 vols.

Voltaires Letters.—

Mildman on Trees

Vertols Revolution } If they are in
of Rome 3 Vols. } Estimation.

Ditto of Portugal }

If there is a good Booksellers Shop in the City, I would thank you for sending me a Catalogue of the Books & their Prices that I may choose such as I want.

I am Dr Sir

Yr Most Obed. & affect Servt

GEO WASHINGTON

Lt Colo Smith,

in New York

CXLV

Communicated by W. F. Gardner

Newburgh, June 7th, [17]83

Sir,

My nephew who will have the honor of presenting this letter to you has been in bad health for more than twelve months— He is advised by his physicians to spend the summer on the Island of Rhode Island for the benefit of the sea air and climate.

Any civilities which you may be kind enough to show him will be thankfully acknowledged by

Sir Yr most obt & Hble Servt
Go WASHINGTON

[Lt Col Cobb]

CXLVI

Communicated by William Kent.

Headqrs Newburgh July 15th [17]83

Dear Sir

I have always entertained a great desire to see the northern part of this State before I returned to the Southward. The present irksome interval, while we are waiting for the definitive Treaty, affords an opportunity of gratifying this inclination.

I have therefore concerted with Governor Clinton to make a Tour to reconnoitre those places where the most remarkable Posts were established, and the ground which became famous by being the theatre of action in 1777. On our return from thence we propose to pass across to the Mohawk River in order to have a view of that country which is so much celebrated for the fertility of its soil and the beauty of its situation.

Mr. Dunler, Asst Qr Mr Genl, who will have the honor of delivering this Letter, proceeds us to make arrangements, and particularly to have some light boats provided and transported to Lake George, that we may not be delayed on our arrival there. I pray you, my dear Sir, to be so good as to advise Mr. Dunler in what manner to proceed in this business, to excuse the trouble I am about to give you, and to be persuaded that your kind information and direction to the bearer, will greatly increase the obligations with which I have the honor to be

Dr Sr
Yr Most Obed &
Affect. Hbl Ser

Go WASHINGTON

The Honble Genl Schuyler

CXLVII

Communicated by Joseph W. Drexel

Albany 4 Aug 1783

Dear George

This Letter will be handed to you by the Count de Vermé, a nobleman from Italy on his travels through America. If he should come to the Isld of Rhode Island you will have pleasure (if your health will permit) in rendering him every civility in your power.

I have been on a Tour to the Northern & Western parts of this state, and am thus far on my return to Newburgh, where I shall hope to find a letter from you indicative of your better health.

I am very affectly

Yrs
Go WASHINGTON

[—]

CXLVIII

Communicated by Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet
Newburgh, 12th Augt 1783

Dear Sir

I have received a call from Congress to repair to Princeton ; whether for any special purpose, or generally to remain there till the definitive Treaty shall arrive, The resolve is not expressive. I mean therefore, if the intention of that body is not more fully explained in a few days, to go prepared for the latter so soon as I can adjust matters here, and Mrs. Washington's health (for at present she is exceedingly unwell) will allow her to undertake the journey.

As a measure of this kind will remove me to a distance, and may for a considerable time separate us, and prevent frequent personal Interviews ; I should be much obliged to you for intimating to me—before I go—what will be necessary for me to do respecting our purchase of the Saratoga Springs. I have money now by me, and shall, at any time, be ready to answer your call for this purpose.

As I could wish also to lay myself out for the other matters we conversed upon, I should be glad, if at your leisure you would favor me with a general view of the plan in contemplation, and of the agency I am to have in it, that I may not in the *one thing needful* be involved beyond my abilities, or caught unprepared if the purchase is within the compass of my means. I do not take my leave of you at this time, because I will, by some means or other, contrive to see you and Mrs. Clinton before I leave this

place, whether I go for a long or a short interval. In the meanwhile, with great truth and sincerity,

I am Dr Sir

Yr most affecte Sevt

GO WASHINGTON

His Excellcy Governr Clinton

CXLIX

Communicated by Edward E. Sprague
Head Quarters, Newburgh
17th Augt 1783

Dear Sir

This will be delivered to you by Mr. Mix, Asst Q M Genl, who in the absence of the Quartr M. Genl is charged with making provision for the transportation of the Garrisons and Stores to the Posts on the Western Waters—he has instructions to consult with you respecting a contract for so many Batteaux as he can ensure the means of payment ; he will also make arrangements for the transportation across the carrying places and for supplying such articles as are of the greatest necessity, and may be required in the first instance from the Quartr. M Genl's Department.

Majr General Knox will in a few days forward the ordinance and military stores to the northward, with a Detachment of Artillery men and a Compy of Infantry (which are all the men that can be spared untill some Troops which are sent for shall arrive from Philadelphia) they will bring with them 12 or 15 Boats, which should be got into the Mohawk River without delay, that in case the Posts of Oswego and Niagara should be suddenly evacuated, a Detachment should be instantly pushed forward to take possession of them, before the new Boats could

be got in readiness ; until that event shall take place, or untill you shall hear from the Baron Steuben, these Boats may be employed in transporting the necessary apparatus (provisions in particular) to Fort Schuyler. The before mentioned Detachments will report themselves to you and receive your Orders.

I expect the Contractors will in a short time, send the full supply of provision which has been required of them, to Schenectady, but I find it will be expensive and difficult if not impracticable, for them to forward it from thence without water conveyance and our assistance. Pray attend to this as a matter of the first importance, and in general to everything that will tend to expedite the movement, as soon as the British will put us in possession of their Fortifications.

Impressed as you are with the necessity of accelerating these arrangements, I need add nothing more than that

I am Dear Sir

Your Most Obedient Servant

GO WASHINGTON

Colo. Willett.

CL

Communicated by John M. Howe, M. D.

INSTRUCTION FOR CAPT. HOWE

Sir

You will take charge of the Waggon which contain my baggage, and with the escort proceed with them to Virginia, and deliver the baggage at my house, ten miles below Alexandria.

As you know they contain all my Papers, which are of immense value to me, I am sure it is unnecessary to request your particular attention to them—but

as you will have several ferries to pass, and some of them wide, particularly the Susquehannah & Potomack, I must caution you against crossing them if the wind should be high, or if there is in your own Judgement or the opinion of others the least danger.

The waggons should never be without a Sentinel over them, always locked, and the keys in your possession.

You will make such arrangements for the march with Col. Morgan at this place and Mr. Hodgsden at Philadelphia as may be necessary under all circumstances, especially with respect to the expense, failure of horses and breaking of waggons.

Your road will be through Philadelphia and Wilmington, thence by the head of Elk to the lower ferry on the Susquehannah, thence by Baltimore, Bladensburg, Georgetown and Alexandria to Mount Vernon.

You will enquire of Mr. Hodgsden and Colonel Biddle if Mrs. Washington left any thing in their care to be forwarded by the waggons to Virginia ; if she did, and you can find room for it, let it be carried ; if there is not, desire them to send it by some other good opportunity.

The Waggon and Teams, after the baggage is delivered, is to be surrendered to the order of Col. Pickering, which has I believe been handed to Mr. Roberts, and is to deliver them to Col. Fitzgerald to be sold.

The bundle which contains my accounts you will be carefull of, and deliver them at the financier's Office with the Letters addressed to him, that is to Mr. Morris.

The other small bundle you will deliver to Mr. Cottringer in Chesnut Street.

Doctor McHenry's Trunk & parcels you will (as I suppose he has already directed) leave at his House in Baltimore.

You will have the tents which are occupied by the guard delivered to Col. Morgan, whose receipt for them will be a voucher for you to the Quarter Master General.

The remainder of the Guard, under the care of a good Sergeant, with very strict orders to prevent every kind of abuse to the inhabitants on the March, is to be conducted to their Corps at West Point.

Given at Rockyhill this
9th day of Nov. 1783.

G. WASHINGTON

CLI

Communicated by J. Howard McHenry
Philadelphia, December 10, 1783

Dear Sir,

After seeing the backs of the British Forces turned upon us, and the Executive of the State of New York put into the peaceable possession of their Capitol, I set out for this place— On Monday next I expect to leave the City, and by slow traveling arrive at Baltimore on Wednesday, where I will spend one day, and then proceed to Annapolis and get translated into a private citizen.

I am y'r Affect'e

GO WASHINGTON

[—]

NOTE.—The foregoing block closes the first series of Washington letters. A second series, covering the same period, Colonial and Revolutionary, will be begun in February and continued in chronological order in the August following.

WASHINGTON PORTRAITS

LETTERS OF REMBRANDT PEALE

Communicated by J. H. Richardson

I

Reprinted from a newspaper of 1845

NEW YORK, December 27, 1834.

Sir—Although "none see the anomalies of character more than the biographer," yet, as a "faithful historian," he should not represent them imperfectly, or too much tinctured with his own prejudices. No one more than myself can appreciate the knowledge and research displayed in your history of our arts; but whilst I duly esteem the value of every sentence with which you have favorably noticed my father and myself, you will not take it amiss if I point out some errors and misconceptions; for you cannot respect truth more than I do, nor more heartily reprobate any dishonorable or immoral practice, to which my whole life, I trust, can testify.

In narrating the anecdote of Washington sitting to my father in the New Jersey farm house, I certainly meant to say that the intelligence he received was of the surrender of Burgoyne. It could not be otherwise but by error of the printer. In your notice of my father's *successive* wives, it would have been more exact to say he had no children by his third wife, Hannah Moore. The portrait of Stuart, which is in the gallery of the museum in Philadelphia, was begun by my father in one sitting, and finished by me in two other sittings at Washington, when Stuart presented a

somewhat rustic appearance in his grey coat. It is true that he spoke contemptuously of this painting, in opposition to his children, who highly commended it; but the picture remains there to speak for itself, and to express my respect for his talents. Again, in speaking of my Washington before Yorktown, although you were entitled to form your own estimate of its merit, so far from its being *condemned*, its purchase was decreed by the senate for \$4,500, but the bill was not acted on in the other house for the want of a few minutes at the close of the session. My own neglect, and some pride of feeling, prevented me from renewing the subject in the succeeding congress. In the account which I gave to you, as I sat down deliberately to state *when* and *where* I was born, I could not but remember the tradition of my old nurse, that, alarmed by the approach of the British army, my mother suddenly left Philadelphia and took lodgings at a farm house in Bucks county, where I was born, instead of Philadelphia, as was intended — a circumstance of locality to which I never attached any consequence, and which seldom occurred to my memory, when I have been called and considered myself a Philadelphian. Hence the inadvertency of my error in a hasty newspaper communication concerning the Roman Daughter, where I speak of Philadelphia as my native city, instead of the city of my infancy.

But another portion of my biography is of more importance both to myself and others, in relation to my portrait of Washington. When Washington had

given me *one* sitting (in September, 1795 — not 1794), his *second* was delayed by an engagement to sit to Stuart, an American recently returned from Dublin. This is the first time I had heard the name of this admirable artist; but it certainly was not at his request that Washington sat on this occasion to me, during which my father also, at my request, and close to my elbow, painted a portrait, in order that I might stand a better chance of profiting by the opportunity of possessing a likeness. My father had previously painted many originals for several states and individuals, besides numerous copies. Washington, however, within ten days gave me two other sittings of three hours each. At this time we did not know Stuart, and he certainly did not enter the painting room, though it is true he did pass his joke with Mrs. Washington, as she herself told me, of her husband being *peeled* all round.

I have stated that this portrait I took to Charleston, where I made ten copies to order. On my return to Philadelphia in May, 1796, I saw for the first time, in company with my father and uncle, Stuart's portrait. We all agreed that although beautifully painted, and touched in a masterly style, as a *likeness* it was inferior to its merit as a painting—the complexion being too fair and florid, the forehead too flat, eyebrows too high, eyes too full, nose too broad, about the mouth too much inflated, and the neck too long. Such were the criticisms made by artists and others during the life time of Washington. This is truth, and should be matter of history. After the death of Washington, it was my

opinion and deep-felt regret that there existed no portrait which characteristically recorded the countenance of that great man. With the hope, therefore, of finding something that would at least gratify my own feelings, I made many attempts to combine in a separate picture what I conceived to be the merits of my father's and my own studies, and with various success; always to gratify some willing purchaser, but never to satisfy myself, till the seventeenth trial, which resulted, under extraordinary excitements, in accomplishing the portrait which is now in the Senate chamber at Washington. These efforts were solely to gratify my own feelings and admiration of the character of the great original; and I had every right to do so, without reference to any other artist's claim. Excited by the praise of Judge Tighlman and Judge Peters, my painting room, at the corner of Walnut and Swanwick streets, was crowded with visitors, most of whom were the friends or neighbors of Washington—many of whom were prepossessed in favor of Stewart's portrait. The almost universal and flattering approbation of this portrait changed my intentions of then going to Europe, and I determined to take it to Washington city, and subject it to another ordeal. There it received the unqualified approbation of Judge Washington and Chief Justice Marshall; and it was there that the latter gentleman of his own accord (he lives to verify my assertion), recommended me to procure the written testimonials of Judge Peters and others, as a duty which they owe to their country, and he gave the example by writing me the let-

ter which has often been published. It is therefore incorrect to insinuate that I wrote a certificate and got gentlemen to sign it, "thus trifling with the sacred cause of truth and deceiving mankind." I have never written or possessed any certificate, and no paper has been offered to any gentleman to sign. The valued testimonials which I possess are letters written by the gentlemen who signed them, at their leisure, and in their own language, and deliberately addressed to me, repeating opinions which they had previously given in public companies. Judge Marshall says of my portrait, "It is more Washington himself than any portrait of him I have ever seen." Judge Washington, that it is "the most exact representation of the original I have ever seen." Judge Peters pronounces it "the only faithful likeness." Major William Jackson, that he considered it, "in striking similitude of features and characteristic expression of countenance, the best and most faithful portrait of the great Father of his Country that he had seen," &c. &c. These letters comprise the names and record the authority also of Colonel Howard, General Smith, Bishop White, Judge Livingston, Charles Carroll, Rufus King, General Harper, Wm. Rush, Dr. Thatcher, Colonel McLane, Colonel Talmadge, Governor Wolcott, Judge Cranch, &c., all "honorable men" (to adopt your quotation), and certainly incapable of false testimony, and that, too, in letters of their own writing. It is probable that the statement in your first volume relates to the letters of two senators: Gen. Smith, who says, "I take pleasure in saying that the portrait you

have exhibited of General Washington, is a most accurate likeness of that great man. I have no hesitation in saying that it is at least equal to any I have ever seen, and superior to any except one." He meant Stuart's. The other senator was Rufus King, who writes, "I am not competent to speak of the portrait as a specimen of the art; but to its fidelity as a likeness I willingly bear testimony." Every impartial reader must perceive a needless reiteration of the mischievous word *certificate* for a thing which never existed.

And, finally, as to the manner of exhibiting my portrait of Washington in the New York Academy. Many persons wishing to see what kind of head Stuart had made of Washington, a gentleman who possessed one, as good as they usually are, sent it to the room, where it was temporarily placed near my portrait. It had no frame and was resting on the floor, where it enjoyed a better light than mine, or any that could fall on it if placed higher on the wall.

No one can take precedence of me in frank and cordial admiration of the talents of Stuart; but in regard to these portraits, I possess a prior and independent right to judge for myself—and I rejoice that many good men still live also to judge of themselves in this matter from their own knowledge. I lament that the public must be amused with the envies, jealousies, and misunderstandings, of artists, and hope to be excused, in vindication of my character and of truth, that I now lay down my humble pencil to take up the dangerous pen, too often the slippery instrument of scandal and error.

With sincere wishes for your health and happiness.

I remain yours, &c.,

REMBRANDT PEALE.

To William Dunlap, Esq.,

Author of the History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States.

II

Philada Dec 27th 1845
502 Vine Street

Dr Sir,

The great interest for the Fine Arts which you manifest in your recent Volumes, induces me to trouble you with this letter. You have made quotations from Dunlap's, the only history of the Arts in America. I had been collecting matter for such a work when I received a letter from Mr Dunlap requesting some contributions. Satisfied that his industry and opportunities would soon enable him to accomplish his task, I relinquished my purpose, & sent him many interesting narratives & anecdotes. He made some use of these, but little to my satisfaction. I can only account for this by my having the misfortune to offend him, thus— The National Academy of Design had elected Mr Vanderlyn, then in N. York, a member. In ill health both of body & mind, he unnecessarily wrote them a letter of non-acceptance, which was ill received by the members, & it was moved & seconded that his name be *expunged* from their Books. I chanced to enter when Mr. Dunlap, in the chair, was about to put the question. When it was explained to me, I rose & excused the nervous excitement of Mr Vanderlyn,

and objected to such a record, recommending instead that the Secretary, as he had *prematurely* entered the name, delicately to *erase* it. Mr Dunlap was vexed at my interference with his Resolution, which was *unanimously* negatived. For this Mr Dunlap never forgave me, & punished me by the manner he has mentioned my Father & me in his work.

In reference to this, I enclose you a letter I wrote to him, which I delivered to him personally. He received me with his usual politeness & promised that in a Second Edition (which he did not live to make) he would correct the objectionable passages. These contributions were too hastily put together & made too subservient to his own views & the sarcasm & gossip of his character—certainly with too little regard for the feelings of others.

Dear Sir believe me

Very respectfully yours

REMBRANDT PEALE

C. Edwards Lester Esq

U. S. Consul at Genoa.

III

Philad Jan 4, 1846

Dear Sir

The plan you have proposed appears to me well calculated to bring our artists & their works into popular notice, provided the sketches, of *Manuscript* & Pencil, be neatly executed, with truth, spirit & variety, and accompanied with such remarks as you properly observe may be made without prejudice or favour, beyond your great object. I am, therefore, disposed to contribute my share, as the oldest living Artist in

America, by furnishing a Portrait of myself & such Biographical matter as may be necessary; but having lived so long, it will be proper to condense my narrative into as few pages as you may allot to each artist. Let me *know* [how] *many* printed pages you may require, *when* you will want them, & whether they are to be given in the language of the Artists themselves, or if it is your intention to compose each one's Sketch from the materials sent you—because this must influence the manner of Composition, and there is so much danger in Egotism. Such a work should be *deliberately* executed, few Artists being literary and all perhaps, more or less vain, and partial to *self*.

I know the advantage of *Wood Engraving*, in the process of printing to render a publication cheap; but as you term it, to *win* their way, these *cuts*, that are to picture Artists, should be executed by the *very best talents* of the Country—by ADAMS & those of his class, because our wide-spread Annuals have diffused & established a good taste for such things, and it would be out of character to fail in this particular.

I remain Respectfully Yours

REMBRANDT PEALE

C. Edwards Lester Esq—

P. S. I would recommend you to read *Thatchers' Rhodomontade*, a most romantic & incredible tale of Osgood the Painter, as an example to be avoided. It was published some years ago in a New York Magazine. The name of the *Genius* does not occur till it is given as the last word of the article.

IV

Philad March 16, 1846.

Dear Sir

Since I sent you my Biographical Sketch I have had occasion to make use of my lines on *Peale's Washington*, and have taken the liberty, which as the author of them I am entitled to, to alter the structure of them a little. I have to request that you will do me the favour to *erase* the two last stanzas, and substitute what I send you on the next page, which I write fairly out, not to give you any more trouble than to pin them over the others.

I have changed one important word in the 3d stanza from my printed copy, by substituting 'mong, awkward as the word is, for *last*, which was not strictly correct. Stuart's first Portrait was painted the same time as mine—Washington giving Stuart his 1st sitting *between* my 1st and 2d. From this picture Stuart made his five copies—one for Paul Beck, one for Col. Howard, one for a gentleman at Washington & 2 others. The 2d Portrait which Stuart painted (that which is in the Atheneum) was engraved, to be *when finished* for Mrs. Washington, at whose earnest request the general consented to sit a second time. The 1st Portrait Stuart sold to Winstanley, the Landscape Painter, who took it to England. From the 2d Portrait painted, I believe in March, 1796, all Stuart's copies were infrequently made.

I remain respectfully yours,

R. PEALE.

P. S. I think you have done well, instead of Woodcuts to substitute Steel Engraving.

C. E. Lester, Esq., New York.

AFTER FIRST STANZAS.

A nation's gratitude embalmed his fame,
And every line that faintly marked his form,
And every voice that whispered but his name,
Instinctively made patriot bosoms warm ;
Yet though his memory lived and wider spread,
No Portrait beamed the glory of his head.

At length an artist, 'mong the last to whom
The Hero sat, a great impulse obeyed,
(For faithful memory triumphed o'er the tomb),
And o'er his canvass spreading light and shade,
With full impud heart and pencil, one
Proud effort wrought the form of WASHINGTON.

You will perceive that I had forgotten
in which verse the word *last* had been.
My motto is—Let the right be done.

R. P.

NOTES

WASHINGTON'S ENTRANCE INTO NEW YORK.—The interesting account of this event, from an interleaved almanac used by Lieutenant Governor Van Cortlandt, was so mangled in the February number of the Magazine (IV., 157), that a reproduction is desirable. EDITOR.

N. B.—I went from Peekskill Tuesday the 10 of Novemr, In Company with his Excellency Gover'r Clinton, Coll Benson and Coll Campbell, Lodge that night with Genl Cortlandt at Croton River, proceeded & lodged Wednesday night at Edw. Covenhov'n where we mett his Excellency Genl Washington & his aids the next Night Lodged with Mrs. Fred'k V Cortlandt at the Yonkers after having dined with Genl Lewis Morris. Fryday morning wee rode In Company with the Commander In Chief as far as the widow Day's at harlem, where we held a Council. Saturday I rode down to Mr Stuyvesants stay'd

there untill Tuesday. Then rode Triumphant into the City with the Commander.

C. E. V. C.

Manor House, Croton Landing.

THE BIBBY FAMILY OF NEW YORK.—By an error of proof reading, J. A. S., than whom no one could be better informed on the subject, was made, in the recital of an interview between Colonel Thomas Bibby of the British army—who was aid to the unfortunate General Fraser—and Prince William Henry, to speak of the *late* Bibby family, whereas the family is by no means extinct, and its head, the venerable Edward N. Bibby, M. D., of Kingsbridge, is one of our oldest and best known citizens. His son, Mr. Augustus Van Cortlandt, is the proprietor of Cortlandt House, Westchester, where he resides. This gentleman took the name with the domain.

J. A. S.

A LONG ISLAND SEARCHER.—On Thursday the 23d Day of October, departed this Life at New Lots, in the Township of Flatbush, in King's County, Long Island, Elbert Hegeman, Esq., in the ninety-first Year of his Age. Few Men ever possessed a more humane, benevolent and compassionate Heart; he was no less remarkable for his Piety than his Benevolence, and exhibited to us a remarkable Instance of his Attention to the divine Laws of his Creator, having read the Bible through, no less than Three Hundred and Sixty-five Times. His Remains were interred at New Lots the Saturday following.—*The New York Gazette*, Nov. 10, 1777.

PETERSFIELD.

THE AMERICAN ARTILLERY IN 1776.

—Extract from a London paper, giving an account of the evacuation of Boston, being the contents of a letter from an officer of distinction in the British army to a person in London, dated March 3, 1776:

If Something is not Speedily Done, his Brittanic Majesty's dominions will probably be confined within a very narrow compass. The rebel army is not brave, I believe, but it is agreed on all hands, that their artillery officers are at least equal to our own. In the number of shells that they flung last night, not above three failed. This morning we flung four, and three of them burst in the air.—*The Pennsylvania Evening Post*, Sep. 21, 1776.

WEST POINT.

THE HEIGHTS OF WEEHAWKEN.—New Jersey affords some of the most picturesque and elevated summits in the neighborhood of New York city. But during the two hundred years since New Netherland has been settled, it does not appear that any person, civil or military, has ever attempted, until very lately, to ascertain their actual heights. On the 5th August, 1818, the altitude of the craggy cliff, overhanging the landing of Wiehock ferry, and the monument erected on the duelling ground of Bergen county to the memory of Alexander Hamilton, was ascertained by barometrical measurement. The elevation of this picturesque spot, worthy of being celebrated by a Woodworth or a Lincoln, was found to be one hundred and seventy-five feet above high water mark.

The rise and fall of the tide is six feet, directly at its base.

The spirit-level pointed from the rugged peak of Wiehock to a higher ridge. This was situated immediately behind the mansion of Charles Loss, Esq., at the extremity of the Hoboken causeway. This was found to be one hundred and eighty-four feet above high water mark.

The experiments were made with the instruments of the New York Philosophical Society, by Captain Alden Partridge, engineer, and Samuel L. Mitchell, M. D., aided by Dr. Le Baron, P. S. Townsend, Jacob Dykman, Prof. Cutbush of Phila., and Prof. McNeven of New York University. Capt. Partridge, whose skill and experience with the barometer transcends that of any other person among us, intends to ascertain all the heights along the Hudson, from New York city to the mountains.—*New York Gazette*, August 10, 1818. W. K.

THE OLD COEYMAN HOUSE AT COEYMAN'S, N. Y.—In the month of August, 1879, whilst making what Dibdin or Pennant would have called an "historical and antiquarian tour" along the shores of the upper Hudson, I made a visit to the village of Coeyman's. It is a mere hamlet, lying on the west bank of the river, thirteen miles below Albany, and from its secluded situation seldom visited by the tide of summer travel on the Hudson. Coming into the place at nightfall, at the upper end of the village, over a bridge crossing a rocky ravine, known as Coeyman's Creek, we saw, perched on the very edge of the steep bank of the chasm, near to where

the waters of the creek empty by a succession of falls into the Hudson, the old house or "Castle" of the Coeymans, the family from whom the place is named.

Barent Pieterse Coeyman (or Koeymans) emigrated from Utrecht, Holland, to this country in 1636, and engaged himself as a miller to the first Patroon of Rensselaerwyck. He afterwards purchased of the Catskill Indians a tract of land, ten or twelve miles long, on the Hudson. This caused a prolonged litigation between him and the Patroon, which was decided in favor of Coeyman, and in 1714 Queen Anne by patent confirmed his descendants in their possession.

Barent Pieterse Coeyman had five children, two of whom only remained at Coeyman's, the others settling in various parts of the country. The two who remained were Peter and his sister Ariaantje. Peter married twice, but left no male descendants, and with his death the name became extinct in the locality. Ariaantje lived unmarried to the age of forty-seven, when she married David Verplanck, and died without issue.

The original house (or Castle, as it was called) of the first settler stood, according to the Coeyman's Gazette, on the site of the building in the village "now occupied by the family of the late Josiah Sherman," but has been gone for a great number of years. The old stone house now standing on the north bank of the creek, to which reference has been made, was built by Ariaantje Coeyman some time in the early part of the last century.

Strange stories were long current

amongst the country people concerning this ancient house. A tradition went that Ariaantje Coeyman built the house herself, literally carrying the rough unhewn stones with her own hands, and that her portrait, which formerly hung in one of the rooms of the house, represented her with bloody fingers, the tips of which were worn into sharp points by handling the huge blocks of stone. Of course she was supposed to haunt the house; whoever slept in the room where her picture hung would be spoken to by the portrait. It was even said that one unlucky wight, sleeping perhaps sounder than he should have done in a haunted room, had the cords of the bedstead on which he lay cut, and received a heavy fall on the floor.

A small wood-cut before me, representing Ariaantje Coeyman (she is holding a rose in her left hand), is given as "from the portrait in possession of Barent Ten Eyck."

One branch of the family settled at Somerville, New Jersey, and built a house about the year 1736. An account of this house, which is still standing, appeared in a Philadelphia periodical in April, 1877, and also in the Elizabeth Daily Journal for December 8th, 1874. The name has died out in New Jersey, as well as on the Hudson. The line of the former branch seems to have ended with Andrew Coeyman, who died in 1804. On the slope of the Raritan river "he sleeps, with three generations before him, him, the last of his race in Somerville."

CHARLES A. CAMPBELL.

SENSATIONAL NEWSPAPER HEADINGS.
—I always supposed that the newspa-

pers during the last civil war deserved precedence for their sensational newspaper headings, until I met with the following in The New York Gazette and the Weekly Mercury, printed at New York, October 20th, 1777, by Hugh Gainé :

"GLORIOUS NEWS FROM THE SOUTHWARD — WASHINGTON KNOCK'D UP—THE BLOODIEST BATTLE IN AMERICA — 6,000 OF HIS MEN GONE—100 WAGGONS TO CARRY THE WOUNDED—GENERAL HOWE IS AT PRESENT AT GERMANTOWN — WASHINGTON 30 MILES BACK IN A SHATTERED CONDITION—THEIR STOUTEST FRIGATE TAKEN AND ONE DESERTED—THEY ARE TIRED —AND TALK OF FINISHING THE CAMPAIGN."

The Tory Typo must have been exhausted by this effort to glorify Germantown, for when the news reached the city of the British army to the northward having been *Burgoyned*, he could not set up one line of caps to catch the eyes of his subscribers.

PETERSFIELD.

BURGOYNED.—This apt expression, which has passed current during our Centennial jublations, seems to have originated with General Gates. Lieut. Marquois, of the Royal Artillery, who was severely wounded at Camden, writing to his father August 18, 1780, in describing the movements of Gates' army, used this sentence, "With these troops he intended to have *Burgoyned* us, according to his own term."

PETERSFIELD.

PAULUS HOOK.—When I prepared my paper on the Surprise and Capture of Paulus Hook by Major Lee in 1779, I was not aware of the existence of the following letter. The copy I send you is from the original in the collection of Thomas Addis Emmet, M. D., of New York City. This letter seems to have been the first official act of President Huntington, and accompanied the resolutions of Congress.

Philadelphia, Sept. 28th, 1779.

Sir.

I enclose you an Act of Congress of 24th Instant, and am happy in the first exercise of the important Trust with which Congress has been pleased to honor me to have the opportunity of communicating to you the Thanks of Congress for the judicious Measures taken by you to forward the Enterprize against Powles Hook, & to secure the Retreat of the Party.

I must beg leave to inform you that Congress entertains a just sense of the Merit of the Officers and Soldiers employed on that Occasion, as well as of the Army in general, and that the important Business in which they have been engaged prevented an earlier attention to that brilliant Action.

I am Sir your Hble Servt.

SAML HUNTINGTON, President
Major Genl Lord Stirling.

Jersey City. C. H. WINFIELD.

THE BREECHES PANEGYRIC.—The Provincial typo who set up for the *Connecticut Gazette*, of August 25, 1780, a long and moving eulogy on the virtues of the deceased Hon. Titus Hosmer, played havoc with the pathetic. He

committed the same blunder that gave a distinctive name to an edition of the Bible.

The following is the passage: "The public and private losses occasioned by the death of Mr. Hosmer are very remarkable. *What wide and awful breeches are made!* How many tender ties of relation and friendship broken! In the midst of life and usefulness, and prospects opening and encreasing—But he is gone—the gentleman, the scholar, the friend, the senator, the patriot, the judge, the benefactor alas! is no more. The will of God is done, and his work is perfect. Survivors have nothing to do but to worship and adore."

PETERSFIELD.

BRITISH PLUNDERING.—Cornwallis's men are so very mean, as to rob the poor prisoners of the supply of provisions sent in by the flag to Brunswick by their friends. Two gentlemen prisoners there, had part of an ox and a few turkeys sent in, which were all taken away; they begged that the General would be pleased to spare them as much of the ox as would make them a dinner, but were denied it.—*Connecticut Gazette*, Feb. 28, 1777.

IULUS.

AN INTERESTING RELIC.—Mr. John Austin Stevens has recently deposited in the Museum of the New York Historical Society, a lock of hair cut from the head of the venerable Colonel Trumbull by his friend, Col. William L. Stone. This relic, with the envelope containing it, in the handwriting of Col. Stone, was placed in the hands of Mr. Stevens by Mr. W. L. Stone, his son. EDITOR.

QUERIES

CURIOUS HEBREW RELIC.—Can any of your readers give any information concerning this curious statement, clipped from the Eastern Chronicle of Pictou, N. S., March 12, 1852?

“By the politeness of Col. Lea, commissioner of Indian Affairs, we have been shown a curiosity of great rarity and interest, left for a few days at the Bureau. It was brought from the Pottawatomie Reservation on the Kansas river by Dr. Lykins, who has been residing there nearly twenty years of the thirty he has spent on the frontier. It consists of four small rolls or strips of parchment closely packed in the small compartments of a little box or locket of about an inch cubical contents. On these parchments are written in a style of unsurpassed excellence, and far more beautiful than print, portions of the Pentateuch, to be worn as frontlets, and intended as stimulants to the memory and moral sense.

Dr. Lykins obtained it from Pategwe, a Pottawatomie, who got it from his grandmother, a very old woman. It has been in this particular family about fifty years. They had originally two of them, but on one occasion, as the party in possession were crossing a rapid in some river in the lake country of the north, the other was irrecoverably lost. The one lost was believed by the Indians to contain an account of the creation of the world. That brought by Dr. Lykins has been kept for a very long period in the medicine bag of the tribe, used as a charm, and never allowed to suffer any exposure, until, by using

entreaty and the great influence he had with Topinepee, the principal Pottawatomie chief, he was permitted to bring it on to Washington, but under a firm pledge to restore it on his return. It has hitherto been kept from the rapacious vision of the white man. Pategwe had it in his possession many years before his curiosity tempted him to cut the stitches of its cover and disclose the contents. But this coming to the knowledge of old Billy Caldwell, chief of the Council Bluff branch of the tribe, he strenuously advised Pategwe to shut it up and keep it close, and say nothing about it. Dr. Lykins came to a knowledge of the circumstance of its possession from a half-breed.

The wonder is, how this singular article came into their possession. When asked how long they can trace back its history, they reply they cannot tell the time when they had it not. The question occurs here, does not this circumstance give some color to the idea long and extensively entertained, that the Indians of our continent are more or less Jewish in their origin?—*Nat. Intelligencer*.

New York.

IULUS.

WASHINGTON'S ENTRANCE INTO NEW YORK, 1783.—In the Anthon Collection sold at auction in New York a few years since, was a letter from Lt. Col. William Hull, who commanded the Light Infantry which escorted Washington into the city of New York the 25th of November, 1783, describing the event. Can any of your readers inform me what has become of the letter?

H. P. J.

PACIFIC MEDALS.—The following description of some curious medals for use in the Pacific trade appeared in the newspapers of September, 1787: "Silver and Copper medals we are told are striking off, to be carried by Capt. Kendrick, of Boston, bound to the Pacifick Ocean, to be distributed among the natives of the Indian Isles— On one side are represented a ship and sloop under full sail, with the words, COLUMBIA and WASHINGTON, *commanded by J. KENDRICK*; on the reverse the following: *Fitted out at Boston, North-America, for the Pacific Ocean by*, encircling the names of *J. Barell, S. Brown, C. Bulfinch, J. Derby, C. Hatch, J. M. Pintard*, 1787."

The Boston News of October 4th states that "Sunday last (Sept. 30) sailed from this port the ship Columbia and sloop Washington, commanded by Capt. J. Kendrick and Capt. R. Gray, on an enterprizing voyage to Kam-schatka, on the western part of this continent. The object of this voyage is to open an intercourse between these States and the natives of that western country, by trading with them for furs, of which commodity, it is said, that country abounds. The greatest commercial advantages are expected to be derived from this intercourse."

As the Columbia River was discovered by this expedition, and received its name from the ship mentioned above, and as Captain John Kendrick was, it is claimed, the first American commander who circumnavigated the globe, these medals have a historical importance. Have any specimens been preserved by our collectors?

W. K.

MOON CURSERS.—While turning over a Boston newspaper of 1778, under date of September 17th, I met the following: "By express on Sunday last, we learn that Lord Howe's *moon cursers* are plundering all along the Sound, and that last week they took four vessels out of Holmes's hole, and destroy'd one other."

Can any reader inform me as to the origin of this appellation, and how it became attached to the British expedition under General Gray?

BEACON STREET.

BUSSEY OR BUSSIE.—Can any of your readers inform me concerning an officer of this name who was in command of Indian troops during the Revolution? He was a French Canadian, one of six brothers. It is suggested to me that he may have been in Hazen's regiment which was made up of Canadian troops and perhaps had Indians among them—only the Canadian Indians and those of the Stockbridge tribe were friendly to the American cause. Where may I find a roster of Hazen's command?

Puterson, N. J.

G. G. H.

WASHINGTON'S INFORMANTS.—Major Tallmadge, of the Dragoons, arranged for the obtaining of information concerning the British army and plans from persons within the city of New York. One of these, the most important, is invariably designated in the correspondence as Mr. C. A few days since a letter of Washington was shown me making a reference to Mr. C. and *Mr. C. Jr.* Perhaps the addition may help to solve the mystery. Who were the Cs?

J. A. S.

WASHINGTON'S INAUGURATION.—I was informed when a youth that Washington was inaugurated in the old Federal edifice where the United States Sub-Treasury building now stands, and it is here that the merchants of New York propose to erect a monument to commemorate the event. To my astonishment, I find in the last volume of Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society on page 134, that our first President was inaugurated in the "old Walter Franklin House," on Franklin Square. Will some Boston correspondent be good enough to ascertain the authority for this statement, that the absurdity of putting up a monument in the wrong place may be avoided?

BROAD STREET.

FIRST FIRE COMPANY IN AMERICA.—In his autobiography Franklin claims that a paper he read in Junto gave rise to the formation of "a company for the more ready extinguishing of fires and mutual assistance in removing and securing of goods when in danger." This was in the year 1737. Was this the first American fire company?

ENGINE.

MEDALLION OF FRANKLIN.—I have in my possession a profile medallion of Benjamin Franklin, made of red clay, and bearing the date 1777. In a sketch of Mme. Anna Vallayer Coster, written by Mr. Benson J. Lossing, for the Harper's Mag. (42d vol.), he says: "In the winter of 1777 Mlle. Vallayer accompanied Beaumarchais to Passy to visit Dr. Franklin. * * * Not long afterwards she sketched that profile of

him with the fur cap on his head, which is seen on the rare medals of the red clay of Passy, which Franklin's host caused to be struck in his honour." I have been told that these medals were made at Fontainebleau. Have you any information on this subject?

C. E. V. C.

THE FRANKLIN STOVE.—In the Autobiography of Franklin, published by Mr. Bigelow in his life of Franklin by himself, notice is made of "an account of the New Invented Pennsylvania Fire-Places," etc., in a note to which the query is suggested as to whether this stove was *invented* by Franklin. Cannot this question be settled?

MARKET STREET.

JAMES RIVINGTON.—Is there any authority for the statement that Rivington, the Tory printer in New York, was really a patriot, and in the confidence and pay of Washington, and his constant informant as to British plans? And is the tradition true that the first visit that Washington paid on his entrance into the city at the evacuation was to the Tory printer?

J. A. S.

THE SECT OF DEVILISM.—In Rivington's Royal Gazette, April 26, 1780, there appears an advertisement, "A Discourse upon Devilism, showing the analogy between the antient and modern Members of that Sect, delivered May 25, 1779, by a Friend to his Country." This discourse was published for James Rivington. What was this sect, and who delivered the discourse?

C. H. W.

THE ROYAL AMERICAN GAZETTE.—Information is desired as to the present possessor of a file of Alexander Robertson's paper entitled *The Royal American Gazette*, printed at New York during the war. The file it is believed was once the property of Mr. McCoy of Brooklyn, and is supposed to be in the Western States.

TYPO.

THE EXECUTION OF MAJOR ANDRÉ.—Roads, in his late *History of Marblehead*, p. 172, says, "that on the 2d October, when the execution took place, General Glover was Officer of the Day, and was deeply affected by the scene." Every new account seems to bring out a different person, as "Officer of the Day" on this occasion. Cannot some of your correspondents set this matter right? Where is the General Order Book?

ENGLEWOOD.

THE BLUE BELL TAVERN NEAR KINGSBRIDGE.—In the Newark news published in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* for October 1, 1776, is an account of the skirmish on Harlem Heights engagement on the 16th September, which gives the name of the tavern as the *Blue Ball* and a learned antiquary informs me that *Ball* is the correct name. Cannot this point be established by some early document? The building is now down, but the name survives, and we may as well have it right.

NEW YORK.

HAMILTON'S REGIMENT.—(IV., 157). Will Mr. Howe kindly give the particulars in regard to a regiment commanded by Col. Hamilton, in which

Major Howe was a picked man? Was it in the State or Continental line; Infantry or Artillery? And at what time did Alexander Hamilton command it?

ADJUTANT U. S. A.

REPLIES

LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD. — (V., 42.) Lord Edward Fitzgerald, fifth son of the Duke of Leinster and Emilia Mary, daughter of the Duke of Richmond, born in Ireland 1763, entered the British army in 1781, and served under Lord Rawdon at Charleston, S. C. Severely wounded at the battle of Eutaw Springs, his life was saved by a negro who carried him to his hut, tended him until he was able to return to Charleston, and remained his devoted servant through his life. In 1783 he returned to England, and in 1788 again came to America with his regiment. In March, 1789, attended only by his faithful negro servant, and accompanied by an officer, Mr. Brisbane, he traversed 175 miles through the wilderness from Frederickstown to Quebec, for thirty days, through a country deemed impassable. At Quebec he obtained leave of absence to visit Lake Superior, and go down the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans.

LETTER FROM LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD TO THE DUCHESS OF LEINSTER.

Fort Erie, June 1, 1789.

Dearest mother,

I have just come from the Falls of Niagara. To describe them is impossible. I stayed three days, & was absolutely obliged to tear myself away at last.— As I said before, to describe them is impossible.— Homer could not in writing, nor Claude Lorraine in painting, your own

imagination must do it.— The immense height, & noise of the Falls, the spray that rises to the clouds, in short it formed altogether a scene that is well worth coming from Europe to see.— Then the tranquility of all around, & the quiet of the immense forests, compared with the violence of all that is close to the Falls, but I will not go on, for I should never end. I set out tomorrow for Detroit, with one of the Indian Chiefs,—Joseph Brant, who was in England.— I think often of you all in these wild woods. If I could carry my dearest mother with me, I should be completely happy here. * * * —*Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, by Thomas Moore, I., 44.*

Lord Edward Fitzgerald descended the Ohio and Mississippi, and reached New Orleans December, 1789, and from thence returned to England. The avowal of republican opinions acquired during his visit to America offended his uncle, the Duke of Richmond; he was dismissed from the army, and as a member of the Irish Parliament, continued in opposition to Government. In 1792, he went to France, fraternized with the Democratic leaders, and married the beautiful Pamela, the daughter of Mme. de Genlis. He returned to Ireland, his family became fondly attached to his wife, and lived several years, engaged in rural pursuits, very happily. But joining a party of the United Irishmen, he headed an armed rebellion against the British Government, aided by agents of the French Directory. Their plans were betrayed, and, wounded when resisting an arrest for high treason, he died in prison, at the age of thirty-five years, June, 1798. His talents and many high qualities were neutralized by his impetuosity and imprudence.

He caused misery to his affectionate relations, and failed to serve his country.

E. S. Q.

FIRST NATIONAL SALUTE TO THE FLAG.—(IV., 312, 462.) The London Chronicle for March 19, 21, 1778, says, "Accounts from Nantz, dated March 8 (just after the salute to Jones' flag), say that two days before an affray happened between some English and American sailors, in which three men were killed and several wounded." Also, "The populace were so irritated against the English that for some time past they had been insulted in the streets. And that an American adventurer had taken a tavern near the dock, and put up for his sign the 'thirteen stripes,' in consequence of which his house was greatly frequented by all ranks and people."

G. H. P.

SALUTATION TAVERN.—(IV., 224.) S. A. Drake, in his "Old Landmarks of Boston," states that the Salutation Tavern was on the corner of Salutation Street and North Street. The tavern was the rendezvous of the North End Caucus in Revolutionary times.—*Mass. Historical Society Collections, VI., 154.*

J. A. S.

FIRST AMERICAN MATRIMONIAL ADVERTISEMENT.—(IV., 456). I have met with a matrimonial advertisement five years earlier than my previous note. It appeared in Rivington's Royal Gazette, printed at New York city, January 31, 1778, and is as follows :

A Gentleman of an easy, genteel fortune, wishes to meet with a lady of about 23, 24, or 25 years of age, with whom he would form an honourable connection, and flatters himself if she meets with his approbation, that it will be in his power



to make her very happy, as he is actuated by the nicest motives of honour. Mutual felicity being the principles on which he acts and causes this mode of application, which he is induced to make use of, being an absolute stranger to the ladies of this place.

The greatest delicacy, honour, and inviolable secrecy shall be observed to such lady who may be inclined to answer this advertisement. Letters directed for S. G., to be left in the care of Mr. Rivington, the printer, shall be duly attended to.

PETERSFIELD.

ROGERENES.—(IV., 64, 227, 313.) In answer to Petersfield, see *Life and Travels of Samuel Bonnas (Bownas) Quaker*, London, 1756; Phila., 1759; pages 95, 102, 113, 186-189. This gives an account of an interview of 6 days in prison on Long Island in 1702-3, between Samuel Bownas, a Quaker preacher, and John Rogers of New London, and is very interesting; also in *Friend's Library*, by Wm. Allen, vol. 12. Also, see William Edmundson's *Journal (Quaker)*, London, 1715, page 90-91; London, 1774, p. 103-4; or Dublin, 1820, page 115-116. There have been several other editions of these books, and they are also reprinted in the *Friend's Library*, Vol. 3, edited by Thos. Evans, Phila., 1837-8; also in Wm. Allen's *Friend's Library*, Vol. 4, 1853-7. Rogers was not a Quaker.

Camden, N. J.

M. L. H.

A WASHINGTON RELIC.—(IV., 224, 394). The inscription should read Scanandoa, not Shenandoah, as printed by the Boston Traveller. This famous chief, known as "the white man's

friend," was personally known to Washington. He paid the commander-in-chief a visit while he was encamped at Morristown in 1777. After the war the Government recognized the services rendered by the Oneidas, and on more than one occasion voted them a return. In 1794 the chiefs were personally rewarded. There is nothing improbable in the story of the presentation by Washington; the date may have been erroneously copied, as well as the name. Your correspondent at Manlius should make a further examination. The editors of small local newspapers have been celebrated for their lack of information. Dig out the DeBois or DuBois who owned the box, and do not charge it as a trick of the "Boston sharpers."

BEACON STREET.

FORT INDEPENDENCE.—(IV., 455). A letter from an officer at Phillips' Manor, dated February 6, 1777, says, "Since our arrival here, have been in sight of the enemy every day at Kingsbridge, and at Fort Independence. At our first coming down, we encamped about half a mile from the fort in the open field, for five days, but were then obliged to move back, on account of a heavy snow storm, and have, since our first coming here, had several small skirmishes with the enemy, but we have not lost a single man out of our regiment. Our regiments are now on this side fort Independence, and two regiments on the other side. This fort is about half a mile from Kingsbridge and York side. We have lately been over within half a mile of the fort, with two field pieces, &c., but could not persuade the enemy

to come out and fight us. They have got almost all their troops out of York, on their lines and in the three forts, to prevent our going into the city; for the morning we got down here we threw them into great confusion, and we took a considerable quantity of their baggage, and we now possess their advance guard houses. General Putnam has taken 96 waggons with provisions which were going to Howe's army; and the latter has sent a flag to General Washington desiring a cessation of arms till April, but our brave General returned for answer that he should accomplish his design, and then there should be a final one."—*Connecticut Gazette*, Feb. 21, 1777.

IULUS.

—(IV., 455.) The fort of that name commanded the Hudson River, and stood about half a mile to the north of Spuyten Duyvel Creek, on the ridge marked on the map as Tetard's Hill. Twenty years ago the fortification was in excellent preservation; much of the grass grown embankment perfect, the fosse well defined and deep. To the northeast and eastward, along the brow of the hill sloping down to Tibbits or Mosholu brook, a long line of earthworks might be traced. The situation was admirably adapted to protect a large force, or to resist attack; to the west and south, steep broken ground to the Hudson and Spuyten Duyvel Rivers; to the east, at the foot of a sharp decline, a salt marsh, through which Tibbit's brook found its zigzag way. As a defense to New York, the defenders controlling the rivers with their vessels and the opposite hills on New York

Island with their armies, the fort was of little moment, and was hence early abandoned by the British.

Above Kingsbridge, westerly of the highway, commanding its northerly approaches, stood Fort Charles, still partly traceable. To the northeast of the bridge, about half mile distant, was a fort, to which local tradition assigns no name, but which is incorrectly marked on the map as Fort Independence.

A house now stands on the summit of Fort Independence; in preparing to build cannon balls and musket balls, old bayonets, etc., were found, and as far north as Fieldston mementoes of British occupation are occasionally exhumed.

At another point the relics are of more moment. Here about 1856 some young men unearthed several cannon; the most serviceable was mounted, and for several years did duty on the Fourth of July; then borrowed by the people of Mount Vernon, the piece was loaded to the muzzle, and when fired exploded, killing and wounding several persons. A house has since been erected upon the site of the fort. In preparing to build and laying out the grounds, the writer is informed by the owner of the property, that fourteen cannon were found and a large quantity of rusted arms, shot and shell. Many graves were also disturbed. Metal plates, from which the shoulder and waist bands had rotted away, bore evidence to the regiment to which the dead owners had belonged. All of these relics, with the exception of two cannon, disappeared from a cellar in which they were stored, during the owner's absence in Europe.

Fieldston.

M. L. D.



—(IV., 455). Your correspondent W. H. is in error in regard to the situation of Fort Independence. It was not at Spuyten Devil Creek, but near two miles to the eastward of Kings Bridge. His statement as to the profusion of blood lost by the Dyckmans in the vicinity is questionable.

MOSHOLU.

ANDRÉ'S GRAVE AT TAPPAN (V., 57).—I am rather surprised to notice in the communication of your well-known contributor a positive assertion that André was buried at Tappan. If he had closely followed the lively discussion to which he refers, he would have seen that there is no evidence that André was buried at or near the spot of his execution, nor is Miss Seward's Monody any authority for such a statement, nor yet the testimony of Timothy Bigelow, who saw the grave in 1815, of any additional value in this regard. It is not denied that a grave was dug for André, but it is not proved that he was put into it.

NEW YORK.

SIR HENRY CLINTON AND THE WEST POINT WORKS.—(V., 32). Mr. Campbell, in his note to his article on the Joshua Hett Smith House at Haverstraw, calls attention to the passage in Sir Henry Clinton's account of the André affair, in which he speaks of his acquaintance with the ground on which the defences of West Point were built—and appears to consider it a mysterious circumstance. It is easily explained by the fact that Sir Henry Clinton was in early life appointed by his father, Admiral George Clinton, Governor of New York, Captain-Lieutenant in

one of the New York companies which served in the old French war. As the line of the Hudson was the thoroughfare, and the slow sailing sloops the usual mode of conveyance, he had ample opportunities to familiarize himself with the beauties of the Highlands.

PETERSFIELD.

NEW YORK IN THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS (V., 62).—Mr. Burdge, in his note on Paine's Common Sense, is in error in his statement that Henry Wisner, New York delegate in the Continental Congress, voted for the declaration of Independence in opposition to the instructions of his State and the example of all his colleagues. This ground was thoroughly gone over by the writer in a paper published in the Galaxy for August, 1876, entitled "New York in the Continental Congress." Here it was shown that New York had given no instructions whatever with regard to a vote for independence, but that the delegates were excused voting for want of instructions. The fact was that a Convention had been elected in New York with a view to determine this very question and was about to sit when Independence was declared. The first day of its session the news was received and the declaration unanimously ratified. A similar explanation of the abstention of the New York delegates from voting may be found in the writer's biographical sketch of John Alsop, printed in the Magazine of American History [I., 226]. If Mr. Wisner voted at all, which the Journals of Congress do not show, he voted without instructions and not in opposition to them.

J. A. S.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post Office.)

THE LIFE OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Written by Himself. Now first edited from Original Manuscripts and from his Printed Correspondence and other Writings. By JOHN BIGELOW. Second edition, revised and corrected. 3 vols., 12mo. J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co. Philadelphia, 1879.

In the historical sketch prefixed to the edition of 1872, which was itself a revision of that published in 1868, Mr. Bigelow gave an account of the "Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Autograph Manuscript of Franklin's Memoirs of his own Life." These celebrated memoirs were prepared at the instance of one of his French friends, M. Le Veillard, the Mayor of Passy, to whom Franklin presented in 1789 a copy of all that was then finished. At Franklin's death the original of the manuscripts passed with his other papers into the hands of a grandson, William Temple Franklin, who engaged to prepare an edition of the life and writings of his grandfather for a publishing house in London. For the convenience of the printers the copy given to Le Veillard was exchanged for the original autograph. From the Le Veillard family it was obtained by Mr. Bigelow, then Minister to France in 1867. A careful collation of the London edition of 1817 with the original manuscripts, showed that more than twelve hundred changes had been made in the text, and eight pages, the last in the manuscript, entirely omitted. Specimens of these alterations, the greater number of which, as Mr. Bigelow says, Franklin himself would have rejected without ceremony, are given in the sketch. A second chapter by the editor describes the manner and periods at which the biography was prepared. The first portion, containing the first twenty-five years of his life, was written in 1771 at Twyford, the country seat of Dr. Shipley, then Bishop of St. Asaph's. The memoir was resumed in 1784, again dropped, and finally continued in 1788. The work was first presented to the world in a French translation in 1791. The singular conduct of William Temple Franklin in connection with this paper is carefully considered by Mr. Bigelow.

A third chapter describes the autograph, with its peculiar and characteristic features; the clear, distinct hand writing, perfectly legible through abundant interlineations and erasures, and each of the 220 pages with a margin of half the width of the page. To this branch of his work Mr. Bigelow has brought his fine critical taste, and the entire biographical sketch is an

interesting addition to the curiosities of literature. And while on this branch of the subject attention should be called to the Bibliography proper, which closes the last volume, in the compilation of which all known authorities have been consulted. Mr. Bigelow prints one hundred and sixty-five titles.

The great merit of these volumes is that they for the first time present, in a consecutive form, Franklin's own account of his life, and that they are within the reach of the ordinary purse.

In his preface to the present edition, Mr. Bigelow notices the strange silence with regard to Franklin which until recently has been persistently maintained by the British press. The Edinburgh Review in 1806 sharply criticised the three volume London edition of that year. In the December number (Magazine of American History, III., 770) attention was invited to an admirable review of Mr. Bigelow's work by Thomas Hughes in the Contemporary Review for July, 1879, in which the reasons were given for the indifference to Franklin in the British world of letters. The April number (1880) of the Edinburgh Review contains a thorough review of Mr. Bigelow's book and the latest English analysis of the character of Franklin, whom in the first paragraph it joins with Washington, styling these two men the "joint authors of the Republic." "In France," says the Edinburgh Review, "Franklin accomplished as much against England as Washington with all his victories." Noticing Mr. Bigelow's hint that Franklin's grandson was bribed to postpone the publication of the Memoirs, the Edinburgh allows that he has established a strong presumption of wrong, and gives the highest commendation to the self-abnegation, in which Mr. Bigelow has performed his duty as editor. Of Franklin's autobiography itself, it says that "it is one of mankind's greatest literary possessions." Here, indeed, the neglect of a century is redeemed in a fulness of praise.

The final chapter of the Autobiography proper, written the last year of Franklin's life, unaccountably left out of William Temple Franklin's publication and that of his successors, and first printed by Mr. Bigelow, is justly described as one of the most valuable in the book. It describes an interview with Lord Granville, in which the perverse nobleman endeavored in 1772 to instruct Franklin as to the nature of the American constitution. His views were to the simple effect that the king's instructions to his governors, from the fact that they were drawn by learned judges, considered in council, and signed by the King, became, as far as they related to the Colonists, the *law of the land*, for the King



is the Legislator of the Colonies. The italics are Franklin's own. Franklin could not stomach such a broad assertion, and took pains to note the conversation on his return to his lodgings, as new in principle and fraught with danger to American liberties. The chapter contains also notes upon an interview with Lord Mansfield on the act taxing proprietary estates. The general reader will not find much entertainment in the long negotiations which preceded the outbreak of hostilities, but, better than any historic record of the period, they show in sharp outlines the political systems which confronted each other—English Subservience and American Independence. This branch of the subject is too well known to need more than passing comment.

In the Magazine for January, 1879 (III., 39), the reader will find a curious correspondence between John Quincy Adams and Judge William Jay concerning Franklin. In an appendix to the second volume of Mr. Bigelow's edition there appears a letter of John Adams, written in 1806, in which the bitter old gentleman takes strong ground against both Washington and Franklin, whose merits were not, in his eyes, to be compared with those of half a dozen other of the Colonial statesmen whom he names; but the judgment of mankind, which is the only final solvent of reputations, is in accord with that already quoted from the pages of the Edinburgh Review.

AMERICAN CIVIL WAR. MEMOIRS OF Incidents connected with the Origin and Culmination of the Rebellion that Threatened the Existence of the National Government. From writings on the subject (printed for private use). By JOHN COCHRANE, General of U. S. Volunteers. Collated by HENRY O'REILLY. 8vo, pp. 58. ROGERS & SHERWOOD. New York, 1879.

ARMING THE SLAVES IN THE WAR FOR THE UNION. Scenes, Speeches and Events attending it. With introductory remarks. By HENRY O'REILLY. 8vo, pp. 12. ROGERS & SHERWOOD. New York, 1879.

The indefatigable labors of Mr. O'Reilly in numerous fields of enterprise and intellectual effort are well known; and his deposit of material collected, arranged and collated by him in the New York Historical Society Library, is of great value, and serves to control many disputed points in the history of the development of the country, and particularly in that of the civil war. In the present pamphlets he gives the best account of the distinguished services in the field and forum of General Cochrane, one of the

first and most consistent of the War democrats, who cast aside the bond of party at the call of the country.

Here we find the statement that it was General Cochrane who in full accord with Secretary Cameron, first advocated the arming of the slaves for the Union in a speech at the Astor House in November of the year 1861. In the extracts from the memoirs of the General there are numerous independent and novel appreciations of men and measures which amply repay perusal. The claim is here made that the advice of General Cochrane saved the army from annihilation at Fredericksburg.

HISTORY OF THE LODGE OF AMITY, No. 5, F. and A. M., located at Zanesville, Ohio, and Constituted A. L. 5806 A. D. 1806. Compiled by J. HOPE SUTOR, W. M. 32mo. C. MOOREHEAD. Zanesville, Ohio.

Zanesville took its name from the Zanes of Wheeling, a family who came over with Penn. Zanesville stands at the confluence of the Muskingum and Licking rivers, on a tract which was granted to Ebenezer Zane in 1796. The Lodge of Amity was organized in a house which belonged to General Isaac Van Horne, on the site where the Zane house now stands, in 1806. Its continuous history is given. Some portraits on steel and in photograph illustrate the volume.

SPAIN IN PROFILE: A SUMMER AMONG THE OLIVES AND ALOES. By JAMES ALBERT HARRISON. 16mo, pp. 439. The Riverside Press. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1879.

Another of the elegant printed and tastefully bound volumes, which this enterprising house seem never to tire of publishing for the delectation of the discriminating reader. This, the author tells us in his preface, is not addressed to those who have "undertaken the adventure of Spain" as a souvenir, but is meant for the light skimmers of summer books, between whom and their "Castles in Spain" there lies a sea of difficulty and improbability; yet who would not rather see through other eyes than not see at all. With graceful hand and winning style, Mr. Harrison gently leads one through the defiles of the rugged Northern Sierras of old Castile, replete with Gothic memories, which still seem to echo with the sound of Fonterabia's horn and to repeat the heroic, triumphal chants of the returning Cid and still further down the orange-covered slopes of Seville to the Alhambra and the remains of the splendid kingdom of the moon. The very names are redolent of romance, and the whole book glitters in "the blond light of yellow Spain."

CECIL'S BOOKS OF NATURAL HISTORY. PART I., BEASTS. PART II., BIRDS. PART III., INSECTS. By SELIM H. PEABODY. Profusely Illustrated. 12mo. CLAXTON, REMSEN & HAFFELFINGER. Philadelphia, 1879.

Another attractive book for young people; written in a pleasing conversational style, full of anecdotes of the habits and manners of the animal creation. A few of the species native to America are described, and in their order those introduced into the western hemisphere by the European immigrants. Here we find that Columbus brought cows to Hispaniola in 1493, the French to Canada in 1600, the English to Jamestown in 1611 and to Massachusetts in 1624.

The tone of the volume may be judged of by the caption of the chapter that treats of the kangaroo and the opossum, which the author quaintly heads, "about several funny fellows." The lessons to be learned from observation of the brute creation are happily impressed, as for instance patience from the beaver, indomitable hopefulness from the spider. Natural history is a fascinating study and should be encouraged in youth.

BURYING THE HATCHET; OR, THE YOUNG BRAVE OF THE DELAWARES. By ELIJAH KELLOGG. Illustrated. 18mo, pp. 336. LEE & SHEPARD. Boston, 1879.

This, the concluding volume of the Forest Glen series, gives an account of the life of the frontiersmen during the exciting colonial period when to the dangers of civilized warfare between the English and French were added the terrors of Indian participation on either side. Such romances, when true to the nature they should depict, are proper adjuncts to historical instruction. Indeed the interest, which belongs to all tales of personal adventure and trial, helps to fix the historical incidents which they illustrate and explain, on the memory of youth. While quite as thrilling as the dangerous yellow-covered Jack Shepard literature, their tone is healthy, and their influence salutary.

ADVENTURES OF A CONSUL ABROAD.

By SAMUEL SAMPLETON, Esq., late United States Consul at Verdecuerno. 12mo, pp. 270. LEE & SHEPARD. Boston, 1878.

In a short preface Mr. Luigi Monti announces the authorship of this attractive account of the experiences of a Consular representative of the United States in a Mediterranean port, and the petty miseries to which he was subjected by the

insufficiency of his salary and the demands upon his time and labor. Mr. Sampleton had been preceded in his post by a gentleman of fortune, who was only too happy to have an occasion of spending his personal funds in supporting American dignity among the well paid representatives of European States. For three years Mr. Sampleton struggled manfully under the difficulties which surrounded him, and at their close had just succeeded in acquiring a knowledge of his official duties and of the French language, which is indispensable to their proper performance, when a change of administration caused his recall.

In no manner could the absurdities of the constant changes in our Consular service be made more manifest, but we must take issue with the concurrent thought expressed in the volume that additional salaries should be paid for the purpose of a more brilliant *representation* abroad. The Consular appointment is not diplomatic but commercial, and now that it has become a matter of grave question whether there is need of any diplomatic representation whatever, except for special purposes, when special commissions would better perform the service, it seems unnecessary to take a step in the other direction by increasing the importance of the secondary position. Let us have Consuls well trained in the duties for which they are created, adequately salaried, and with competent clerical aid, but let an end be put to their appearance as ministers in petto in diplomatic uniform.

The story we do not take to be one of actual personal experience, but it is nevertheless true.

OCEAN TELEGRAPHY; THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE FIRST COMPANY EVER FORMED TO LAY AN OCEAN CABLE, NEW YORK, MARCH 10, 1879. Printed for private circulation only. 410, pp. 64. 1879.

Under this title an account, anonymous but authentic, prepared chiefly from the reports which appeared in the New York papers, is here given of what has been called the silver wedding of the Atlantic Cable; it would be more proper to say of the two hemispheres, which it has bound with its electric circle for better or for worse, and whom hereafter no man can put asunder. The celebrities of the country were gathered at the house of Cyrus W. Field, the indefatigable "promoter," to use an English appellation, of this beneficent enterprise. What was said and done and written on the occasion, and what good cheer partaken of, is here set down. A fac-simile is given of the elegant and appropriate card of invitation.

"SAYING THE CATECHISM" SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO, AND THE HISTORICAL RESULTS. An address delivered before the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, December 4, 1878. by DORUS CLARKE, D.D., Boston. 32mo, pp. 46. LEE & SHEPARD. Boston, 1879.

Turning from the historical allusions to Westhampton, the most picturesque of the four municipalities which made up the beautiful town of Northampton, we find that it is the NEW ENGLAND PRIMER which, in the opinion of Dr. Clarke, "has done more to form New England character than any book except the Bible." He asks a question, which he confesses he cannot answer—Who compiled the New England Primer? The Primer used at Westhampton, near which he was born, was a square book, and contained the catechism. By public sentiment of the town, the *lex non scripta*, every child in Westhampton was required to recite the whole in the meeting house on three Sabbaths in the year. There was no shirking. The three divisions were recited until the town thought of nothing else but catechism. Heaven forgive us, but the wicked thought arises that perhaps it was the catechism which depopulated New England, and drove her youth westward to less religious and more fertile fields.

THE PRESERVATION OF LIFE AT SEA.

A paper read before the American Geographical Society, February 27, 1879, by THEODORUS B. M. MASON, Lieutenant U. S. Navy. 8vo, pp. 38. New York, 1879.

EXPERIMENTS ON REPEATING RIFLES BY A BOARD OF FRENCH NAVAL OFFICERS. Translated from *Extrait du Memorial de l'Artillerie de la Marine* by THEO. B. M. MASON, Lieutenant U. S. Navy. 8vo, pp. 64. OFFICE ARMY AND NAVY JOURNAL. New York, 1879.

OCCASIONAL PAPERS. By Lieutenant T. B. M. MASON.

The readers of the Magazine will remember the attention called in its pages (II., 565) to the action of Congress, authorizing the acceptance by the gallant young officer, author of these papers, of a medal conferred upon him by King Victor Emanuel for saving a number of lives of his Italian subjects, the third honor received by him for similar service. From the first of these pamphlets it may be seen that he is as interested in the theory as he was skillful in the practice of life preservation. From the next,

by one of those curious contrasts of which life is full, that he is as zealous and intelligent in the science of putting people out of the world as he is in keeping them in it. And this to his praise.

THE FIRST IRISH BOOK. Published by request of the "Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language" for the use of the "Irish Classes" in America. 32mo, pp. 48. LYNCH, COLE & MEEHAN. New York, 1878.

THE SECOND IRISH BOOK. Do. 32mo, pp. 104. Do. do.

It is difficult to notice a book in a language of which one knows nothing. Fortunately the title-page is in good English, but we add a quotation from Vallancey, which gives the gist of the matter. He says: "The Irish language is free from anomalies, sterility and heteroclitic redundancies which mark the dialects of barbarous nations; it is rich and melodious; it is precise and copious, and affords those elegant conversions which no other than a thinking and lettered people can use or acquire."

LIFE OF BENJAMIN F. BUTLER. By T. A. BLAND. 12mo, pp. 202. LEE & SHEPARD. Boston, 1879.

Whatever opinions may be held of General Butler, it will not be denied that he is one of the most striking figures in the country. In the long array of marked public men there is no single one, north or south, who has filled a larger place in the public mind than he. This, perhaps, because his is a positive and thoroughly original character.

This volume is evidently the work of a close personal friend, perhaps of an intimate partisan of the ambitious statesman, who no doubt has kept in view the Presidency of the country. The story of his life from his boyhood to the campaign for the governorship of the old Bay State in 1878, is told in a vigorous, nervous style, not unlike that the General was wont to use in the famous terse proclamations which made New Orleans howl during the days of his iron but equal rule—a rule which was far more satisfactory to the people of New Orleans than that of his successors, because of its certain and even nature. So safe was the place that even at midnight the streets were as quiet as those of any city in the Union at noonday, and the General himself constantly to be seen in full uniform in an open victoria without a single guard. As General Dix in his memorable orders gave the key note to the early patriotic spirit, so General Butler in the single phrase which named the negro "Contraband of War," settled his status in the contest to the popular mind.

A review of this nature allows of no discussion of the merits and faults of this remarkable man, but when, if ever, the secrets of Lincoln's administration are unveiled, not the least curious chapter will be that which will relate the manner in which Butler was removed from New Orleans without the knowledge of those most directly concerned in the conduct of the war.

With the chapter entitled "Gen. Butler as a Financial Reformer," we have no more patience than we have with the General in that attitude; but to one who showed the indomitable courage and pluck that marked the career of this man of iron during the war, much is to be pardoned. An excellent portrait prefaces the volume.

INDEX OF GENERAL ORDERS AND CIRCULARS AFFECTING THE QUARTERMASTER'S DEPARTMENT, U. S. ARMY, FROM 1865 TO 1877, INCLUSIVE. Compiled by E. W. HEWITT and W. E. COLEMAN. Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, (1879).

These gentlemen, as clerks in the Quartermaster's Department, originally compiled this index for their own convenience, but have very properly concluded that it will prove a valuable aid as a reference volume to others discharging similar duties. It may be considered as an addendum to Brinkerhoff's "Volunteer Quartermaster," published in 1865. The correction of errors is invited.

A GENEALOGY OF THE DESCENDANTS OF RICHARD PORTER, WHO SETTLED AT WEYMOUTH, MASS., 1635, AND ALLIED FAMILIES; also some account of the Descendants of John Porter, who settled at Hingham, Mass., 1635, and Salem (Danver), Mass., 1644. By JOSEPH W. PORTER, of Burlington, Maine. 8vo, pp. 344. BURR & ROBINSON. Bangor, 1878.

A brief general account of the Porter families opens this well edited and apparently thorough genealogy. In this it is stated that nearly all of the families bearing the name in the United States can be traced to a very few emigrant ancestors.

Richard settled in Weymouth in 1635. John, of Hingham and Salem, three miles distant from Weymouth, is supposed to have been the brother of Richard. Another of the name of John settled at Windsor, Conn., in 1638. Robert and Thomas, brothers, were of the eighty-four proprietors of Farmington, Conn., in 1640. From Robert is descended President

Noah Porter of Yale College. Daniel was at Farmington, Conn., before 1635. Abel was admitted to the church at Boston in 1641. Another John was a freeman of Roxbury in 1633.

The editor is descended from the Richard Porter first named, of Weymouth. The sketches of heads of families are succinct and suggestive of genealogic enquirers, and the indexes well arranged and thorough.

THE CENTENNIAL; AN INTERNATIONAL POEM. By W. A. STEPHENS. 16mo, pp. 72. HUNTER, ROSE & CO. Toronto, 1878.

This is a good natured, rattling poetic description of a trip from Canada to the Centennial at Philadelphia, which is worth recording and preserving among the reminiscences of that already historic event. There is a verse for about every object and person of interest, dead or alive.

HISTORY OF MEDICINE IN NEW JERSEY, AND OF ITS MEDICAL MEN FROM THE SETTLEMENT OF THE PROVINCE TO A. D. 1800. By STEPHEN WICKES, M. D. 8vo, pp. 449. MARTIN R. DENNIS & Co. Newark, N. J., 1879.

In the year 1875, the Medical Society of New Jersey resolved to publish its "Old Transactions" from its institution in 1706 to 1800. The duty of editing these papers fell upon the author of this volume, and the present elaborate history of the profession in the State, is the outcome of the investigations made. The medical history of Cumberland, Monmouth, Hunterdon and Essex Counties has been published in the "Transactions of the Medical Society of New Jersey." Beyond these, the Societies of Warren and Sussex have caused their histories to be written. The present volume is supplementary to these works. The author has conveniently divided his subject into two parts. The first, historical, presents in a rapid summary the beginnings and progress of the art in New Jersey; the second, biographical sketches of New Jersey physicians to the year 1800, alphabetically arranged.

The author has done his work in an excellent manner, and with evident love of his subject. The style is simple and natural, and wholly without effort or ostentation. The fruits of research are lucidly and concisely given, and the book is an admirable addition to local history and biography, while full of interest to the profession at large. It is well printed, in clear, open type, and on good paper, and its value is enhanced by a comprehensive index.



SWITZLER'S ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF MISSOURI FROM 1541 TO 1877. 8vo, pp. 601. C. R. BARNES, Editor and Publisher. Saint Louis, 1879.

The material of this work was originally prepared for the elaborate volume entitled "The Commonwealth of Missouri," and is now rearranged in a form which brings it within the reach of ordinary readers. The contributors are announced in the following order: Archæology, A. J. Conant; History, W. F. Switzler; Physical Geography, G. C. Swallow; Material Wealth, R. A. Campbell; the arrangement falling to the hands of Chancy R. Barnes. Of these, Mr. Conant is well known throughout the country for his careful papers on the pre-historic period of the western country, and Col. Switzler for his long labors on the press of Missouri, and his intimate knowledge of that State.

Numerous illustrations give an idea of the discoveries made in the ancient mounds, and aid to an understanding of the civilization and habits of a lost people, whose story is only told by these mute witnesses. The history of the part taken by Missouri in the late civil war, is commendable for its moderation and fairness. The mineral treasures of the State are well set forth, and a large number of excellent statistical tables contribute to make of the volume a complete and useful work of reference, which should be found on the shelves of every public library.

THE FINANCIAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FROM 1774 TO 1789, embracing the period of the American Revolution. By ALBERT S. BOLLES. 8vo, pp. 371. D. APPLETON & CO. New York, 1879.

There has never been a time when thorough knowledge of the true principles of finance was of such vital importance to the people of the United States as now. By the rapid development of our resources, we have grown up to the full measure of our paper currency, every dollar of which would be needed in the daily transaction of the nation, but for the large influx of coin during the last three years. If now, by a master stroke of finance, we could utterly destroy the paper issues to the amount of the gold we have received, the financial prosperity of the country would be assured beyond a peradventure.

The previous works of the writer of this volume entitle him to rank among the very first modern authorities on the subject of finance. He belongs to the great school of Morris, and Hamilton, and Gallatin, the soundness of whose writings, based on the principle of a strong metallic basis in the circulating medium, is as fresh to-day as when they were written, and must

ultimately prevail. Indeed, the necessity of a large coin circulation was never more evident than now when there is no longer any power of Government or of banks to regulate the rate of discount and control the exchanges, with the attendant outgo or influx of the precious metals.

Mr. Bolles notices the fact that no thorough history of the early financial period of the United States has before been written; and that it is only to be found in meagre and scattered papers. His purpose is in three volumes to cover the entire field of finance from 1774 to 1879. The present treats of the first clearly defined period, 1774 to 1789. This is divided into two books: I. From September, 1774, to the Financial Administration of Robert Morris; II. From Morris' Financial Administration to the close of the Confederation. The story is a sad one. The colonies were cursed with depreciated issues, each different and differently secured, and even the coin which fluctuated in amount in a meaningless way, was in great measure depreciated by abrasion or mutilated by design. The necessities of war compelled an instant resort to bills of credit, and these naturally took the form of Continental notes, a paper money which had they been supported by proper taxation equally levied and equally collected from the colonies on whose faith it was issued, might possibly have been maintained at a par with coin. So it has been asserted of the issues of the Government during the late war, but in the one case as in the other there was not in the country the amount of specie required to maintain convertibility, nor yet the power to obtain it. As it was, even in 1776, the Continental paper had already depreciated to such an extent that it was openly refused, and penal measures were adopted to compel its receipt. Next followed the introduction of large sums of counterfeit paper directly promoted by the British Government as 'de bonne guerre.' The next resort of the Government was to foreign loans. These were made possible by the victory of Saratoga in the fall of 1777, and funds were raised in Holland and France by our Commissioners, against which bills of exchange were drawn, but of course these brought no specie into the country, and provided no foundation whatever for the restoration of the national credit. In the expressive modern phrase, the future of the Republic was discounted by those governments who were politically interested in its success.

The appointment of Robert Morris to the direction of the finances in the spring of 1781, began a new era in the political economy of the country. A national bank was the regulating machine which brought harmony into the distracted branches of the treasury and pay departments. A limited amount of specie was secured

and held with tenacity, bank bills were issued and means taken to float them with comparative freedom. And with exceptional powers, Morris was strong enough to redeem the national credit. To him Mr. Bolles aptly ascribes the honor of being "the peerless financier of the Revolution."

It is rarely that a subject of this nature is treated in a manner as pleasing as this. No one who would understand the true history of the Revolution, and correctly measure the difficulties with which our forefathers had to contend, should omit a careful study of this well digested volume.

REYNOLDS' HISTORY OF ILLINOIS.

MY OWN TIMES, EMBRACING, ALSO, THE HISTORY OF MY LIFE. By JOHN REYNOLDS. 8vo, pp. 395. CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Chicago, 1879.

This is a reproduction, in an attractive form, and with the addition of a full index, of a book, the story of which is an illustration of the difficulties which all who have devoted themselves to historical investigation have had to encounter in this country. Governor Reynolds was one of the most prominent figures in western public life, and it would be supposed this epitome of the story of the young days of the western country would have commanded a ready sale. Not so. Completed in 1854, the first edition, probably not more than four hundred copies, was printed in a small job office at Belleville, and taken by a single bookseller of Chicago, at the author's personal instigation. Nearly the whole edition was destroyed in the great fire of 1857.

Practically out of print, the present volume is rather a new work than the reprint of an old; and a creditable one it is to the Chicago society. The extensive range of politics, internal improvement, public life and personal experience, naturally traversed in this bulky volume, render even a slight analysis impossible. It is discursive and sketchy, and abounds in details of purely local value, but it contains also a mass of information which the enquirer would look for in vain elsewhere. Above all it is stamped with an originality and individuality which set well upon the shoulders of a western man.

LA SALLE, AND THE DISCOVERY OF THE GREAT WEST. By FRANCIS PARKMAN. 16mo, pp. 483. LITTLE, BROWN & Co. Boston, 1879.

This, under another title, is the eleventh edition of the third part of Mr. Parkman's history of the early settlement of America by the French, published in 1869, as *The Discovery of the Great West*. Our readers are familiar with

the three volumes of Mr. Margry's "*Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*," numerous extracts from which have been translated for the pages of this Magazine.

Mr. Parkman was acquainted with this new and important material, but was unwilling to make use of it until the collection made by Mr. Margry should be made public. He now has taken advantage of it, and with these new lights, has revised and almost entirely rewritten the narrative, in which La Salle becomes the central figure. The new material particularly concerns the causes of La Salle's failure to find the mouth of the Mississippi in 1684. His quarrel with Beaujeu, the naval commander of the expedition, and the wreck of the "*Aimable*," told with charming precision in the original letter, make a fascinating page of history. The *Aimable* came to grief in the Bay of St. Louis, now Matagorda Bay; whether by accident, or by design as La Salle and his companions believed, cannot be determined. There were those, even, who thought that it was part of a plan to destroy La Salle, concerted by the Jesuits, who did not favor his discoveries. Mr. Parkman does not seem to give any credit to this view, indeed, passes it by. The expedition separated, Beaujeu returning to France, and La Salle entering the country to find the mouth of the Mississippi by land. The tragic sequel is well known. La Salle fell by the hand of an assassin. The band of explorers waited long and vainly for succor from France, but left to their fate at Fort St. Louis of Texas they finally fell a prey to the treachery of their savage neighbors.

THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATIONS OF

THE STATE OF NEW YORK. Prepared pursuant to a Concurrent Resolution of the Legislature. By ALLEN C. BEACH, Secretary of State. 8vo, pp. 459. WEED, PARSONS & Co. Albany, 1879.

These are volumes which will stand in history. They mark not only a period in the life of the nation, but form a land-mark in historical investigation. The several monographs in this collection, which have been brought together and carefully edited by Mr. Beach, contain the best accessible information concerning the events they describe. Nor has the skillful editor confined himself to printing the addresses alone, but has wisely added the best attainable accounts of the celebrations themselves, which in another century will interest the student of manners and customs almost as much as the earlier days they commemorate. New York played a great part in the revolution. The drum beat without pause upon her borders



for seven long years. The names of the occasions celebrated are ample evidence of this: I. The Adoption of the New York State Constitution in 1777, which the eminent jurist, Charles O'Connor, made the theme of an address on the Constitutions before the New York Historical Society and a vast audience of the culture and fashion of the Metropolis. II. The Adoption of the State Constitution at Kingston (celebrated July 30, 1877). III. The Battle of Oriskany, celebrated August 6, 1877, under the auspices of the Oneida Historical Society. The attention of historians is invited to the original material now for the first time published in the appendix to the address of Mr. Ellis H. Roberts, the orator of the day. IV. The Battle of Bemus' Heights, celebrated September 19, 1877. V. The ceremony of laying the corner-stone of the monument to David Williams, one of the captors of André, at the Old Fort in Schoharie, September 23, 1876. VI. The Surrender of Burgoyne, celebrated at Schuylerville, October 17, 1877. VII. The unveiling of the Cherry Valley Monument, August 15, 1877, an occasion on which Major Douglas Campbell, kinsman of a victim of that dark tragedy in which the bloodthirsty revenge of the Tories and the brutal instincts of the savage were joined in an eager rivalry of crime, delivered the address. The volume closes with an account of the Proceedings in Commemoration of the Occupation of the New Capitol in January, 1879, which gave an occasion for a recital of the past history of the old building, which was doomed to destruction with all its memories of seventy years. It will be long before New York shall again witness such scenes as those which marked the summer and fall of 1877, when her population was literally in movement by tens and twenties of thousands, as each successive celebration called them out to celebrate the deeds of their fathers on the old historic border ground.

THE LIFE OF DAVID GLASGOW FARRAGUT, FIRST ADMIRAL OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY. Embracing his journal and letters. By his son, LOYAL FARRAGUT. With portraits, maps and illustrations. 8vo, pp. 586. D. APPLETON & Co. New York, 1879.

This biography of the most famous naval commander of modern times was written by his only son at the express wish of the Admiral, and will hold its place as the authoritative record of his eventful life. In its preparation the officers of the navy have been freely consulted, and as far as possible the story of the Admiral is related by himself in what his son justly terms his characteristic language. No one who has met Farragut will ever forget him. To a frank, open and forcible nature, which is the tradi-

tional trait of the seaman, he added an inimitable grace and courtesy of speech, which won instant regard, and his conversation was as fascinating as his behavior was modest and refined. In a word, he combined in a rare degree the old requirements of chivalry, a womanly gentleness with a manly bravery, that took no account of danger, and had no sense of fear. The personal letters in this volume will be read with as much eagerness as the twice-told tale of the Passage of the Batteries of Vicksburg and the Capture of New Orleans and Mobile. With filial devotion and modest taste the author has justified and fulfilled the prophecy made in the United Service Magazine for January, 1865. "When his biography comes to be written, the public, who now see only high courage and indomitable vigor rewarded by great and brilliant victories, will recognize the completeness and harmony of a character that has so far appeared to them only in profile. The stainless honor, the straightforward frankness, the vivacity of manner and conversation, the gentleness, the flow of humor, the cheerful, ever buoyant spirit of the true man—these will be added to the complete education the thorough seamanship, the devotion to duty, and lastly, the restless energy, the disdain of obstacles, the impatience of delay or hesitation, the disregard of danger, that stand forth in such prominence in the portrait, deeply engraven on the loyal American heart, of the great Admiral."

Brave and unconquerable as Nelson, his high moral character adds to a fame, as a naval commander, equal to that of the hero of the Victory, a civic glory all his own.

NARRATIVE OF THE SECOND ARCTIC EXPEDITION MADE BY CHARLES F. HALL. His Voyage to Repulse Bay; Sledge Journeys to the Straits of Fury and Hecla and to King William's Land and residence among the Eskimos during the years 1864-69. Edited under the orders of the Secretary of the Navy, by Prof. J. E. NOURSE, U. S. N., U. S. Naval Observatory, 1879. 4to, pp. 644. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE. Washington, 1879.

The United States Government in the publication of this massive and elaborately illustrated volume has done but a simple act of justice to the memory of Captain Hall, who first applied to Arctic exploration a new and thoroughly American principle. If the barriers of the Polar seas are to be pierced, as we doubt not, and the mysteries held within unfolded by scientific investigation, the success of the enterprise will be in large measure due to the practical method,

introduced by Hall, of residence among the natives of the highest inhabited latitudes, their education, and ultimately their coöperation in the important task.

Hall made three expeditions. Of the first of these, May 29, 1860, to September 13, 1862, he published an account in his *Arctic Researches*, 1864.

The second voyage and residence among the Eskimos covered a period of more than five years, June 30, 1864, to September 26, 1869. Of this he left no narrative, his time on his return being occupied with preparations for his third voyage, that of the *Polaris*, on board which vessel he died suddenly, November 8, 1871. The record of this voyage, prepared by Rear Admiral Davis, was published by the Government in 1876, and was noticed in the *Magazine* for September, 1877 (I., 580).

After the death of Captain Hall the Government purchased his manuscripts, part of which were used by Admiral Davis. Others, comprising the larger portion, were found to belong to the second expedition, and form the basis of the present narrative. The citizens of New York, under the energetic impulse of the late Henry Grinnell and Mr. J. Carson Brevoort, were personally and pecuniarily interested in all of these explorations, and were warmly attached to Captain Hall, whose devotion to his self-imposed task and simple, modest manners endeared him to all with whom he was brought in contact. The presence of the Eskimos, whom he brought with him as practical evidences of the possibility of his well-devised scheme of land exploration, contributed not a little to the successful outfit of the expeditions.

It is needless to add that this record is prepared with the broad scope and nicety of detail which characterize the work of our American naval officers. The careful meteorological and astronomical observations made by Captain Hall are of incalculable value to science. The narrative of his residence among the natives is told with simplicity, and will prove interesting to the general reader as a story of personal experience, while serviceable in its hints to those who follow in his footprints on the glacial shores.

THE DARTMOUTH COLLEGE CAUSES
AND THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES. By JOHN M. SHIRLEY. 16mo, pp. 469. G. L. JONES & Co. St. Louis, 1879.

An admirable history of Dartmouth College, by Baxter Perry Smith, appeared in 1878, and received a careful review in the pages of the *Magazine* for September, 1879 (III., 589). A general account of the famous "Dartmouth Controversy" may be found in Mr. Smith's vol-

ume. The present book treats simply of the causes which originated in that controversy, and form one of the most remarkable passages in American legal and forensic history. They were five in number. Four were brought to test the validity of the acts of the New Hampshire Legislature to amend the charter of Dartmouth College. The fifth was brought into court September 23, 1819. The case, decided against the college in the U. S. Circuit Court, was carried up, under special direction of Mr. Webster, who came into it "at the eleventh hour," under a writ of error to the Supreme Court. Judge Marshall was the Chief Justice, and Mr. Webster relied on the single ground that the acts of the Legislature were "not within the general scope of legislative power." The points in the grand argument of Mr. Webster had been essentially made by Jeremiah Mason and Jeremiah Smith, who formed with him a "great triumvirate of prodigious intellectual power," to use Mr. Shirley's expressive and appreciative phrase. The lawyer and the jurist will follow the close account of the points made in the controversy, but the general reader will be amply repaid by the analysis presented of the characteristics of the legal giants who were engaged, and the estimates of their value in the counsel chamber and the forum of large debate. To others learned in the law must be left an appreciation of the manner in which Mr. Shirley interprets and reviews the judgments of the court.

THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS OF
THE UNITED STATES AT WASHINGTON.
16mo, pp. 557. By WEBSTER ELMES. W. H. & O. H. MORRISON. Washington, D. C., 1879.

This volume, in the words of the author, presents a comprehensive view of the powers, functions and duties of the heads of departments, bureaus and divisions, at Washington, as prescribed by law and regulations; together with a description in detail of the organization of each; also a sketch in detail of their practical operations in the transaction of public affairs and of business with the people. It will serve not only to instruct officers in their duty, but give the information required by those who have dealings with the departments which will enable them to transact their business without the intervention of any of the countless horde of middle men, who haunt the halls of the public buildings, and in their bolder sphere of operations form that intangible body which is termed the lobby. United States officials are easy of access, and have a ready answer for those who know how to ask for what they want. This volume will aid the latter class in their enquiries.



THE GREAT FUR LAND, OR SKETCHES OF LIFE IN THE HUDSON'S BAY TERRITORY.

By H. M. ROBINSON. With numerous illustrations from designs by CHARLES GASCHE. 24mo, pp. 348. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS. New York, 1879.

The picturesque phases of life in the Hudson's Bay territory are here graphically presented in a form of sketches, which illustrate the different seasons of the year. The opening chapter describes a winter's journey on a dog sledge from Fort Garry, across the frozen expanse of Lake Winnipeg, to Norway House at its northern extremity. The great Northern Packet of the Hudson's Bay Company, with which the journey was made, consists of four dog trains and drivers, and scatters news from the forty-ninth to the sixty-seventh parallel, and from Labrador to Alaska. In the far north summer treads close upon the heels of winter. In April the earth softens, and the streams are liberated from their ice chains. This is the season for canoe life, and the incidents of this dreamy existence are charmingly related. No one who has ever lived for a few days in a canoe can forget the delights and surprises which nature presents from the low level of observation which the thwarts afford.

Then follow chapters upon the half-breed voyageurs, descendants of the Canadian boatmen, of the *Coureurs des bois*, or wood-runners, the trappers of the great Northwest, of the wild Blackfeet, the Arabs of the Saskatchewan territory, and upon the history of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the life of whites and Indians in camp or on the great fall hunt, which opens at Pembina Mountain, in the Dakota region, in the first days of September, when the buffalo appears.

Well arranged and pleasantly written, this is a welcome addition to the descriptive literature of American life and customs. A variety of typical illustrations heighten its interest.

A GENEALOGICAL STATEMENT OF THE CLARKE FAMILY OF BOSTON, MASS.,

1731. With review of the same. By ISAAC GREENWOOD. For private distribution. 8vo, pp. 8. New York, 1879.

In these pages those interested in this class of research will find a reprint of William Clarke's genealogical statement of 1731, which appeared in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for January, 1879, and of a review of it from the same magazine for April, 1879. Nice critical acumen and a thorough knowledge of early New England family history

is shown, and numerous errors corrected. The account of the Saltonstalls will interest many.

ARMY SACRIFICES, OR BRIEFS FROM

OFFICIAL PIGEON-HOLES. Sketches based on official reports, grouped together for the purpose of illustrating the services and experiences of the regular army of the United States on the Indian Frontier. 32mo. D. VAN NOSTRAND. New York, 1879.

No one can speak with more authority of the services and sacrifices of the small devoted band, who for years, on the outskirts of civilization, have stood and protected our long line of exposed frontier from the brand and the tomahawk, than the author of these sketches, whose position in the Adjutant General's department gives him peculiar advantages for accurate knowledge of the subject he treats. The brief sketches he gives of actual occurrences, scattered over a period of nearly thirty years, are presented as examples of the dangers and privations of our soldiery, and of the gallantry and fortitude they display. The archives of the Government abound in reports of their encounters with the savage foe. Among the fourteen sketches are vivid narratives of Forsyth's fight at the Island of Death, the Fetterman massacre in the Fatal Valley, Powell's fight against overwhelming numbers in the same year, Pfeiffer's fight, and most memorable of all the story of Modoc treachery and the massacre of the lamented Canby in the Lava Beds, the 'horror' of 1873.

THE TOWN RECORDS OF GROTON, MASSACHUSETTS, 1662-1678. Edited by SAMUEL A. GREEN. 8vo, pp. 46. Groton, 1879.

In July, 1877 (I., 450), the attention of our readers was invited to a thorough and interesting account of this ancient town, included in the Proceedings of its Centennial Celebration of the Declaration of Independence, and the bi-centennial of its destruction by Indians in March, 1676.

These early records are now edited by the same careful, patient antiquary. They begin with what is called the 'Indian roll,' the earliest extant of the town records, and have a local interest.

We wish some local antiquary would do a similar service for the town of Groton, Connecticut, the records of which we saw a quarter of a century ago in the garret of a country store. They were full of interesting memoranda concerning the Ledyards and other old families of this ancient and notable city. The town is now called Ledyard, if we are not mistaken.

ECONOMIC MONOGRAPHS. A Series of Essays, by representative writers, on subjects connected with Trade, Finance and Political Economy. 8vo. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, New York, 1878 and 1879.

X. An Essay on Free Trade. By Richard Hawley. 1878.

XI. Honest Money and Labor. An address delivered in Boston, October 23, 1878, by Carl Schurz, Secretary of the Interior. 1879.

XII. National Banking. A discussion of the merits of the present system. By M. L. Scudder, Jr. Published for the Honest Money League of the Northwest. 1879.

XIII. Hindrances to Prosperity, or Causes which Retard Financial and Political Reforms in the United States. By Simon Sterne. Published for the N. Y. Free Trade Club. 1879.

In our December number, 1878 (II., 763), attention was invited to the first nine numbers of this extremely valuable collection of special papers. The able character of the series has been fully sustained, and a new line of contributors has come forward. This is as it should be; while it is not in the nature of such papers to be other than decided statements of opinions (the word doctrinal may as well be used), the greater the variety of treatment the better. All economic subjects are many-sided, though the light which shines through the different prisms is fixed and unchangeable. Over the subject of national banking there has been and will continue to be the widest diversity of opinion, even among those who are the most downright advocates of honest money and hard money. The limitation of circulation will soon become another ground of controversy. There are those who believe that the expansion of currency should be in paper. We are of the old-fashioned school which would limit the issue of paper to a minimum, and look for flexibility in coin. The new theory *may* be sound. The old has been proved to be so by the experience of nations.

A great error has been committed by the advocates of the national bank system in their unmeasured abuse of the greenback, which has aroused the dormant jealousy which has existed in our people since the days of Biddle's bank against the money power. All that is needed to

make the greenback perfect is to take away its legal tender quality, and stamp upon its face "payable in coin on presentation at any of the sub-treasuries of the United States."

LIFE OF MRS. ELIZA A. SETON, FOUNDRESS AND FIRST SUPERIOR OF THE SISTERS OF CHARITY IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, ETC. By CHARLES J. WHITE, D.D. Third edition. 12mo, pp. 504. KELLY, PIET & CO. Baltimore, 1879.

Eliza Ann Bayley, or "Mother Seton," the name by which she was known in the familiar parlance of the Roman Catholic Church, was the younger of two daughters of Dr. Richard Bayley of New York, where she was born on the 25th August, 1774. After a careful education by her father, she was married to Mr. William Seton of New York, a well-known merchant of this city, of Scotch descent. Her correspondence shows that from early womanhood the tone of her mind was eminently reflective and religious. In 1803 her husband, being in delicate health, was ordered to Italy, and his wife accompanied him; he died not long after. It was at Florence apparently that her impressionable nature was first influenced by the beauty of the altar of St. Lorenzo. At the same time one of the Leghorn bankers, Anthony Filicchi, to whom her husband was accredited, seems to have influenced her mind to the acceptance of the Roman Catholic faith, indeed, to have incited it to the point of conversion; but it was not until her return that she renounced the church of her fathers. Conversions in those days made a great stir in the fashionable world to which she belonged, and were heralded far and wide as triumphs of the faith. In 1808 she removed to Baltimore with her three daughters, and placing her sons at St. Mary's College, she established a female academy. In this she had the countenance of Mr. John Eager Howard, the advice of the venerable Bishop Carroll, and a liberal contribution in money from her Italian friend, Mr. Anthony Filicchi. The home of the sisterhood or Daughters of Charity was fixed near Emmetsburg, and two or three recruits arrived and "hailed her as mother." Such was the modest beginning of the conventual community of St. Joseph in the valley of that name, which has now grown into an extensive educational, religious and charitable institution, possessing broad acres, commodious buildings and numerous branches in other States.

Mrs. Seton was three times elected Mother Superior. She died in January, 1821, and was buried in the cemetery of the community, where she "reposes with her two hundred daughters, awaiting the final day."



where they took part in the disastrous campaign of the same summer. Sharon troops were later in the affair at Danbury, and her militia joined in the grand rally which enmeshed Burgoyne. A series of biographical sketches, alphabetically arranged, follows the historical sketch, and appendices are added, containing deeds, list of soldiers of the revolution, names of college graduates, representatives of the town in General Assembly, etc.

SUMMER VACATION AT MOOSEHEAD

LAKE AND VICINITY. A practical guide-book for tourists, describing routes for the canoe-man over the principal waters of Northern Maine, with hints to campers and estimates of expense for tours. Illustrated with twenty views, etc. By LUCIUS L. HUBBARD. 16mo, pp. 145. A. WILLIAMS & Co. Boston, 1879.

Of all months in the year, September and October are the best for camping out. Then nature is at its best, the bracing air inviting exercise, and the insects no longer haunting the woodpath or the stream borders. If the reader be tempted to camp out, the most attractive mode of hunting or fishing excursion, he will do well to visit the Moosehead region, and to take with him this practical guide, which lays down a number of admirable tours.

A MEMORIAL OF CALEB CUSHING, FROM THE CITY OF NEWBURYPORT. 8vo, pp. 178. Published by order of the City Council. Newburyport, 1879.

In this volume will be found a record of the exercises taken in various parts of the country on occasion of the death of one of the most remarkable men of this century. The chief feature in its pages is the eulogy delivered by the Hon. George B. Loring, who recited in glowing sentences the conspicuous services rendered by Caleb Cushing, for a period of time extending over two generations of men, as scholar, jurist, statesman, author, diplomatist, legislator, magistrate. Of an eminent puritan stock, distinguished in the church and the law, he brought to the public service, which he espoused in his early manhood, every trait requisite to success. His versatility of mind, vast acquirements and extraordinary memory, combined with an untiring energy and capacity for labor; his grasp of subject and his minute attention to detail, have rarely been equalled, and certainly never excelled; and to administration after administration, even those with the political opinions of which he differed, he was the chosen mentor on innumerable occasions, when his knowledge of

international law was essential to correct diplomatic action. The only fault found with his character was an alleged want of political consistency, but it is hard to measure the operations of an intellect so large as his by ordinary standards. Personally he was one of the most fascinating of men, and his conversation full of graphic illustrations. Long before his death the animosities he had aroused had faded away, and his loss was universally lamented as a national calamity. The city of his birth honors herself in this memorial to the memory of her most distinguished son.

LA CROSSE, THE NATIONAL GAME OF

CANADA. By W. G. BEERS. New edition, containing the laws of the game as recently amended. 16mo, pp. 276. DAWSON BROS. Montreal, 1879.

The name of Lacrosse is not likely to be forgotten so long as history preserves the memory of the massacre of the British garrison at Michillimackinac by a party of Indians, who surprised the fort while apparently intent upon this exciting game. From time immemorial it has been the national game of the northern tribes. An interest in it was renewed in 1860, and a set of rules published by Mr. Beers, who may, therefore, justly lay claim to having "naturalized" the sport. It first met popularity in Montreal, when the Iroquois Indians of Caughnawaga introduced it, has been adopted by various clubs, and has maintained a permanent existence with occasional periods of great popularity.

TROUTING ON THE BRULÉ RIVER, OR LAWYERS' SUMMER WAYFARINGS IN THE NORTHERN WILDERNESS. By JOHN LYLE KING. 12mo, pp. 293. THE CHICAGO LEGAL NEWS Co. Chicago, 1879.

This is another of those breezy, summery volumes which breed discontent in the minds of citizens home bound, in this torrid year, when the planets are astray and weather prophets abound. It tells of an excursion of three Chicago lawyers into the northern wilderness; an unsettled region, uninhabited even by Indians, which is traversed by the Brulé and Michigami streams. Those who would follow in the footsteps of the adventurous party will do well to take this fascinating volume with them as a mentor and guide. It will teach them how to conduct themselves towards each other, as well as towards the beasts of the field, and the birds of the air, and most particularly the finny tribes on which they must chiefly depend for their "daily bread."

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THE AFFAIR AT BLOCK-HOUSE POINT

1780

FOR a proper understanding of the event which I have undertaken to describe, it will be necessary to know the condition of the British wood-pile. The winter of 1779-80 was one of unusual severity. Heavy falls of snow in the vicinity of New York began about the middle of December, and these, added to the intense cold, soon cut off all communication with the city by water. By the middle of January the North River between New York and Paulus Hoeck could be crossed on the ice by the heaviest cannon, and soon afterwards "Provisions were transported upon Sleighs, and Detachments of Cavalry marched from New York to Staten Island (11 Miles) upon the Ice."¹ The cold was not only intense but long continued. As a consequence, fuel became so scarce in the city as to cause great anxiety. The wood on hand rose to such a fabulous quotation, that the British Commandant was forced to fix the maximum price at *four pounds sterling per cord*. So limited was the supply, that at one time all the fuel belonging to the army in the city was "70 cords of Wood and 80 Chaldrons of Coal,"² and the Barrack Master was driven to "purchase a number of old Ships and Hulks to be cut up" to warm the shivering army.³ "The Raven, A Brig & Schooner belonging to His Majesty," were devoted to this purpose. This scarcity, and the consequent high price of fuel, added to the urgent appeals of the British officers, with the offer of one dollar per cord for cutting, stimulated many efforts to supply the garrison. Whenever the scouting patriots were not too near, the Heights of Bergen, covered as they were with a heavy growth of timber, were a tempting field to the woodcutter. Paulus Hoeck as a depot, and its garrison to supply covering parties to the woodsmen, were brought into requisition.⁴ With these shifts, and the aid which the tory inhabitants of Bergen gave them, the British army passed the winter. But the

sufferings and annoyances already endured prompted early and abundant provision against their recurrence. During the following summer the crash of falling timber, under the sturdy strokes of the woodman's axe, was a familiar and frequent sound from Fort Lee to Bergen Point. The wood was thrown over the rocks or hauled to the shore to be loaded on boats for transportation to the city, or stored at Paulus Hoeck for the use of that garrison and to supply the New York market when needed. The refugees and inhabitants of uncertain patriotism were largely engaged in this business, and by it were at once enabled to testify their loyalty to their king, and earn a livelihood for themselves. But while the work was thus profitable both in a patriotic and personal view, it was not wholly unattended with danger. The patriots of the irregular as well as of the regular army, at uncertain and unexpected times, overran this paradise of the woodchopper, rendered his prospective profits in the business somewhat precarious, and now and then abridged his personal ability to serve his king. This made necessary the construction of redoubts and block-houses, into which the woodchopper could retreat at night, and to which he could fly in case of attack by day. The attempt of General Wayne to destroy one of these block-houses is the subject of my story.

On the New Jersey shore of the Hudson, directly opposite Eightieth Street in the city of New York, is a ravine, through which furnishes a very good pass from the river to the top of the heights. It also supplies an easy grade for the hauling of wood from the swamps to the landing on the shore. The soil and gravel carried by the water down this ravine have formed a small plateau a little above the level of high tide. The gorge is funnel-shaped, with the small end at the top of the hill, and through it the water from the swamps on the high ground flows to the river. Ascending this ravine the bearing is north, and thus the land lying on the northeast, or between the gorge and the river, assumes an angle somewhat acute. The easterly or river side of this triangle consists of the Palisades, which are precipitous, though at this point broken and irregular. The southerly side is closed by the ravine, with its rocky and precipitous bank, decreasing in height as it ascends the mountain. These two sides are inaccessible to attack. The third side of the triangle opens upon a level field on the top of the mountain. Within this triangle, and thirty-three feet northeast of the bank of the ravine, and eighty-seven feet northwest of the palisade on the river side, stood the block-house. Its foundation was about fifteen feet square. It was constructed of logs, in shape probably, like most structures of

the kind, and mounted two pieces of artillery. The traces of the foundation as they exist at this time show the river side of the structure to have stood on a line running northeast and southwest. The door, and probably the only entrance, was on the southwest side and towards the ravine. Fifty feet to the south of the block-house is a cleft in the rock. This is twelve feet wide at the bottom, but narrows in the ascent so as to admit the passage of only a single person. The bottom of the cleft is thirty-eight feet below the level of the block-house, and forty-three feet, horizontally measured, from the top. It offered the only entrance into the works from the ravine or river side. Across the field in front, and about sixty yards distant from the block-house, an abatis was constructed from the bluff on the river to the bluff on the ravine. It must have been about two hundred and twenty-five feet in length. Within this abatis, and probably extending from bluff to bluff, was a stockade, near which was a parapet. The only entrance to the block-house through the defences was "a subterraneous passage sufficient only for one man to pass." Whether this "passage" refers to the cleft in the rock already described or to one under the stockades is perhaps somewhat doubtful. If to the latter, it is probable that the opening was to the left of the block-house. This would give access to the brook further up the gorge. But I am inclined to the opinion that the cleft in the rock was the "subterraneous" entrance referred to. It was a natural passage, one impossible to be passed if defended, and opening at the nearest point to water for the garrison, and to the landing for communication with New York, near the door of the block-house, and the only way of escape towards Paulus Hoeck which Wayne was careful to cut off.

The construction of this work was due to an organized effort of a few refugees to induce their compatriots "to be employed on ample wages to cut fire wood for the use of his Majesties Garrison at New York." Those inclined to engage in the enterprise under Tom Ward and others were requested to call at the house of Jacob Jeraleson between the 19th and Tuesday, the 25th day of April, 1780. On the latter day the opportunity to join the enterprise seems to have closed. There is no doubt that a sufficient number were enrolled for the object contemplated, for on the night of Wednesday, the 30th day of April, a body of refugees, under Colonel Abraham Cuyler, who was in command (probably for the reason that he outranked Ward), crossed the river and occupied the ground. Apprehensive that they might be disturbed in their work, General Pattison, then in command at New York, ordered Major Lumm, then in command at Paulus Hoeck, to send one hundred men

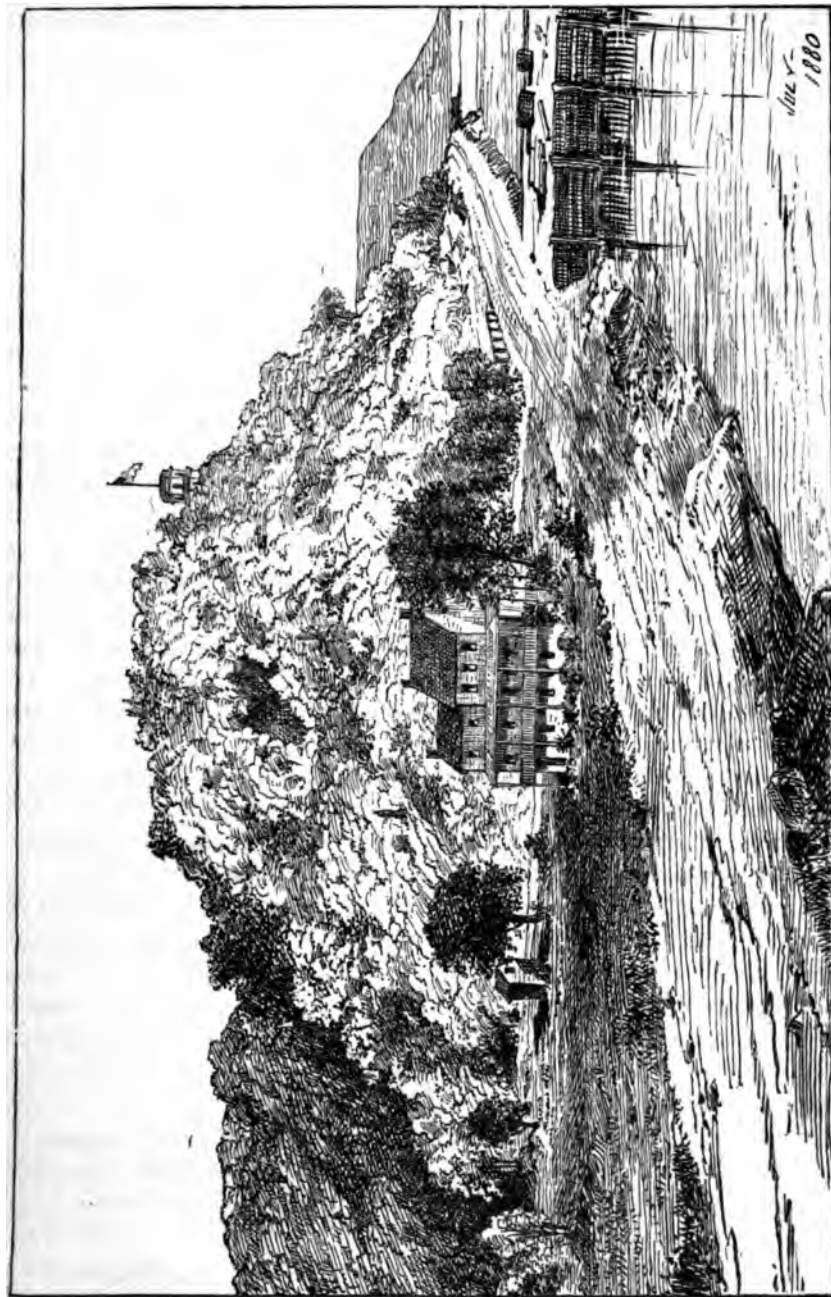


under a captain, at day-break of Thursday, May 1st, to take post on these Heights for the purpose of covering Colonel Cuyler and his men.* It was at this time they began the construction of the works already described. Besides the fortifications, a dock was constructed at the mouth of the ravine, to facilitate the loading of the boats.

From this time until the 21st of the following July the refugees held the place and proceeded with their work of cutting wood, and committing depredations on the people for miles around. The negroes of Bergen County regarded this post as the gate through which they might pass from slavery in New Jersey to freedom in the city of New York. They improved every opportunity to secure this change until they became a "burden to the Town," and the officer in charge was requested by his superior to prevent them passing the North River.⁶ Where Colonel Cuyler was at the time of the attack, and why he was absent, I do not know, but in his absence Captain Tom Ward, subsequently of Fort Delancey, a refugee post on Bergen Neck, was in command⁷ with about seventy men.

The British army lay on the east side of the Hudson, their encampment extending as far up as Yonkers. While the position of the block-house was of great strength, its design was not to offer obstinate or long-continued resistance to hostile approach. It was for temporary safety from the attacks of raiding parties of the patriots. More than in its own strength the safety of the position lay in the proximity of the British army. By crossing the river directly to the position immediate relief could be given, while by passing lower down a body could pass up the ravine of the Awiehacken and strike the rear of an attacking force by way of Three Pigeons, English Neighborhood and Liberty Pole. A source of yet greater danger to an attacking force lay in the ease with which a body of the enemy could cross the river from Dobbs Ferry to Closter, pass up the road there constructed, and by a short march seize upon the New Bridge. This pass over the Hackensack occupied, and the body marching below seizing the "Little Ferry," an attacking force would be effectually entrapped, with no way of escape except by cutting its way through the enemy.

At the time of the attack, which is the subject of this paper, Washington's headquarters were at the "Dey House" in Preakness, and General Wayne's at Totowa, now Paterson. When and to whom first occurred the thought of destroying the block-house it is quite impossible to say. But there is no doubt that the aid and comfort which the refugees were giving to the enemy in securing a vast quantity of fuel,



BLOCK HOUSE POINT, HUDSON RIVER.

and the number of cattle, owned by the farmers of Bergen County, which were liable to capture by foraging parties, suggested the propriety of breaking up this tory lodge, and driving the cattle into the American camp.* The enterprise having been determined on, its execution was entrusted to General Wayne. With his usual energy he forthwith began to reconnoitre the ground and its approaches, to weigh carefully the probabilities of the post being relieved from New York City, and to prepare a warm reception for Clinton's grenadiers should they attempt to reach the heights through the passes leading up from the river.

Accompanied by Robert Erskine, Geographer of the Continental army, Wayne visited Closter on the 17th of July, and carefully considered the possibilities of the British crossing the river from Phillips' farm, and pushing on to New Bridge by way of Closter landing. How near to Bull's Ferry he extended his examination of the ground does not appear, but he was without doubt well acquainted with the locality. On the 19th he submitted to the Commander-in-Chief a plan of operations. On the following day this was approved, and he was directed to proceed with the First and Second Pennsylvania Brigades, and Colonel Moylan's dragoons, "upon the execution of the business." His cautious Chief suggested a mounted "patrol all night," to provide against an ambuscade which the enemy might attempt, from information received through their emissaries near the American lines. Immediately on receipt of this order, General Wayne directed Captain Zebulon Pike to proceed with the horse under his command towards the lower landing at Closter, where he was to keep a strict eye on the motions of the enemy encamped on the opposite side of the river. Wayne was apprehensive that they would cross in force and push on to New Bridge for the purpose of cutting off his retreat. Captain Pike was to be on the ground at "the first dawn of day," provide material for a fire, and in case the enemy indicated an intention to land on the Jersey shore, to "raise as large a smoke as possible on the summit of the hill" in the rear. Expresses with full particulars in writing were to be despatched to Wayne by way of the Liberty Pole.

With the force mentioned and four six-pounders belonging to Colonel Proctor's artillery, in all about eighteen hundred men, Wayne moved from his camp at Totowa at three o'clock in the afternoon of the 20th by the road leading to Hackensack. At nine in the evening he arrived at the New Bridge. This was a little above the village, and was the only bridge over the Hackensack River south of the old bridge.

Here he halted until one o'clock in the morning, when he again took up his line of march on the road leading to the Liberty Pole, now Englewood. To ensure the safety of the New Bridge and his line of retreat, a field officer, with one hundred rank and file, properly officered, was left at this point. The remainder of the force proceeded by way of Liberty Pole and the road leading to Bergen to the road leading from the latter, at what is now Leeonia, to Fort Lee. Here the Second Brigade marched up the Fort Lee road to the Palisades; the Sixth Regiment to the lookout directly opposite to Spuyten Duyvel Creek, the Seventh to Fort Lee to observe the motions of the enemy on York Island. These two regiments lay concealed from observation, but ready to meet the enemy should they land and enter the defiles. Lieutenant-Colonel Harmer also posted a captain and forty men on the bank overlooking the landing opposite to Spuyten Duyvel, while he, with the remainder of his command, advanced southerly along the summit of the mountain about one mile towards Fort Lee, so as to be in a position to defend either place. Patrols were ordered to pass constantly between these points. General Irvine, with the remainder of his (Second) brigade, moved from Fort Lee on the mountain towards Bull's Ferry. As he moved along he threw out a chain of flankers upon his right, to beat up the enemy if, having scented the movement, they had prepared an ambush. From Bull's Ferry he moved along the river at the foot of the rocks and took a position on the plateau, near the landing, in order to cut off the retreat of the garrison to the boats.

The First Brigade, under Colonel Humpton, with whom were also General Wayne, Moylan's dragoons, and the artillery, moved along the open road by way of English Neighborhood to Bull's Ferry. Before leaving the old road, Wayne ordered Colonel Moylan to mount a foot soldier behind each of his dragoons, and ride with all possible speed towards Bergen. On arriving at the Three Pigeons, he left one or two horsemen and some foot to take post at that place to cover him from any attempt of the enemy by way of Weehawken. A detachment of foot also marched to the same point to aid the cavalry in case of need. With the remainder of his dragoons and mounted foot Colonel Moylan proceeded to and occupied the fork of the road leading to Paulus Hoeck and Bergen. This point was, in my opinion, on the top of Weehawken Hill. Here the road divided, one leading to the town of Bergen and Paulus Hoeck, and the other to Weehawken Ferry. By occupying this position he was sure to intercept an enemy coming from Paulus Hoeck or from New York by way of Weehawken. No evidence

has been found to justify a conclusion that the dragoons went nearer Bergen on this occasion. And the fact that one month afterward Bergen Neck was foraged of its cattle, seems to justify a belief that they did not. So that the cattle collected and driven off in this expedition must have been found between the present Union Hill and the New Bridge. This finds corroboration in Major André's "Cow Chase," which as a whole may be regarded as more historial than poetical.

I under cover of th' attack
 Whilst you are all at blows,
 From English Neighb'rood and Tinack
 Will drive away the cows.

On arriving near the block-house, at about ten o'clock in the morning, Wayne reconnoitered the works. The First Regiment was posted in a hollow way about one hundred yards to the north of the block-house; the Second covered the artillery, and the Tenth occupied the ravine to cut off the retreat of the garrison towards Paulus Hoeck. The First and Tenth Regiments were ordered to keep up a constant fire into the port-holes of the block-house to favor the advance of the artillery. These dispositions having been made, at eleven o'clock the artillery advanced to the medium distance of sixty yards from the block-house and opened fire. Without intermission, the cannonade was kept up until a quarter after twelve. During this time fifty-two shots penetrated the front of the block-house, its two small guns were dismounted, and

Five Refugees ('tis true) were found,
 Stiff on the block-house floor.

That any of the shot which penetrated the house passed through, I have no other evidence than the fact that on the opposite side of the ravine two six-pound shot have recently been found, and the following stanza from the "Cow Chase:"

No shot could pass, if you will take
 The Gen'ral's Word for true;
 But 'tis a d—ble Mistake,
 For every Shot went thro'.

But the refugees stationed in different parts of their defences maintained a stubborn resistance, and fired upon the assailants with telling effect. At this point of time, Wayne received a despatch from Captain Pike at Closter landing that the enemy at Valentine's Hill had embarked about three thousand troops on board of nine ships, one schooner and two sloops, and were beating down the river. Convinced of his inability to destroy the block-house with the light guns he had, and expecting

the enemy to land on the Jersey shore for the purpose of reaching the upland to attack him, or cut off his retreat, he convened a council of war on the field. This body soon arrived at the conclusion to retreat without delay. Wayne immediately sent word to Colonel Moylan to drive off the cattle from the Three Pigeons and proceed with all despatch to the Liberty Pole. When the troops, however, comprehended the situation and that they were to retreat, leaving the works undestroyed and the garrison uncaptured, the First Regiment left the hollow in which they had awaited the effect of the artillery fire, and with impetuosity, broke through the abatis and rushed up to the stockade. The Second caught the enthusiasm and also rushed forward. The Tenth, being in the ravine, and General Irvine's troops, being below the rocks along the river, were unable to advance. It was at this juncture that the heavy losses of the day occurred. The attacking force was unable to pass the stockade. This being within easy musket range of the block-house, the refugees, firing through the loop-holes, deliberately shot down the baffled troops. After considerable effort of the officers to withdraw their troops they fell back, and with the artillery moved up towards Fort Lee and Closter to meet the enemy should they attempt to land. This, however, was not attempted. After destroying some wood-boats at the landing near the mouth of the ravine, and capturing the deck-hands and cabin-boys, the disappointed troops marched back to New Bridge, taking with them the killed and wounded, except three who lay dead under the stockade. General Wayne remained at New Bridge that night, and reached his headquarters at Totowa on the following day.

The results of this expedition were not gratifying to the Americans. They drove off, between the Three Pigeons and New Bridge, "several hundred quadrupeds, consisting of horses, horned cattle, sheep and hogs;" or as Major André described it:

All in a cloud of dust were seen
The sheep, the horse, the goat,
The gentle Heifer, as obscene,
The Yearling and the shoat.

They captured a few men in charge of the wood-boats at the landing, and burned the boats. They killed six and wounded fifteen refugees. Nothing more than this was accomplished, notwithstanding the comparatively large force employed, the labor performed and the bravery exhibited. But as a set-off to these meagre results were the works at the post undestroyed, fifteen killed and forty-nine wounded. The



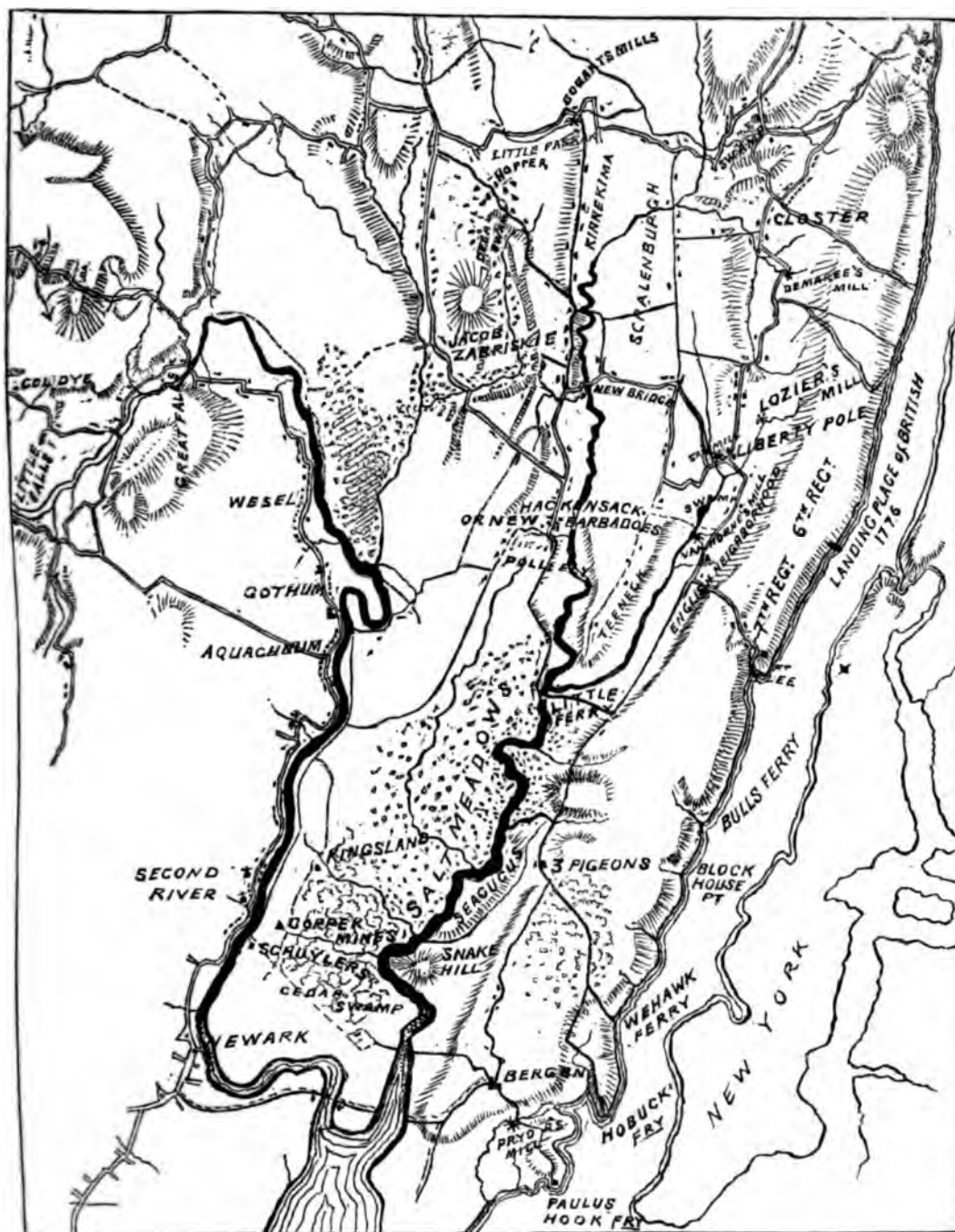
failure produced a keen and deep-felt mortification. Washington deeply regretted the misfortune, and hastened to explain away its bad effect upon Congress. General Wayne spoke of the attack as only a ruse to draw the enemy over to the Jersey shore, that he might cut them to pieces in the gorges of the mountain. He afterwards assigned another object to the expedition, in which he claimed to have been successful, but which to me seems an afterthought, viz., to prevent, or at least delay, the British sailing from New York to attack the French, then recently arrived at Newport, yet all of these ideas may naturally have made part of the general combination to keep the British force at New York alarmed and on the alert.

To add yet a keener pang to the mortification of failure, the enemy indulged in great exultation. In their sarcasm it did not require the trained soldiers of the King to rout the "rebels" with the hero of Stony Point at their head—a few mercenary wood-choppers were able to withstand the flower of the American army, although about twenty-five times their number. Sir Henry Clinton testified to them "his very particular Acknowledgement of their Merit." The King of Great Britain acquainted "the survivors of the brave *seventy* that their behavior is approved of by their Sovereign," and characterized their resistance as a "very extraordinary instance of courage." A sarcastic notice was published in Rivington Gazette of July 28, 1780:

"A lady presents her compliments to the Sir Clement of the Philadelphia Ball Room, and desires the next country dance may commence with a new movement, called

A TRIP TO THE BLOCK-HOUSE,
OR THE
WOODCUTTERS' TRIUMPH,

in compliment to a certain General, who (emulating his brother *Arnold*) was lately checked on the North River by a *malheureuse* event, and his glories (now on the *Wane*) threatened with an insuperable mortification." The most keen and clever satire of the expedition was the mock heroic poem, by Major André, called "The Cow Chase." But notwithstanding all this rejoicing, the Refugees did not care to try the experiment of another attack. They had been saved, not through their own prowess, but through a mistake in attacking them with such light guns. On the 9th of August following they evacuated the place, burnt the block-house, and retired to Fort Delancey, on Bergen Neck.



WEST OF THE HUDSON, FROM CLOSTER TO PAULUS HOOK.

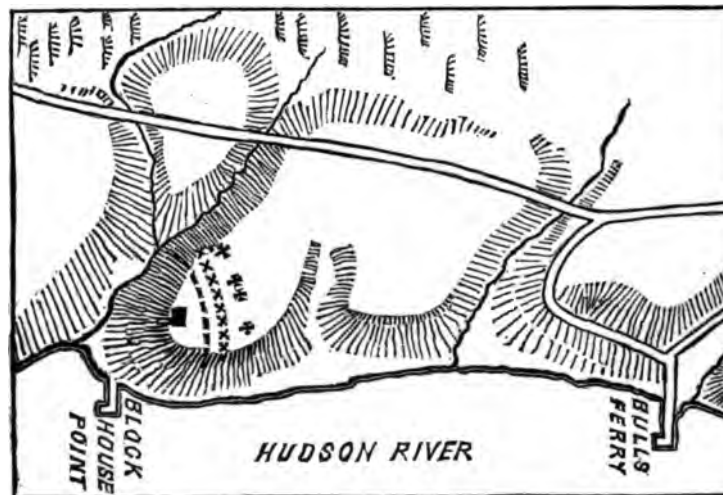
Thus ends the story of Wayne's attack on the block-house, near Bull's Ferry, July 21, 1780. What little glory is derivable from it does not belong to the American side. It is true, while they were Loyalists in sentiment, the Refugees were American born. The only comfort the patriots could derive from repulse was found in the fact that they were so manfully withstood by Refugees and not by the British. If when Greek meets Greek in the tug of war, the glory of triumph belongs alike to victor and vanquished, then the patriots could insist upon their right to a share of what the Refugees claimed for themselves for the stubborn defence of their works. Viewed in any other light, they were entitled to but little credit for the labors and sacrifices of that day. Block-House Point did not add freshness to the laurels which Stony Point had placed upon the brow of General Wayne.

Jersey City.

CHARLES H. WINFIELD

¹ N. Y. Historical Society Collections, 1875, 152. ² Ibid., 318. ³ Ibid., 340. ⁴ Ibid., 364.
⁵ Ibid., 391. ⁶ Ibid., 397. ⁷ Ibid., 413.

⁸ In a letter, dated "near the Liberty Pole, Bergen County, August 26th, 1780," Washington writes to Governor Livingston: "Our extreme distress for want of provision makes me desirous of lessening the consumption as much as possible. Some brigades of the army have been five days without meat. To endeavor to relieve their wants by stripping the lower part of the county of its cattle, I moved two days ago to this place, and yesterday completely foraged Barbadoes and Bergen Necks. Scarcely any cattle were found but milch cows and calves of one and two years old, and even those in no great plenty." (New Jersey Revolutionary Correspondence, 254.) For an interesting account of this foraging party, *vide* New York Journal, Sept. 11, 1780, and Winfield's History of Hudson County, 183.



PLAN OF ATTACK ON THE BLOCK HOUSE.

I

ORGANIZATION OF THE WOOD CUTTERS

Notice to Refugees and others, That are inclined to be employed on ample wages to cut FIRE WOOD, for the use of his Majesty's Garrison at New York, under the direction of Capt. Thomas Ward, David Babcock, John Everet and Philip Luke, Loyal Refugees, are desired to call between the date hereof, and Tuesday the 25th instant, at the house of Jacob Jeralemon, Inn-Keeper, joining the Tea-Water Pump, where attendance will be given at all times by the above named persons.

New York, April 19, 1780.

[*Rivington's Gazette, April 22, 1780.*]

II

GENERAL PATTISON TO MAJOR LUMM.

New York, April 30, 1780.

Sir,

You will be pleased to order a Detachment of a Captain and 100 Men, from the Garrison at Paulis Hook to march from thence to-morrow Morning at Day break, with One days Provisions.—This Detachment will proceed upon the Road leading to the English Neighbourhood, and the Commanding Officer will take Post upon the Heights, half a Mile below Bulls Ferry, upon the North River, in such manner as will most effectually cover a Body of Refugees under Col. Cuyler, who are to take Post and establish themselves, at the Place above mentioned this Night, in order to cut wood for the Army. The distance from Paulis Hook is Eight Miles. The Detachment will remain till Sun Set and then return to their Quarters, and the Officer Commanding the Party will communicate with Mr. Cuyler in such manner, as may most effectually tend to forward this Service.

I have only further to observe that Mr. Cuyler is not to be understood as having any Military Rank upon this Occasion.

[*N. Y. Historical Society Collections, 1875.*]

III

GENERAL WAYNE TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Totowa, 18th July, 1780.

In obedience to your Excellency's orders I

proceeded with Mr. Erskine to reconnoitre the landing places from Closter to Dobbs's Ferry, and found the following viz :—

Closter landing situate about six or seven miles above Fort Lee—and a little south of Phillips's was formerly made use of by the Inhabitants in its vicinity, and rendered practicable for two horse *sleds*, from the Declivity of the mountains to the river is about one half of a mile which is too steep and narrow to admit of Common Carriages—the descent being equal to one foot in five on an average—nor is there a sufficient *area* at the Dock to turn a team, or lodge stores upon—notwithstanding this the enemy found means to carry up a few light field pieces in H—but from experience I know that Artillery can be conveyed by manual labor over precipices and thro defiles impracticable for Horses and waggons which must have been the case here.

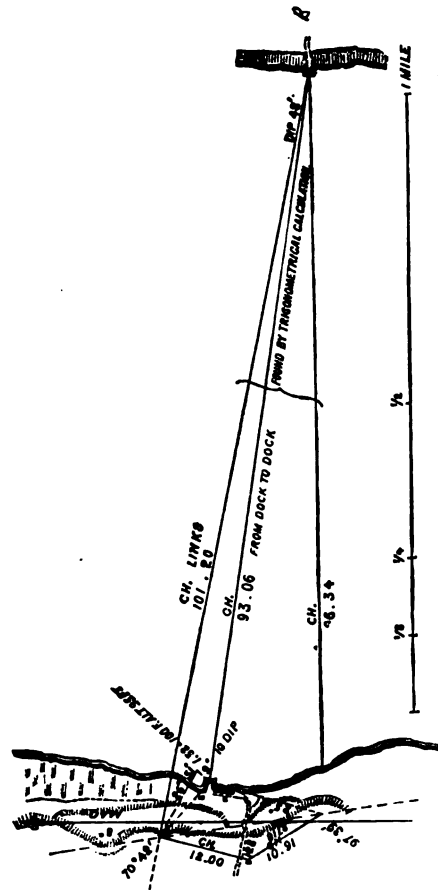
This road is at present obstructed by felled trees and large rocks so that nothing but single footmen can pass and that with difficulty.—A few infantry might defend the avenue—yet it will not afford a proper position to erect a Battery to cover the landing from the Insult of shipping.

The next is called Closter Dock—about a mile and a half higher up the river, and a little North of Phillips's, this road is also Impracticable for waggons part of the way forming an angle of near 20 degrees decent—but as a Military position much superior to the first—between this and Dobbs's is another landing, less practicable than either of these.

Our next object was Dobbs's ferry which affords an easy and safe carriage, the roads leading to it from Closter, Paramus, &c,—being very level and with a little improvement may be made excellent—there are six months men under Captains Laurence, and Blanck, at Tappan and Closter sufficient for the purpose.

The ground on the West side of the river is favorable for Batteries against shipping—an attempt was made by the enemies Gallies to annoy the ferry way in 1778—when they soon found it expedient to fall down the river on re-

ceiving a few shot from a little work thrown up in haste to cover the landing—as noted on the enclosed sketch.



Data for ascertaining the width of the North River at Dobbs's Ferry, taken with a theodolite, July 17th, 1780, by Robt Erskine, F. R. S. Geogr. A. U. S. [From a draft in Department of State, Washington.]*

There are two small eminencies one on the North the other on the South side the road which with a Block-house and Captains command in each, would effectually cover the Battery from any attempt by land unless accompanied by Artillery and in-force.

* The original draft of this sketch is in the New York Historical Society Collections, but there is no site of any forts indicated upon it.

The east side is also favorable for Batteries to cover the landing—And immediately to the S. E. is a hill or strong rising ground commanding all the country within reach of cannon shot, and may be rendered a safe repository for the stores when landed.

The inclosed sketch will show respective positions alluded to with the width of the River at Dobbs's.

I must beg leave to refer you to Mr. Erskine for the state of the roads and their distances.

Interim, I am your Excellency's most obedient and very Humble Servant.

ANTY WAYNE

N. B. There is a very fine forage country in the vicinity of Dobbs's, the owners chiefly Caitiffs.

His Excellency

Genl. Washington.

[From original in Department of State, Washington.]

IV

GEN. WASHINGTON TO GEN. WAYNE

Head Quarters Colonel Dey's
20 July, 1780

Dear Sir,

You will proceed with the first and second Pennsylvania brigades, and Colonel Moylan's regiment of dragoons, upon the execution of the business planned in yours of yesterday. I do not at present think of any necessary alteration, except that of detaching a few horse this afternoon to patrol all night, and to see that the enemy do not, in the course of the night, throw over any troops to form an ambushade. They need not go so low down, nor in such numbers, as to create any alarm. They may inquire as they go for deserters, after whom they may say they are in pursuit. The enemy have so many emissaries among us, that scarce a move or an order passes unnoticed. You are so well acquainted with the critical situation of the ground, that it is needless in me to recommend the extreme of caution. I most heartily wish you success, being, with real esteem, &c.—
[Sparks' Writings of Washington, VII., 115.]

V

GENERAL WAYNE TO [—————]

Totoway 20th July 1780.

Dear Sir :

You will proceed with the horse under your command towards the lower landing at Closter, so as to be certain of arriving on the lookout tomorrow morning by the first dawn of day—where you will keep the strictest eye on the motions of the enemy, encamped on Voluntine's hill, and near Phillips's,—should you discover an attempt in them to effect a landing on this side the North river you will immediately raise as large a smoke as possible on the summit of the hill in your rear keeping it up as long as the enemy continues to cross for which purpose you'll prepare fuel and materials the instant you arrive on the ground.

You will also despatch two or more trusty horsemen with the particular intelligence in writing of the numbers &c. that embark, the moment they get on board the boats,—they are to push with all possible despatch by the Liberty Pole towards Bull's ferry where I will be found.

You are to call on Captain Blanck of the six months men to join you with his company, and all the militia he can collect, and shou'd the enemy attempt a landing you and he are to give them every possible opposition—the defiles thro' which they must pass to gain the hill will be very favorable for the purpose—and if properly defended may oblige the enemy to retire and reflect lasting honor on the troops that oppose them. As the safety of the whole Division and horse greatly depend on a strict observance of every part of these orders I am confident they will be carried into execution.

You will retire tomorrow evening to the new bridge giving Captain Blanck directions to send to that place, if he should make any discoveries after you leave him.

Interim, I am your most obt Huml Servant

ANTY WAYNE

[From original in Department of State, Washington.]

NOTE.—No address to this letter is given. It was probably written to Colonel Moylan, possibly to Capt. Pike, who, on the following day, reported to Wayne from the place indicated.

VI

GEN. WAYNE'S DIVISION ORDERS

After Orders New Bridge,

12 o'clock 21st 1780

A field officer with two companies or one hund. Rank and file properly officered to take post at this place, which if attacked in the absence of the Division, must be defended to the last extremity.

The Sixth Regiment will advance to the lookout immediately opposite, Spiken-devel Creek or Kings Bridge—the seventh to Fort Lee in order to observe the motions of the enemy on York Island ; The Officers and men will secrete themselves so as not to be observed from the opposite side the River—

Lieut. Col. Harmer will leave a Capt. and forty men on the bank overlooking the landing place, in order to defend that defile—whilst he with the remainder advances along the summit of the mountain about one mile lower down between that and Fort Lee, so as to be in a position to move to either place or point in case the enemy attempt a landing, but the Capt's command must continue in the post assigned him at all events,—

Patroles to pass constantly between the posts and up the river, should the commanding officer observe the enemy embarking—they are to send immediate notice to Genl. Wayne towards Bull's ferry, and to make every possible opposition, when the enemy begins to ascend the Hill, and as the situation of these Regiments will admit of Acting in Conjunction in case of necessity ; the General has the fullest confidence that they will maintain the posts assigned them ; and at the point of the Bayonet, meet the enemy in the gorge of the Defiles and dispute that ground at every expence of blood until the arrival of the Division when they may be assured of effectual support and in all human probability of a glorious victory.

General Irvine with the remainder of his Brigade, will move by fort Lee on the summit of the mountain for Bull's ferry and endeavor to introduce a sufficient number of men between the Block-house and the River if practicable so as to prevent the retreat of the garri-

son, great caution must be observed on this route least the Troops may be drawn into an ambush, should that be the case the Bayonet will be their true resort—Which they will use with a confidence of being vigorously supported by the first Penns. Brigade, moving parallel with them—attended by Colo. Moylan's Dragoons and the Artillery along the open road—Genl. Irvine will direct a chain of flankers to observe the advance of the right column, the situation of the ground being favorable for it—if he makes any material discovery he will be so obliging as to communicate it—the soonest possible—

A Detachment from the first will prevent the retreat of the Refugees towards Paulers hook, Whilst this is performing, the Artillery will be preparing to demolish the Block House.

Every precaution will be used to guard against any serious consequences from up the river, and should the enemy be hardy enough to attempt the relief of this Post from Fort Washington it may add never failing laurels to troops which has always stept the first for Glory, and who has everything to expect from victory—nothing to dread from disgrace, for altho it is not in their power to command success, the General is well assured they will produce a conviction to the world that they deserve it.

[From original in Department of State, Washington.]

NOTE.—The above order was issued by General Wayne at 12 o'clock in the night between the 20th and 21st of July.

VII

GENERAL WAYNE TO COLONEL MOYLAN

July 21st 1780.

Dear Sir :

After mounting a footman behind each Dragoon you will proceed as fast as possible towards Bergen town—when you arrive at the Pigeon—you will leave one or two trusty horsemen, and as many foot as you think proper in order to cover you from any attempt of the Enemy by *Wehock route*.—

Altho. its of consequence to drive off as many cattle as possible—yet I do not wish you to commit yourself too much.

A party of foot will advance towards the Pigeon to cover you in case you are pushed—shou'd that event happen your own good judgment will govern your retrograde manouvre.

If a movement of the enemy *up the river* renders a retreat necessary, I will find means of giving you the earliest intelligence.

You will oblige the inhabitants to serve as Guides, letting them know the consequences of a deception.

I wish you success and am with much esteem

Yours most affect.

[ANTY WAYNE]

[From original in Department of State, Washington.]

NOTE.—This order must have been given in the morning, before the attack was begun, probably before the first Brigade left the main road at English Neighborhood.

VIII

CAPTAIN PIKE TO GENERAL WAYNE

At the New Dock of Closter.

July 21, 1780.

Dear General.

The Enemy Agreeable to a rough calculation has embarked (on board nine ships, one schooner and two sloops) about three thousand Troops, and are now under way beating down towards New York, they appear to have left a small encampment near Phillips House but perhaps not many, Troops now there may be necessary to forwd on the remains of their Baggage, if any there be, there has several small vessels such as sloops and schooners gone up this day and lay near Phillips's House which possibly they mean to embark the remainder of their troops & Baggage on board, off—the movements of their Troops, of the Manor, appears to be very Genl.

I am with Respect your most obd. servant.

ZEB. PIKE.

To Genl. Wayne.

[From original in Department of State, Washington.]

IX

GENERAL WAYNE TO COLONEL MOYLAN

July 21st, 12 o'clock.

Circumstances render expedition necessary therefore begin to drive the cattle from Three Pigeons—this may be done with the horse only.

You will proceed with all possible despatch to the Liberty Pole. We will cover your rear.

Yours most Sincerely

ANTY WAYNE

To Colonel Moylan

[From original in State Department, Washington.]

X

GEN. CLINTON'S THANKS TO THE REFUGEES

Headquarters July 21, 1780

Sir.

The Commander in Chief admiring the Gallantry of the Refugees, who in such small Numbers defended their Post against so very considerable a Corps and withstood both their Cannonade and Assault; desires his very particular Acknowledgement of their Merit may be testified to them.

His Excellency requests you will give in a Return of the Numbers present at this spirited Defense, that he may give Directions for uniform, Cloathing and Hats being given them from the Inspector General's Office.

In future your Requisition of Ammunition will be valid with the Ordinance

I have the Honor to be

Sir. Your most Obedient

and most humble Servant

JOHN ANDRE

D. A. G.

[*Rivington's Gazette*, July 26, 1780.]

NOTE.—The above approbation was signified to Colonel Cuyler, by the Adjutant General.

XI

GENERAL WAYNE TO GENERAL WASHINGTON

New Bridge 9 o'clock P. M. 21 July 1780.

Dear General

Being convinced that our field-pieces were too light to make the wished impression on the block-house by Bull's Ferry, from an ex-

perience of more than an hour (at no greater distance than from fifty to seventy yards), during which time both officers and men evinced a degree of bravery seldom equalled, but never excelled; and seeing the enemy in motion on York Island, and their shipping under way, together with certain accounts of the embarking of a very large body of troops from Valentine's Hill, it was unanimously determined, in a Council of War on the field, to withdraw the artillery, and fall back by easy degrees to this place, to prevent the disagreeable consequences of being shut up in Bergen Neck. We accordingly moved off, after burning the flats and boats lying at the landing, and driving the cattle from that country, which was part of our plan. Our loss is from fifty to sixty killed and wounded, whom we carried off, without the least molestation. I will have the honor of transmitting to Your Excellency the particulars tomorrow.

I think it my duty to mention, that the enemy are in full motion on the North River, chief part of their troops embarked. As they have completed their foraging in the East and Westchester, may not good policy induce them to take post between the Liberty Pole and this place, in order to render that essential article very difficult for your Excellency to procure, in case of a siege? I will shift my ground about two in the morning, and fall back towards the camp.

[*Sparks' Correspondence of the Revolution*, III, 34.]

XII

CAPTAIN PRICE TO GENERAL WAYNE

Camp Totawa July the 22d

Dr. General,

Enclosed I have sent you return of the killed and wounded of the Artillery detached to first and second Pennsya. Brigades—

I am sorry every thing was not done that was expected from the Artillery in the attack on the Block House yesterday. I believe you are convinced it was impossible for men to do more than was done both by men and officers but the logs were so thick that it is impossible for six pounders to penetrate them and in conse-

quence rendered it impossible for us to demolish it, if we had twelve or eighteen pounders instead of six we would have completed the business.

I have the honor to be with respect your very
Hm. Servt;

JOS. PRICE.

The Honorable Genl. Wayne

[ENCLOSURE]

Return of the Killed and Wounded of that part of the Pennsylvania Troops engaged at the Block House at Bulls Ferry on the 21st July 1780—

Proctors Artillery—Wounded, 1 Corporal, 1 Bombardier, 2 Gunners, 8 Matrosses.

Detached Party of the first Regt.—Killed, 2 Serjeants & 8 Rank & File; Wounded, Lieut. Hammond, Lieut. Crawford, 2 Serjeants, and 24 Rank & File.

Second Regt.—Killed, 1 Serjeant & 4 Rank & File; Wounded, Lieut. De Hart and 3 Rank and File.

Detached Party of the Tenth Regt.—Wounded, 1 Serjeant and 4 Rank and File.

Artillery—Total Wounded, . . . 12

Infantry—Total Killed, . . . 15

" Total Wounded, . . . 37

Total Artillery & Infantry Killed & Wounded, . . . 64

JOS HARMAR Lt Col

XIII

GENERAL WAYNE TO GENERAL WASHINGTON
Totowa 22 July, 1780

Dear General,

In pursuance of the plan, which your Excellency was pleased to adopt, the first and second Pennsylvania brigades with four pieces of artillery belonging to Colonel Proctor's regiment, and Colonel Moylan's dragoons, took up their line of march on the 20th, at three o'clock P. M. and arrived, a little in the rear of New Bridge, at nine in the evening. We moved again at one in the morning, in order to occupy the ground in the vicinity of Fort Lee and the landing op-

posite King's Bridge, by the dawn of day; and agreeably to the inclosed order, we advanced towards Bull's Ferry,—General Irvine, with part of his brigade, along the summit of the mountain, and the first brigade, under Colonel Hump-ton, with the artillery and Colonel Moylan's horse, on the common road. About ten o'clock, part of the first brigade had reached that place. Colonel Moylan with the horse, and a detachment of infantry, remained at the fork of the road leading to Paulus Hook and Bergen, to receive the enemy, if they attempted any thing from that quarter.

On reconnoitering the refugee Post, near Bull's Ferry, we found it to consist of a block-house, surrounded by an *abatis*, and stockade to the perpendicular rocks next the North River, with a kind of ditch or parapet, serving as a covered way. By this time we could discover the enemy in motion on York Island, which began to open a prospect of our plan taking a full effect. General Irvine was directed to halt in a position from which he could move to any point where the enemy should attempt to land, either in the vicinity of this post or Fort Lee, where the sixth and seventh regiments were previously concealed, with orders to wait the landing of the enemy, and then, at the point of the bayonet, to dispute the pass in the gorge of the mountain, at every expense of blood, until supported by General Irvine, and the remainder of the troops.

The first regiment was posted in a hollow way on the north side of the block-house, and the tenth in another hollow on the south, with orders to keep up a constant fire into the port-holes, to favor the advance of the artillery, which was covered by the second regiment. When the four field-pieces belonging to Colonel Proctor's Regiment arrived at the medium distance of sixty yards, they commenced a constant fire, which was returned by the enemy, and continued without intermission from eleven until a quarter after twelve o'clock. By that time we received expresses from Closter, that the enemy were embarking their troops from Valentine's Hill,* at Phillips Landing. We also

* Valentine's Hill was the residence of Thomas Valentine, about two and a half miles below Yonkers.

saw many vessels and boats moving up with troops from New York, which made it necessary to relinquish a lesser for a much greater object, that is, drawing the enemy over toward the posts already mentioned, and deciding the fortune of the day in the defiles through which they must pass before they could gain possession of the strong grounds.

In the interim we found that our artillery had made but little impression, although well and gallantly served, the metal not being of sufficient weight to traverse the logs of the block-house; but when the troops understood that they were to be drawn off, such was the enthusiastic bravery of all ranks of officers and men, that the first regiment, no longer capable of restraint, rather than leave a post in the rear, rushed with impetuosity over the *abatis*, and advanced to the stockades, from which they were with difficulty withdrawn, although they had no means of forcing an entry. The contagion spread to the second; but by very great efforts of the officers of both regiments, they were at last restrained, not without the loss of some gallant officers wounded and some brave men killed. Happy it was that the ground would not admit of the further advance of the tenth regiment, and that the situation of General Irvine's brigade prevented them from experiencing a loss proportioned to those immediately engaged (as the same gallant spirit pervaded the whole), which might be a means of frustrating our main object, by incumbering us with too many wounded.

The artillery was, therefore, drawn off, and forwarded towards the wished-for point of action. The killed and wounded were all moved away, except three, that lay dead under the stockades. During this period, Colonel Moylan's horse drove the cattle &c. from Bergen up towards the Liberty Pole, whilst a detachment of infantry destroyed the sloops and wood-boats at the landing, in which were taken a Captain and mate, with two sailors. Some others were killed whilst attempting to escape by swimming. Having thus effected part of our plan, we pushed forward to oppose the troops from Valentine's Hill that we expected to land at the nearest point to New Bridge. If effected, we were determined to drive them back, or to

cut our way through; but in this project we were disappointed; the enemy thought proper to remain in a less hostile position than that of the Jersey shore. We therefore passed the New Bridge, and, by easy degrees returned to this place about an hour ago.

Inclosed is a copy of the orders of the 20th together with a return of the killed and wounded, 64 in number, among whom are Lieutenants Hammond and Crawford, of the first, and Lieutenant Dehart of the second, all very worthy officers; the latter mortally wounded.

I cannot attempt to discriminate between officers, regiments, or corps, who, with equal opportunity, would have acted with equal fortitude. Should my conduct, and that of the troops under my command, meet your Excellency's approbation, it will much alleviate the pain I experience in not having it in my power to carry the whole of the plan into execution, which was only prevented by the most malicious fortune.

[*Correspondence of the Revolution, III.*, 37. *The Casket of 1829, III.*, 396.]

XIV

GEN. WAYNE'S DIVISION ORDERS

July 23d, 1780

It is with infinite pleasure that General Wayne acknowledges to the worthy officers and soldiers under his command since the 20th inst., that he never saw more true fortitude than that exhibited on the 21st by the troops immediately at the point of action—Such was the enthusiastic bravery of all ranks of officers and men that the 1st regt, no longer capable of restraint, rushed with impetuosity over the *Abattis* and up to the Stockades, from which they were with difficulty withdrawn; the contagion spread to the 2d—but by the united efforts of the field and other officers of each regt, they were at last restrained. The General fortunately would not admit of the further advance of the 10th & the situation of General Irvine's & the other troops, prevented them from experiencing some loss of men; as the same gallant Spirit pervaded the whole, they very probably would have shown the same eager desire for close action. The Block-house was only a secondary Object, &

to serve as a line to draw the enemy across the river, & to afford us an opportunity of deciding the fate of the day in the defiles through which they might pass before they could possess the strong ground. At 12 o'Clock the affairs assumed a pleasing aspect—By intelligence from Closter that the British were embarking at Phillips & falling down the river towards Fort Lee, where the 6th & 7th regts were posted with orders to secrete themselves, and after the enemy landed to meet them in the gorge of the mountain & dispute the pass with the point of the Bayonet at every expence of blood, untill General Irvine with the 2d, and Colonel Humpton with the first Brigades would arrive to support them. So that there ought to be no difficulty in giving up a small object for one that was capital. Indeed, had the artillery been of sufficient caliber, the brave officers & men who conducted them would have succeeded in the reduction of the block-house by a constant fire of more than one hour, within the medium distance of 60 yards, & not be under the disagreeable accusation of leaving a post unreduced behind them; this being too trifling an affair to attend to any longer, when a more ample and glorious prospect was before us, but in this we have been disappointed as the enemy prudently chose to remain in a less hostile position than that of the Jersey shore.

The General cannot attempt to discriminate between officers, Regts or Corps, who with equal opportunity would have acted with equal Fortitude—he fondly hopes that day is not far distant, when the prowess of those troops will be acknowledged by the European & American World.

By order of General Wayne

B. FISHBOURN

A. Camp

[*Pennsylvania Archives*, VIII., 452.]

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XV

GENERAL IRVINE TO CAPT. TRUMBULL

Camp, July 23d, 80

Sir:

I am perfectly convinced that so far from any thing being wanting in the officers and the men

of the Artillery at the attack on the Blockhouse that I think it would have been impossible for men to have behaved better. Give me leave to assure you that I am of opinion, their conduct on that occasion presages happier efforts in the future.

I wish you to have your expenditures of Commutation replaced as soon as possible, but as to the quantity & quality I leave that to you.

I am Sir

Yr obt St

W. IRVINE

Captain Trumbull

[*From the original in possession of Dr. W. A. Irvine.*]

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XVI

GENERAL WAYNE TO COLONELS DELANY AND JOHNSTON

Totoway 26 July 1780

Dear Colonels

You have undoubtedly heard of our march to Bergen, but as ignorance, malice or envy, aided by the tongue of slander, may attempt to misrepresent that affair, I shall just mention the objects in view, viz.: to drive the stock out of Bergen Neck; to prevent the enemy from receiving constant supplies from that quarter, and in case of a siege to secure to our own use those cattle which they would carry into New York. One other was the destruction of the Refugee Post near Bull's Ferry, consisting of a Block-House, surrounded by a stockade and abbatis, with a ditch or parapet serving as a covered way, garrisoned by refugees, Tories, and all the banditti, and robbers and horse thieves of that country, with some pieces of artillery. But the grand object was to draw the army which General Clinton brought from Charleston, made up of grenadiers, guards and light infantry, into the defiles of the mountain in the vicinity of Fort Lee, where we expected them to land, in order to succour the Refugee post, or to endeavor to cut off our retreat to New Bridge; the object to them was great; the lure appeared to take; three thousand British embarked at

Phillips's and fell down opposite the landings, where the sixth and seventh regiments were posted with orders to secrete themselves until the enemy had debarked, and then to meet them in the gorge of the defiles, and with the point of the bayonet to dispute the pass at every expense of blood, until the arrival of the first and second brigades, which would place the British boys between three such fires, aided by the bayonet, too much for human firmness to withstand; but these gentry prudently remained on board, which was a less hostile position than that of the Jersey shore. I may now with safety mention, that one object, not the least, was to divert their attention from a meditated attempt upon Rhode Island, in a combined attack by land and water on the French fleet and army at that place. Six thousand men were actually embarked, who have been delayed by this manouvre four days, a circumstance which will render their meditated attack wholly abortive. I always had the highest opinion of the Pennsylvania troops, if it were possible, on this occasion they would have increased my admiration.

Tell Mrs Delaney and Mrs Peters that of equal rank no country or service can produce a more worthy officer than their brother, Lieutenant Colonel Robinson; if he has a fault, it is extreme excess of bravery. He commanded the first regiment that day; his horse was wounded under him in two places, and his coat riddled by musket balls and buckshot; he has deservedly become the idol of his soldiers.

[*The Casket* (Sept., 1829), *III.*, 397.]

XVII

GENERAL WAYNE TO PRESIDENT REED

Totoway 26 July 1780

Dr Sir,

You have undoubtedly heard of our tour to Bergen, but it is a duty I owe to you, the troops I commanded & to myself, to make you acquainted with the objects of that expedition, lest the envy, Malice, or tongue of Slander should attempt to misrepresent that affair.

One was to take all the stock out of Bergen

neck to prevent the enemy from receiving constant supplies from the Inhabitants out of that Quarter, and in case of a siege to secure to their own use those Catle that they would Inevitably carry into New York, another was the Destruction of a post near Bull's ferry consisting of a Block-House, surrounded by a strong Stockade, and abattis, Garrisoned by the Refugees & a wretched banditti of Robbers, horse thieves, &c.

But the Grand Object was to draw the army which Sir Henry Clinton brought from Charles town into action in the Defiles of the Mountain in the Vicinity of Fort Lee, where we expected them to Land in order to succour the refugee post, and to endeavour to cut off our retreat to the Liberty Pole & New Bridge, the apparant object to them was great, and the lure had like to take the wished effect. Three thousand men consisting of the flower of the Brittish Army were embarked from Phillips and stood down the river hovering off the Landing near Fort Lee, where the 6th & 7th Pennsy Regiments lay concealed with directions to let them land unmolesed (giving me Intelligence of the attempt,) & then to meet them in the Gorge of the Defile and with the point of the Bayonet to dispute the pass at every expense of blood, until the arrival of the first and second Pennsy. Brigades when we should put them between three such fires as no human fortitude would withstand, and I may now with safety mention that it was also designed to divert their attention from a Meditated attempt on Rhode Island by a combined attack by Land and Water on the French fleet & Army in that place, this has had the effect by retarding them four days after they had actually Embarked upwards of six thousand men for that very purpose, it will therefore be too late to attempt anything at this period as the french will be prepared for it.

Inclosed is the order of the 20th and 22d to which and to the General's letter to Congress I must refer you for particulars.

I always had the highest Opinion of the troops but my most Sanguine wishes, fell far short of the real fortitude, & bravery, which pervades the whole, even the new recruits rushes on to storm altho. not the object.

[*Pennsylvania Archives VIII.*, 450.]

XVIII

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO THE PRESIDENT OF
CONGRESS.

Head Quarters, Bergen County,
July 26, 1780.

Sir :

Having received information that there were considerable numbers of cattle and Horses in Bergen Neck, within reach of the enemy and having reason to suspect that they meant shortly to draw all supplies of that kind within their lines. I detached Brigadier General Wayne, on the 20th, with the first and second Pennsylvania Brigades, with four pieces of Artillery attached to them, and Colonel Moylan's regiment of dragoons to bring them off. I had it also in contemplation, to attempt, at the same time, the destruction of a Block-house erected at Bull's Ferry, which served the purposes of covering the enemy's wood cutters, and giving security to a body of Refugees, by whom it was garrisoned, and who committed depredations upon the well affected inhabitants for many miles around.

General Wayne having disposed of his troops in such a manner as to guard the different landing places on the Bergen shore, upon which the enemy might throw over troops from York Island to intercept his retreat, and having sent down the Cavalry to execute the business of driving off the stock, proceeded with the first, second and tenth regiments and the artillery to the Block-house, which he found surrounded by an abattis and stockade. He for sometime tried the effect of his field pieces upon it, but though the fire was kept up for an hour, they were found too light to penetrate the logs of which it was constructed. The troops, during this time, being galled by a constant fire from the loop holes of the house, and seeing no chance of making a breach with cannon—those of the first and second regiments, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the officers to restrain them, rushed through the abattis to the foot of the stockade, with a view of forcing an entrance, which was found impracticable. This act of intemperate valor was the cause of the loss we sustained, and which amounted in the whole to three officers wounded, 15 non commissioned and privates killed and 46 non commissioned

and privates wounded. The wounded officers are Lieutenants Hammond and Crawford of the first and Lieutenant D. Heart of the second, the last since dead. I cannot but mention his death with regret, as he was a young gentleman of amiable qualities, and who promised fair to be serviceable to his country.

The dragoons in the meantime drove off the stock which were found in the Neck ; the sloops and wood boats in the dock near the block-house were burnt and the few people on board them made prisoners.

I have been thus particular, lest the account of this affair should have reached Philadelphia much exaggerated, as is commonly the case upon such occasions.

[*Pennsylvania Packet*, August 1, 1780.]

XIX

PRESIDENT REED TO GENERAL WAYNE

Philadelphia, Aug. 4, 1780

Dr Sir :

I duly received & thank you for your Favour of the 26th July inclosing your Orders on the late Excursion to Bergen. They have been spoken of here much to your Honour & with the gallant Behaviour of the Men shew that tho' we did not meet with entire Success we deserved it.

Neither the Objects of the Expedition, nor the Conduct of it were fully understood here at first & as often happens on such Occasions were misrepresented, but a few Days & better Information soon set the Matter right — if any Doubts had remained the General's Letter wiped them off, tho' in some Respects it tended to make the Affair of the Block-House a more important Business than it really was. As to the Whispers of Envy & Malevolence of Slander, you must, my dear Sir, submit in common with your Fellow Men to a Share of them as the Tax which Merit and Distinction must pay. The World would be too estimable if every Action was judged upon the Principles of Candour & its due Worth assigned it unalloyed by Jealousy & Uncharitableness. In one Respect military merit is least subject to it than any other, as it has Witnesses of Companions & the Benefits arising to mankind from a conspicuous Display of it are such that the World is ready

to be its Friend for its own Interest. Should you be called as probably you may to any distinguished Rank of civil Life you will find the Arts of busy wicked Men more successful, and not so easily detected or parried. Scarce a week elapses but some wretched Falsehood takes Wing with Respect to us, flutters about & dies, when a new one more palatable & adapted to the State of the Day arises which in its Turn gives Way to a fresher. For a time I felt myself hurt & spent Time and Labour to counteract them, but I have long since learned that the best Shield is Integrity & truest Remedy, Patience. I am informed that there has been much Industry used this Spring & Summer in Camp on this Score & that it is very frequent at this Time. So much Pains to lessen me in the Opinion of Mankind while I am pursuing diligently the Interests of my Country with a single disinterested View to its Success in this great Cause fully convinces me that there are some Men who have different Intentions & who fear honest Men on public Stations. I have at different Periods had my Passions worked upon, my Interests assailed, splendid Prospects held forth to engage me in the Views of Party & I never experienced the full Weight of Enmity till I had fully declined every Overture of this Nature in such a Manner as left no Hope of Success. However, I trust there is Virtue & Discernment in the World sufficient to support a Man in doing his Duty & that I have some Friends who will judge upon facts not upon Suggestions especially when they come thro' so corrupt a Channel.

Fanner has Directions to purchase a red Cloth for the Facings if to be had in Town & they will be forwarded as soon as possible. Lytle has set out with supply of stores & a good Stock of Shirts and Overalls—2000 of each which with what gets to you in other Directions will, I hope, prove a comfortable Supply. Adieu, my best Wishes attend you, & I beg you to believe me

Very much

Your Sincere Friend & Obed

Hble Servt

JOS REED

[From original in possession of Henry B. Dawson.]

XX

JOHN WALKER TO GENERAL WEEDON.

Philadelphia August 15, 1780

General Wayne made an unsuccessful attempt to storm a block-house of the enemy's at Bergen a few days ago. The attack was made with the utmost gallantry and the place would probably have been carried, but no entrance could be found, there being no other but a subterraneous one. Our loss was sixty odd killed and wounded, in exchange for which we got some hundreds of bullocks. As much as we want beef this is but bad exchange.

[*Papers relating chiefly to the Maryland Line during the Revolution, p. 114.*]

XXI

SIR HENRY CLINTON TO LORD GERMAIN

East Hampton, Suffolk Co., L. I.,
August 20 1780

I HAVE the satisfaction of communicating to your Lordship, an instance of courage, which reflects the greatest honour on a small body of the Refugees.

About *Seventy* of them had taken post on a part of the opposite shore on the North River, called Bull's Ferry, where they had fortified themselves with a Block-house and Stockade, to be protected in cutting wood, the labour they were employed in for their maintenance.

A corps of near *two thousand* Rebels, under their Generals Wayne, Irving and Proctor, with seven pieces of cannon, made an attack upon them on the 21st ult. Notwithstanding a cannonade of three hours, almost every shot of which penetrated through the Block-house, and an attempt to carry the place by assault, they were repulsed by these *brave men*, with the loss of a great many killed and wounded. The exertions of the Refugees did not cease: after having resisted so great a force, they followed the enemy, seized their stragglers and *rescued from them the cattle they were driving from the neighbouring district.*

The Block-house which I visited was pierced with fifty-two shot in one face only, and the two small guns that were in it, were dismounted

Six of the Refugees were killed and fifteen wounded—the far greater part in the Block-house.

[*From The London Gazette, printed in the Cow Chase, London, 1781.*]

XXII

ADJUTANT GENERAL MACKENZIE TO CAPTAIN
WARD

Head Quarters, 11th Dec. 1780.

Sir,

I HAVE the pleasure of sending you, by the direction of his Excellency the Commander in Chief, the enclosed extract of a letter which he has received by the last packet, from Lord George Germain, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, and which he is happy to communicate to you, by the first opportunity.

I am, Sir, Your most obedient

humble servant

FRED. MACKENZIE

D. A. Gen.

Capt. Ward, Loyal Refugees.

[ENCLOSURE.]

Extract of Letter from LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to his Excellency SIR HENRY CLINTON, dated 4th October 1780.

"The very extraordinary instance of courage shewn by the Loyal Refugees, in the affair of Bull's ferry, of which you make such honorable mention, is a pleasing proof of the spirit and resolution with which men in their circumstances will act against their oppressors, and how great advantages the Kings troops may derive from employing those of approved fidelity. And His Majesty, to encourage such exertions, commands me to desire you will acquaint the survivors of the brave SEVENTY, that their intrepid behavior is approved of by their Sovereign."

[*Rivington's Gazette, December 13, 1780.*]

XXIII

JOHN POST TO WILLIAM VAN INGEN

West Point 10th Octr 1780

Our Brigade was posted at Fort Lee to watch the enemies motion from F. Washington which

is directly opposite to it, while we lay there two British soldiers swam over to us in the night, from this place I had a fair view of the City, the East River & their encampment on York Island. One of the inhabitants said that Jacob Glenn had been in his Home, that he is an Engr. in the Levies and that he was in the Block-house when General Wayne attacked it, which they have since evacuated and demolished—this is all I can tell about him.

[*From the original in possession of C. E. Van Cortlandt.*]

XXIV

COL. PROCTOR'S FORCE

In the department of State, at Washington, there is an original "Return of the non-commissioned and matrosses in the Corps of Art'y, the States to which they belong & the number wanting to complete the Establishment, July 12, 1780," which probably gives Colonel Proctor's force in the attack:

"4th Regt, Col. Proctor, Penna. 8 Companies, effective force of non-com. & Mat. 149; wanting to complete 283, establishment 432."

XXV

AMERICAN ACCOUNTS OF THE AFFAIR

Thursday, the 19th instant, the first and second Pennsylvania brigades, commanded by Brigadier General Wayne, marched from their respective encampments for the purpose of collecting & bringing off those cattle in Bergen County, immediately exposed to the enemy. After executing the order, General Wayne on his return visited a block-house in the vicinity of Bergen town, built and garrisoned by a number of Refugees to prevent the disagreeable necessity of being forced into the British sea service. The work was found proof against light artillery, when a part of the first and second Pennsylvania Regiments were ordered to attempt it by assault when after forcing their way through the abatis and pickets, a retreat was indispensably necessary, there being no other entrance in the Block-house but a subterraneous passage sufficient only for one man to pass.

Our loss consists of 60, including 3 officers, killed and wounded. Lieutenant Moody and six of his party were taken on their return from an excursion to Sussex.

[*Pennsylvania Packet*, July 25, 1780.]

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We hear that on Friday morning last the Pennsylvania line under the command of General Wayne, made an unsuccessful attack against the block-house, the enemy erected some time ago at Closter, in Bergen County. Our failure, it is said, was owing to the lightness of our artillery, and the enemy's metal being much heavier than was expected. Our troops however recovered several hundred head of quadrupeds, consisting of horses, horned cattle, sheep and hogs, which the banditti that infest the neighbourhood had plundered from that inhabitants. Our loss on this occasion is said to be several killed and wounded.

[*New Jersey Gazette*, July 26, 1780.]

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On the morning of the 25th ult, died at Camp, of the wounds he received in bravely doing his duty before the Block-house near Bulls ferry on the 21st Lieutenant Jacob Morris De Hart, brother of Col De Hart, of the 2d Pennsylvania Regiment, aged nineteen years, the emulation and fire necessary to warm a soldier's breast soon kindled in this young, but manly officer, having entered into the service of his country at sixteen; from which time his sweetness of disposition, and attention to duty, gave him the affection of officers of every rank. At five o'clock in the afternoon he was buried with the honours of war, attended by a large concourse of officers from the different lines of the army.

[*New Jersey Gazette*, August 2, 1780.]

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Extract of a letter from Tappan, dated August 11, 1780.

The British have called in their out-posts. On the 9th instant they evacuated and burnt the Block-house in Bergen, on which General Wayne lately made an unsuccessful attack.

[*The Connecticut Gazette*, August 25, 1780.]

XXVI

BRITISH ACCOUNTS OF THE AFFAIR

Yesterday morning about nine o'clock, Generals Wayne and Irwin with the 1st and 2d Pennsylvania Brigades of Infantry, Col. Moyland's Cavalry, and Proctor's Artillery, the Flower of Washington's Army, consisting of about 1000 Troops, with 6 Six Pounders, and one Howitz, appeared in view of Col Cuyler's Refugee Post, on the Jersey Shore, which was then commanded by Capt Thomas Ward; about 10 o'clock they advanced with their Cannon to within 60 Yards of the Refugee Works, and commenced a tremendous Cannonade, which lasted till half past 11; they attempted to storm the Abbatis but were repulsed with the Loss of about 90 killed and wounded, among which are five Officers.

The Loss of the Refugees is 4 killed and 8 slightly wounded; no Veterans could have behaved better on this Occasion than these few Loyalists. And his Excellency the Commander in Chief has expressed his Thanks and Approbation to this LOYAL BAND for their spirited and gallant Behaviour.

[*Rivington's Gazette*, July 22, 1780.]

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The following is the Names of the brave Refugees that were killed and wounded at Col. Cuyler's Refugee Post, near Fort Lee, about 8 Miles from New York, on Hudson's River, on Friday, the 21st inst. viz:

Thomas Phillips, of the artillery John McMurdy, with another man, and a Negro, killed.

Lieutenant George and Absolam Bull, Alexander Sharp, John and Ezekiel Fealy, and John Mullan wounded.

The principal Officers on the Attack were Colonels Moylan, Stewart, Hayes, Proctor, and Majors Lee and More.

Thus the chosen Band of Washington's Army were repulsed by a few determined Loyalists, and we have reason to believe the Loss of the Rebels much greater than has yet been ascertained—and to add more to the spirit of the Refugees, a Party, under the Command of the brave Captain Ward, pursued the Rear of the retreating Army upwards of 4 miles, retook

twenty Head of Cattle that were carried off from the well affected Neighbours, Killed one Rebel, and made Prisoner of General Wayne's Servant and another.

By the confession of the rebels, we now find the loss sustained by them in their late attack of the Refugee Post—last Friday, was at least 150 killed and wounded, and among them 5 officers, two of which are said to be Colonels.

[*Rivington's Gazette*, July 26, 1780.]

Chatham, July 26, Last Friday General Wayne with a detachment of 1800 men, made an assault upon a block-house of the enemy, near Bull's Ferry, on the North River, but

finding it very strong (*held only 84 Refugees*) drew off the men. Our loss, we are told amounts to near 50 killed and wounded. (*But the Returns say 150.*)

[*Rivington's Gazette*, July 29, 1780.]

PLAN OF A BLOCK HOUSE

That my readers may better understand the construction of a block house I add a view from Anburey's Travels. These constructions were essentially similar, and in common use throughout the frontier as protection against the Indians. A stockade surrounded them without, and an exterior line of abatis occasionally afforded a more perfect defence.

C. H. WINFIELD.



W 701

THE MASSACRE OF THE STOCKBRIDGE INDIANS

1778

Having been honored with an invitation from Mr. Augustus Van Cortlandt, the present proprietor of the ancient estate of Cortlandt, to present some facts relating to a portion of his land, which, one hundred and two years ago, was hallowed by the blood and burial of the bodies of a large number of friendly Indians, who, while assisting the American cause in the Revolution, bravely laid down their lives on the fields, which are now found almost covered from sight with rank weeds, bushes, and stately trees, the growth of the last thirty years, I have prepared the following sketch :

Some fifty-five years ago, an incident occurred, which made such an impression on my mind that it will never be forgotten. I will relate it in my own style.

Late one pleasant afternoon, two persons were leisurely walking up the road, which was then known as the New Road, although it was publicly opened soon after the year 1800. Before that period it was a lane, used by several farmers on its line, and at its entrance from the old Mile Square Road—about one-quarter of a mile south of the scene of the incidents of my story—were set up “posts and bars,” which closed it from the public.

The elder of these two persons was a lady, some 65 years of age ; the other, the writer of these lines, a stout lad of about 14 years—her grandson—of an inquiring turn of mind, whose numerous questions somewhat annoyed the ancient dame ; in fact, his tongue was more active than all other members of his body, and while passing on towards the spot I refer to—then an opening in the woods—she told him the reason why it became known as the “Indian Field,” and related many interesting incidents connected with the terrible massacre of the friendly Indians, which the lad had often heard talked about from his early youth.

At the period spoken of, the cleared opening, lying on the left-hand side of the road, was almost square, containing two or three acres of land, and was surrounded on three sides by large trees, and a dense wood, covering several hundred acres, known as “Cortlandt’s Woods,” which that lad, a few years later, was fond of visiting for the

partridge, woodcock, wild pigeons, grey squirrels, and other game which were abundant in their season, and of which he carried away numbers in his game bag.

The soil, of this open space, was of a light and loamy nature, though I well remember to have seen grain growing upon it during several seasons, and it was also a famous place for wild strawberries, as were also the fields on the high grounds on the easterly side of the road, which were formerly known as the Battle Field on "DeVeaux's Heights."

The brave Indians who offered up their lives on and near these heights in the month of August, 1778, were the Stockbridge Indians, under the command of Abraham Ninham. The first knowledge we have of this tribe is, according to Dr. Timothy Edwards, that they were of the Muhhekaneew tribe, which migrated from Hudson River about the year 1734, and settled at Stockbridge in Massachusetts, after which period they became known as the Stockbridge Indians. Their chief, Abraham Ninham, usually known by the latter name, was an intelligent, trustworthy, and brave man, and by many persons supposed to be a half-breed.

Early in the year 1775, Ninham offered his services to the Provincial Congress, who employed him as a scout and a bearer of dispatches to other tribes of Indians farther west. In the performance of this service he met with both personal loss and much suffering. The Congress, on the 4th of July, 1775, appointed "a committee to take under consideration the sufferings of Abraham Ninham." Their report was made, and Ninham was satisfactorily compensated.

On the 7th of August, 1776, Gen. Washington wrote to Timothy Edwards, who was then Commissioner of Indian Affairs, on the subject of employing, in the service of the United States, the Stockbridge Indians, who had previously expressed themselves "anxious to take part in our favour." Mr. Edwards, a few days after, was ordered to "engage all the Stockbridge Indians he can, and they should be officered and paid agreeable to the former resolve of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs." They are found in service August 21, 1777, at which period the following interesting account of these Indians appeared in the newspapers of the day.

"On the late alarm occasioned by the evacuation of Ticonderoga, a number of Stockbridge Indians marched with the militia of that County, and were stationed with Generals Nixon and Fellows, between Fort Edward and Fort Ann.

On the 18th of July last, General Fellows sent out five of them on a scout to Skenesborough; the next day before the sun set, they returned with six prisoners, consisting of two regulars and four tories. The account being somewhat entertaining, I shall give it nearly in the words of Ninham, who commanded the party. He says:

"We passed the creek and went within a mile or two of Skene's house, where we lay down in a thick spot of woods by the side of the road. It was not long before there came along two regulars driving a number of horses. We jumped up and seized them; the regulars were so very much frightened that they made no resistance; neither could they speak plain. We found, by the noise, there were a number more behind driving cattle. One of our prisoners called to the sergeant for help; upon this we thought it wise to make the best way out of the woods. Our prisoners attempted to get away from us; we were therefore obliged to make them feel that our hatchets were heavy. I told them, if you will behave like prisoners, we will use you well, but if you don't, we must kill you. After this they behaved well, and did everything we bid them. On our way to our encampment we thought we would take in with us as many tories as we could find, and in order to find them out, we gave our prisoners their guns, taking out their flints. When we came near a house we told our prisoners, you must keep before us, and if you see any man you must cock your guns and present them at them, and demand who they are for—the King or the Country? They did so, and the tories answered, they were for the King, or they should have moved off long ago. They seemed to be glad to see the regulars, and told them, you are our brothers. I knew one of the Tories, as I came in sight of him, I therefore put my hat over my face, for fear the fellow should know me, till the red coats had done their duty. After he had in a most strong manner declared he was for the king, I asked him further,—will you be true to the king—and fight for him till you die? O yes—said the tory. Upon this he discovered his error, knew me—and immediately said—what king do you mean? I mean King Hancock. Ah, said I—we have found you out, we don't know kings in America yet; you must go along with us."

In the following month of October, Ninham, with his company of Indians, made application to Congress, "to be employed in the service of the United States; who, in their proceedings, October 25, 1777, requested that they report themselves to Major General Gates for duty;" and at the same time, "Ordered, that 200 dollars be paid to the said Abraham Ninham for the use of himself and his companions, and



as an acknowledgement for their zeal in the cause of the United States." Next year (1778), in the month of August, General Washington, with his main army, lay encamped at White Plains in Westchester county, from which place Colonel Gist was detailed, with a small body of light troops, to act in connection with the Stockbridge Indians, in skirmishing between the lines, they having had a fight on the 20th of August with Colonel Emmerick, who was obliged to retreat to Kingsbridge. Eleven days after, Colonel Gist divided his troops into three parties, the largest of which, being under his command, was posted on Husted's Hill, three to four hundred yards east of "New Road." About the same distance above, and about one hundred yards east of the "Mile Square road," lay Major Stewart with the second portion. The third squad of light infantry, under the command of a Captain —, were posted in the woods, on the descending slope of the hill opposite, about two hundred yards east of the "New Road," and in the rear of the Stockbridge Indians, who were in advance, on the Mile Square road. This was the position of the American troops on the morning of the 31st of August, 1778, when the battle began. The greatest struggle, was on the second field north of Daniel DeVoe's house, where the bodies of some seventeen Indians lay, cut and hacked to death; besides many others, who were killed and wounded in their attempt to escape in several directions. It was a terrible conflict, or rather a slaughter of about thirty Indians, besides a few who were severely wounded, including two or three of the light infantry; several of the slightly wounded and others, of both infantry and Indians, managed to escape in the woods and swamps.

Many years afterwards, this fight was a frequent subject of conversation by those of the families who had visited the fields immediately after the conflict. Interesting incidents were related, and occasionally were noted down by myself; these, with the several published reports made at the period by the British press, are my authorities for the following account of the Indian massacre on "De Veaux's Heights."

In the month of July, 1778, while a large body of British troop lay encamped at Kingsbridge, three of their prominent officers, Lieutenant-Colonels Simcoe, Emmerick and Tarleton, with a body of hussars, started on a tour of observation by taking a northeasterly direction, which led them to the high ground of Valentine, and afterwards upon the Mile Square road. When they had proceeded about a half a mile above the lower Valentine's Hill, they stopped at the entrance of a lane on the left hand side, which led up to several farm houses in a northerly direction.

While resting here a few moments, the party had a very singular and narrow escape, which Simcoe in his journal thus describes: "The Stockbridge Indians, about sixty in number, excellent marksmen, had just joined Mr. Washington's army. Lt Col Simcoe was describing a private road (the lane) to Lt Col Tarleton; Wright, his Orderly dragoon, alighted and took down a fence of (Daniel) DeVou's farm yard (adjoining the lane) for them to pass through; around this farm the Indians were ambuscaded; Wright had scarce mounted his horse, when these officers, for some trivial reason, altered their intentions, and spurring their horses, soon rode out of sight, and out of reach of the Indians. A few days after, they had certain information of the ambuscade they so fortunately had escaped; in all probability they owed their lives to the Indians' expectation of surrounding and taking them prisoners." The latter part of the following month Simcoe prepared a plan, by which he thought to circumvent both the Indians and a small body of light troops under the command of Colonel Gist. Early in the morning of the 31st of August Simcoe, with a large number of troops of all kinds, set out, with the expectation of enticing the American troops and Indians down the Mile Square road, and at the same time of advancing his flanks both on the right and left, which movement, he says, "would be perfectly concealed by the fall of the ground upon the right, and by the woods (Cortlandt's) upon the left; and he meant to gain the heights (Husted's) in the rear of the enemy, attacking whomsoever should be within by his cavalry and such infantry as might be necessary. In pursuance of these intentions, Lieut.-Colonel Emmerick, with his corps, was detached from the Queen's Rangers and Legion, as Lieut.-Colonel Simcoe thought, fully instructed in the plan," which was that he should post his command in Cortlandt's woods, on the west side of the upper house, the residence of Frederick De Voe, but instead he placed them near a half mile south, and opposite Daniel De Voe's house. However Simcoe says: "Emmerick most unfortunately mistook the nearer house—Daniel De Voe's—for one at a greater distance, the names being the same, and there posted himself, and sent from thence a patrol forward upon the road, before Lieut.-Col. Simcoe could have time to stop it. This patrol had no bad effect, not meeting with an enemy; had a single man of it deserted, or been taken, the whole attempt had probably been abortive. Lieut.-Col. Simcoe, who was halfway up a tree, on the top of which was a drummer-boy, saw a flanking party of the enemy approach. The troops had scarcely fallen



into their ranks when a smart firing was heard from the Indians, who had lined the fences of the (Mile Square) road, and were exchanging shot with Lieut.-Col. Emmerick, whom they had discovered. The Queen's Rangers moved rapidly to gain the heights, and Lieut.-Col. Tarleton immediately advanced with the Hussars and the Legion cavalry; not being able to pass the fences in his front, he made a circuit to return upon their right, which being reported to Lieut.-Col. Simcoe, he broke from the column of the Rangers, with the Grenadier Company, and directed Major Ross to conduct the Corps to the heights, advanced to the road, and arrived without being perceived within ten yards of the Indians, who had been intent upon the attack of Emmerick's Corps and the Legion. The Indians now gave a yell, and fired upon the Grenadier Company, wounding four of them and Lieut.-Col. Simcoe. They were driven from the fences, and Lieut.-Col. Carleton with the Cavalry got among them and pursued them rapidly down Cortlandt's ridge; that active officer had a narrow escape; in striking at one of the fugitives he lost his balance and fell from his horse. Luckily the Indian had no bayonet and his musket had been discharged."

Another version of the affair, from one of those engaged in it on the British side, appears to have been written in a spirit of jealousy. It is set forth as "A Genuine account of the late affair at Kingsbridge." "The British Troops fell in with a party of 60 Light Infantry of the Rebels, and 48 Stockbridge Indians under the command of the son of Ninham, about a mile from our lines, when Colonel Tarleton, with the Cavalry of the Legion (late Pennsylvania Dragoons) and part of the Queen's Rangers, charged and pursued them a considerable distance. Several of the rebel Light Infantry and nineteen Indians were killed on the field refusing quarter, and many are supposed to have perished in the woods of their wounds. Ninham's son was killed and ten prisoners taken, among them a rebel Captain and two Indians."

Simcoe says: "The Indians fought most gallantly; they pulled more than one of the Cavalry from their horses. French, an active youth, bugle-horn to the Huzzars, struck at an Indian, but missed his blow; the man dragged him from his horse, and was searching for his knife to stab him, when loosening French's hand he luckily drew out a pocket pistol and shot the Indian through the head, in which situation he was found."

A lieutenant of Colonel Emmerick's corps also set forth "A detail of the whole proceedings of the detachment that day, the truth of which can be testified by all that were present." He says: "Detachments

from the Queen's Rangers, Chasseurs, De Lancey's Second Battalion, and Legion Dragoons, under the Command of Lieut.-Colonels Simcoe, Emmerick and Tarleton, marched the road to Mile Square for four miles, about 10 o'clock they took their several posts, viz., the Rangers and Legion Dragoons in a wood on the right, the Chasseurs, Light Infantry and Riflemen on the left, Lt. Col. Emmerick, with Dragoons and some Light Infantry, in the centre; at 12 o'clock Lt. Col. Emmerick discovered a body of rebel Infantry of between 50 and 60 Indians coming down the road directly for him, he immediately made an attack on them, and then kept retreating by degrees, in order to draw them through the right and left wings, which as soon as he found, by the warm firing of his Light Infantry and Riflemen and the Grenadiers of the Rangers, was accomplished, he immediately faced about and ordered a charge by his own Dragoons, accompanied by those of the Legion, which, by their activity and spirited behaviour, together with that of the Infantry then engaged, very soon put a period to the existence of 37 Indians and a number of Rebels; there were 10 prisoners taken, amongst them one Captain and two Indians of the Stockbridge tribe. Our loss was two killed of the Legion, two of the Chasseurs, and three of the Queen's Rangers wounded; amongst the slain was the young Indian Chief Ninham. The old Sachem, Ninham, has since been found dead of his wounds in Col. Cortlandt's Fields."

These several versions of this brutal affair, made principally by officers engaged in it, were all on the British side, and clearly prove that there was but a small body of American troops engaged, including the Indians—perhaps less than one hundred, all told—while the British troops out-numbered them nearly or quite five to one, and these were picked men, drawn from both infantry and cavalry, under the command of three able and distinguished officers, who had sufficient skill to draw these improperly armed Indians into an ambuscade, where infantry and cavalry enclosed, and broke them up in detail, and being well mounted, were enabled to cut them down as they attempted to escape; the Indians having but little idea of resistance against cavalry, especially as their muskets were generally without bayonets, and at this time were unloaded.

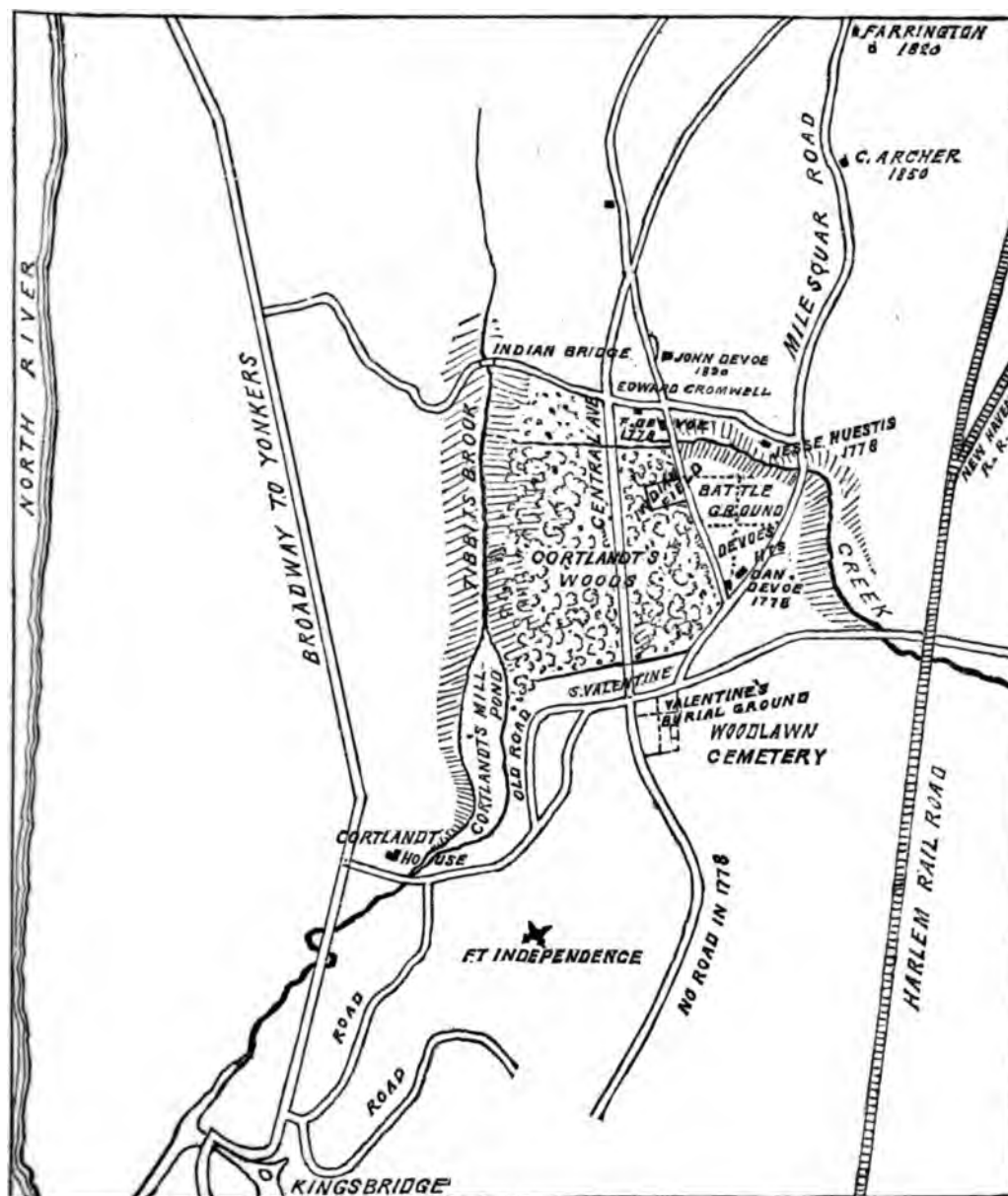
Several of these Indians escaped through the woods and swamps. Others ran down the ridge, and across a small bridge over Tippet's Brook, a half of a mile distant, where, on the other side, a few of them hid among the rocks and bushes. Bolton says, "The cavalry being unable to scale the rocks, called upon the fugitives to sur-

render, promising them as a condition for so doing life and protection. Upon this, three ventured to throw themselves upon the mercy of the British soldiers, and were immediately drawn out by the bridge and there killed; since which period this bridge, which yet belongs to the ancient domain of Cortlandt, has been known as the "Indian Bridge."

The old lady, spoken of before, was at the time of the conflict a young woman of eighteen. She, with several others of the family, the next day visited a portion of the grounds where this butchery took place, the principal part of which was on her father's land, leased from Colonel Phillips. Here she saw a great many dead Indians, and one British trooper in particular, who lay alongside of a fence which she pointed out to the troublesome lad previously introduced, and she added, "that he was a fine, tall, splendid looking young soldier, whose looks she had never forgotten."

Several of the wounded soldiers were taken to the houses of Frederick and Daniel Devoe, where their wounds were dressed and cared for, and one poor Indian was brought to the latter's house—a most distressing looking object—having one side of his head or face cleaved down by a sabre cut almost to the chin; here he was nursed several weeks, when he was able to get away to some of his comrades north, where he finally got well, but with a face frightfully disfigured. Others were afterwards found maimed; the old Chief, Ninham, was so badly wounded that he must have soon after died; yet before his death he was able to crawl down the hill to a running brook, towards Jesse Husted's house, where his body was afterwards found by the peculiar action of the house dogs, which led to the suspicion that they had eaten human flesh. They were followed, when the remains of Ninham's body, which had been nearly devoured by the dogs, were found, and also the mutilated bodies of two or three more; all of which were buried in the "Indian Field," and a number of large stones piled on their graves, not as a monument, but to protect the bodies from further desecration.

THOMAS F. DEVOE



SCENE OF THE MASSACRE, AUGUST 31, 1778.



GEORGE CLYMER—THE SIGNER

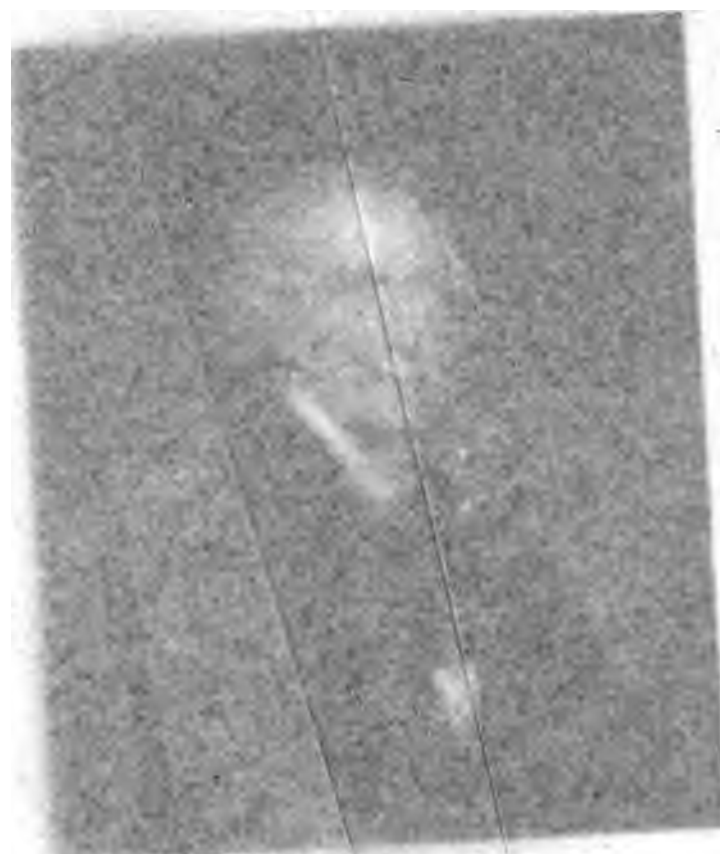
What "Magna Charta" was to the Commons of England the "Declaration of Independence" was to the Patriots of America; nor was the acknowledgment of the Rights of the Commons wrung with greater reluctance from the usurper John, than ours from the Third George; and the names of the twenty-five "Barons of Runnymede" and the fifty-six "Signers" stand side by side immortal in history.

It is deeply to be regretted that so little has been handed down to us concerning many of the illustrious men whose signatures are appended to the great "Declaration," and it is for the purpose of presenting to the public the life and character of one of these gifted men that this article is written.

Among the many who left the shores of Old England to seek a new home midst the forests of America, was Richard Clymer, a native of Bristol, England, who arrived in Philadelphia with William Penn in the fall of 1699. Of this gentleman little or nothing is known, except that he left two sons—William and Christopher, and a daughter Ann. Christopher Clymer was a well-to-do merchant and ship-builder of Philadelphia, who took to wife Deborah, daughter of George Fitzwater, a Philadelphia merchant, by his wife, Mary Hardiman. Her sister, Hannah Fitzwater, married William Coleman. Christopher Clymer had two children, viz.: Elizabeth, an infant, who died December 20, 1739, and George. Mrs. Clymer died March 6, 1740, and Christopher, himself, June 1, 1740.

George Clymer was born in the City of Philadelphia, June 1, 1739. At his father's death he was taken to the home of William Coleman, his uncle by marriage, who formally adopted him, and eventually left him the bulk of his fortune.

Young Clymer received a liberal education at the College of Philadelphia (now University of Pennsylvania), but was not formally graduated. After leaving college he entered the counting-house of Mr. Coleman, where he applied himself diligently to the work of mastering the intricacies of a mercantile life. He did not, however, neglect to improve every spare moment in thorough research into every branch of science and literature. In 1764 he entered the counting-house of Reese Meredith, whose wife was a distant relative of his mother, and March 22, 1765, he was united in marriage to his kinswoman, Elizabeth Meredith. This lady's brother, General Samuel Meredith, has recently



been made the subject of a memoir in this Magazine, and her sister, Ann, became the wife of Colonel Henry Hill, a notable man of his day.

In April, 1765, Reese Meredith took his son, Samuel, and son-in-law, George, into partnership with himself—the firm becoming Meredith & Sons. November 7, 1765, the three partners attended the great meeting in the State House yard, called for the purpose of protesting against the usurpations of the British Government, and signed their names to the six stirring resolutions then and there adopted, now historically known as the Non-Importation Resolutions. This, Mr. Clymer's first public act, was but an earnest of his greater and more hazardous action at a subsequent period of his country's need and danger, and may be taken as the keynote to his future public life. The records of the next five years are silent in respect of Mr. Clymer; they were undoubtedly spent in the pursuit of knowledge and business. In 1770 Mr. Clymer took his seat in the Common Council of Philadelphia, and for the next forty-three years took an active and honorable part in the stirring events of the day. From the Common Council Mr. Clymer retired in 1775, and became an Alderman. On the 27th of April, 1772, Governor Penn appointed Mr. Clymer "Justice of the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, and of the County Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia." In October, 1773, he attended the meeting held in Independence Hall, called for the purpose of resisting the importation of tea, and was appointed chairman of the committee selected to request the tea agents to resign. In June, 1774, Mr. Clymer attended the great meeting in the State House yard, held to take measures in regard to the Boston Port Bill. The presiding officers were John Dickinson, Thomas Willing and Edward Pennington, all three of whom subsequently opposed independence, and the last of whom was sent to Virginia under arrest.

At this meeting a Committee of Correspondence was appointed, with John Dickinson as chairman and Mr. Clymer as one of its members. This committee issued the call for the famous First Continental Congress, which met at Carpenter's Hall, September 5, 1774. January 23, 1775, he took his seat in the Provincial Convention, which met for the purpose of ratifying the actions of the late Congress. They remained in session until the 28th. On the 24th of April, 1776, he attended the famous meeting in the State House yard, and was one of the foremost to urge the organization of the "Associators," and to further prove his zeal for liberty accepted a captaincy in Colonel John Cadwalader's "Silk Stockings" (3d Battalion), of which his brother-in-law, Samuel

Meredith, was Major, and subsequently Lieutenant-Colonel. July 20, 1775, George Clymer and Michael Hillegas were appointed Treasurers of the Continental Congress. It is rather a coincidence that Mr. Clymer was the first Treasurer of the Government of 1774, and his brother-in-law, General Meredith, of the Government of 1789. Mr. Clymer resigned this position August 6, 1776. From October 20, 1775, until July 22, 1776, Mr. Clymer was a member of the Committee of Safety for the province of Pennsylvania, and chairman of the Committee on Pilots and Navigation.

On the 26th of November, 1775, Messrs. Clymer, Mease, Howell, Biddle, Wayne and Cadwalader (John) were appointed a committee by the Committee of Safety to make arrangements for casting some heavy cannon. On the 28th of December, 1775, Messrs. Howell, White and Clymer were appointed a committee to superintend the construction and equipment of a floating battery. On the 29th of February, 1776, Messrs. James and Owen Biddle and George Clymer were appointed a committee to superintend the completion of the fortifications on Fort Island in the Delaware. April 16, 1776, all the committees were reorganized. We find Mr. Clymer chairman of the Committee on "Cannon" and "Further Defences," and member of those on "Floating Battery," "Ships," "Fort Island" and "Powder House."

Mr. Clymer was chairman of the Committee of Safety on the following days, viz : May 7 and 27, June 10, 12 and 15, and from July 4 to 9, 1776, and during 1776 of the City Vigilance Committee. July 20, 1776, Mr. Clymer was elected a delegate to the Continental Congress, and cheerfully affixed his signature to the great "Charter of American Liberties," an act which has rendered his name immortal. It is sincere matter of congratulation to all true patriots that none of the illustrious fifty-six "Signers" fell from the high and lofty position to which this act of theirs elevated them.

July 22d Mr. Clymer accompanied the regiment, of which he was captain, to Amboy, returning September 1st. Mr. Clymer was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1776, and was largely instrumental in procuring the adoption of the Constitution under which Pennsylvania was governed from 1777 to 1790. On the 26th of September Congress sent Messrs. Clymer and Stockton to New York to confer with Washington on the affairs of the army. When Congress left Philadelphia for Baltimore in December Mr. Clymer was one of the commissioners who remained at Philadelphia to guard the public interest. On the 10th of December he marched with

his regiment to "Dunk's Ferry." It was Washington's plan that Cadwalader should cross at that point and attack the Hessians under Donop at Mount Holly, but the ice prevented this arrangement from being carried out. The battalion however took part with credit at Princeton on the 2d of January, 1777. This is the only action that Captain Clymer ever took part in. He subsequently held the rank of Colonel.

During the winter of 1777 Mr. Clymer was in the Pennsylvania Assembly. Under the Constitution he could hold a State and Federal office at the same time, and the records abundantly prove that he was in demand in both places. March 12, 1777, he was re-elected to Congress, and on the 9th of April we find Messrs. Wilson, Clymer, Lee, Clark and John Adams were appointed a committee to confer with the authorities of the State of Pennsylvania as to the best means to oppose the enemy should they march through New Jersey to attack Philadelphia. After the battle of Brandywine the British burned Mr. Clymer's house, and he was compelled to remove his family to Princeton. In November he was re-elected to the Assembly. His term of office as Congressman expired December 10th.

In January, 1778, Congress appointed George Clymer a special commissioner to proceed to Valley Forge to inquire into the alleged abuses of the Commissary Department. In October, 1778, he was a third time elected to the Assembly, and on the 7th of December Congress sent George Clymer, Samuel Matthews and Samuel McDowell to Fort Pitt as special commissioners to quiet the savages. The negotiations with the chiefs whom they met there were eminently successful, and he received the thanks of Congress. The records are silent as to Mr. Clymer during the year 1779, and from October, 1779, until November, 1780, he was absent both from the State and National councils. In the spring of 1780 (May 17) he, with Robert Morris, John Nixon and others, organized an institution known as the Bank of Pennsylvania, with a capital of £315,000, for the express purpose of furnishing the army with supplies. Ninety-three patriots pledged their lives and fortunes to this noble cause. Mr. Clymer and his brother-in-law, General Meredith, each gave £5,000 in silver. The bank was opened July 17, 1780, with two directors and five inspectors. John Nixon was the first, and George Clymer was the second director. November 24, 1780, Mr. Clymer was a third time elected to Congress, and again a fourth time November 22, 1781. On the 31st of December Congress incorporated the "President, Directors and Corporation of the Bank of North America." Mr. Clymer was one of its first directors.

The bank was also re-chartered by the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1782. This year, 1782, the firm of Meredith & Clymer was dissolved by mutual consent.

In 1782 Mr. Clymer and Edward Rutledge were appointed by Congress commissioners to visit the Southern States, and urge upon them the prompt payment of their several quotas into the depleted National Treasury. This was Mr. Clymer's last official act in connection with the Continental Congress, and in November, 1782, he retired from its halls never to return. He withdrew to Princeton for the purpose of placing his two sons, Henry and Meredith, in the College of New Jersey, under the accomplished Witherspoon. Henry was graduated in 1786, and Meredith in 1787; the latter had as a classmate John Read, who afterward married Meredith's cousin, Martha Meredith, and was the third President of the Bank of Philadelphia, 1819-1841; George Clymer being the first, and Nicholas Biddle the second. Mr. Clymer remained in Princeton until October, 1785, when he was elected to the Pennsylvania Assembly; he was re-elected successively in 1786, 1787 and 1788, serving until October, 1789.

He was the author of the present penitentiary system of Pennsylvania, and was chairman of the Committee on Commercial Regulations. He largely reformed the Criminal Code. He also obtained a charter for the Academy of Fine Arts, of which he was the first President, and one for the Philadelphia Agricultural Society, of which he was the first Vice-President.

In May, 1787, he took his seat in the Federal Constitutional Convention, and was an active participator in the debates on the Federal side. Among the most notable members were, first of all, its great President, Washington. Then we find John Langdon of New Hampshire; Rufus King of Massachusetts; Roger Sherman of Connecticut; Alexander Hamilton of New York; William Livingston, William Paterson, David Breasley and Jonathan Dayton of New Jersey; Benjamin Franklin, Robert and Gouverneur Morris, James Wilson, George Clymer and Jared Ingersoll of Pennsylvania; George Read and John Dickinson of Delaware; James Madison of Virginia; Hugh Williamson of North Carolina; John Rutledge and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of South Carolina. The reputation of the others were more or less local, but of those mentioned national.

In October, 1788, Mr. Clymer was elected to Congress. There were sixteen candidates. Pennsylvania was entitled to eight representatives, and as the State had not yet been divided into districts, they were

1890

1891

1892

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electd at large. On the 31st of December, 1788, the vote was counted in council. It was as follows:

Frederick A. Muhlenburg,	8,707	John Allison,	7,067
Henry Wynkoop,	8,246	Stephen Chambers,	7,050
Thomam Hartley,	8,163	William Findly,	6,586
George Clymer,	8,094	William Irvine,	6,492
Thomas Fitzsimmons,	8,075	Charles Pettit,	6,481
Thomas Scott,	8,068	William Montgomery,	6,348
John Peter Gabriel Muhlenburg,	7,417	Blair McClenachan,	6,223
Daniel Hiester,	7,403	Robert Mitchell,	5,850

The eight gentlemen who had received the highest number of votes were declared duly elected.

On the 24th of March, 1789, Mr. Lewis, in the Pennsylvania Assembly, moved, and Mr. Clymer seconded, that a call be issued for a Constitutional Congress to revise the Constitution then existing. Mr. Clymer was a member of this Convention, which was the third he had attended.

He served one term in Congress, viz., from April, 1789, until March 4, 1791. This year President Washington, who was extremely anxious to retain his services in the National Government, appointed him Supervisor of the Internal Revenue for Pennsylvania. His efforts to collect the duties on spirits led to the famous Whiskey Rebellion. It is worthy of note that his son, Meredith Clymer, and son-in-law, George McCall, were members of the First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry (Captain John Dunlap), and acquitted themselves with honor during that perilous period. Among their comrades we notice a Mease, a Wilcock, a Conyngham, a Ross, a Ringgold, a Nixon, and a Ewing—names familiar to old Philadelphians. George Clymer displayed great fearlessness in the discharge of his arduous duties.

In 1796 President Washington appointed Mr. Clymer and Colonels Benjamin Hawkins and Andrew Pickens a Commission to treat with the Creeks and Cherokees in Georgia. This was Mr. Clymer's last official act. He justly considered that he was now entitled to retire from a public life, which had covered a period of nearly thirty years, spent in behalf of a nation struggling for freedom. He had signed one of the first appeals to Britain for a redress of wrongs; had seen that and subsequent appeals disregarded; he had seen three millions of people rise in their might, and declare that "taxation without representation is a failure;" he had signed the glorious Declaration, which

asserted the liberty of America; he had largely assisted in giving to Pennsylvania two Constitutions, and to the nation one; he had spent freely of his treasure, and frequently risked his life in order that his countrymen might have that freedom so devoutly longed for; and now that all these desired ends had been obtained, he quietly retired to private life, followed by the love and veneration of an entire nation. Probably no man in America so closely resembled the Father of his Country, in many respects, as the quiet "Quaker merchant of Philadelphia."

It must not be supposed, however, that Mr. Clymer's retirement from public life was spent in inglorious ease; on the contrary it was one of activity. He was President of the Philadelphia Bank and of the Academy of Fine Arts; Vice-President of the Philadelphia Agricultural Society, and of the American Philosophical Society, and a Trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, both previous to 1779 and again at the Union, November 18, 1791. Among Mr. Clymer's papers are to be found many plans for bridges, canals, and various kinds of machinery and agricultural implements; he is also accredited with being the inventor of the Columbian Printing Press, and several other useful machines.

Mr. Clymer died at the residence of his son, Henry Clymer, Esq., near Morrisville, Bucks county, Penn., Tuesday, January 24, 1813, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. His remains lie in the old Quaker Burying Ground, corner of Hanover and Montgomery streets, Trenton, N. J. A simple headstone bears the following inscription:

HIC. JACET.
GEORGE CLYMER
A SIGNER OF THE
DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
BORN JUNE 1ST 1739
DIED JANY 24. 1813.
AGED. 73 YRS. 7. MOS. 24. DYS

Mrs. Clymer survived her husband two years, dying at another residence of her son Henry, in Northumberland, Pennsylvania, in February, 1815, aged 72. They had issue as follows; 1 William Coleman, 2 Julian, 3 Henry, 4 Meredith, 5 Elizabeth, 6 Reese, 7 Margaret, 8 Nancy, 9 George. Of these, William, Julian, Elizabeth and Reese died young. Henry, the eldest surviving son, married the daughter of Thomas Willing, of Philadelphia; Meredith died unmarried, and George married a Miss O'Brien, of Philadelphia. Of the daughters, Margaret married

George McCall, and Nancy, Charles Lewis, the latter of whom left no issue. George Clymer the younger, as he is called, had but one son, Meredith Clymer, of New York, a distinguished surgeon and medical writer, who served as a Surgeon-General during the late Rebellion (staff), was for some years Surgeon in the Pennsylvania Hospital, and is a Fellow of the College of Physicians.

Henry Clymer had six children, and is now represented by his son, Dr. George Clymer, M. D., U. S. Navy, Washington, D. C. Colonel Edward Overton, M. C. from Philadelphia, is a grandson of Henry. A full record of the descendants of Richard Clymer, of Bristol, England, later of Philadelphia, may be found in the archives of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia.

George Clymer was a thoroughbred gentleman; never, in his conversation, making the most remote allusion to any subject or circumstance that might injure the feelings of any one present. In all his relations, whether domestic or public, he was worthy of imitation; he filled the spheres of husband, father, friend and citizen in the fullest manner and highest sense, and to do good seemed to be the entire aim of his existence. Eminently original in thought and invention, he shunned applause and notoriety. With no pretension to oratorical powers, he yet had the faculty, by the earnestness of his manner and the logic of his reasoning, to hold entire attention. Punctuality was a remarkable trait in his character; he never kept any one waiting. Notwithstanding an apparent sternness and reserve of manner, he possessed an underlying vein of humor, and his conversation was frequently enlivened by anecdotes, which lost nothing of their zest from the quaint manner in which they were related. As a scientist, art-critic and inventor, he had few rivals; indeed, no study, no matter how profound, seemed beyond the grasp of his master mind. His portrait, by Peale, taken in April 12, hangs in Independence Hall. It shows us a man of medium height, well formed, with a rather large, massive head, set firmly on the shoulders, the silvered locks brushed smoothly back, revealing an expansive forehead, keen grey eyes, aquiline nose, thin lips, firmly set, and a smooth, rounded chin. The face, altogether, is indicative of great mental force and vigor.

WHARTON DICKENSON



LIGUEST—THE FOUNDER OF ST. LOUIS

Upward of a full century has passed since the founder of St. Louis died in his bateau on a homeward trip from New Orleans up the Mississippi River. The voyageurs went ashore in the wilderness, and made their leader's grave near the point where the Arkansas unites itself with the greater stream—*el Padre de las aguas*. It is a burial spot unknown at this time to man, the mark of human incident being fully outgrown in the face of nature. Meanwhile, the name of the brave and honorable Liguist, as though death in the sighing forest had cast about it also a spell of secrecy, has barely escaped an equal oblivion. The unconsecrated ground where his comrades were compelled to leave him, has been scarcely more reticent of his deeds and influence than have the generations living and moving and fulfilling his plans. His name is almost without a place in Western annals, and entirely absent from the American Cyclopædia. This circumstance, however, is not so singular as the absolute change of *roles* in the story of the settlement. In a recent volume of narrative, an American book, the credit of establishing the French colony at St. Louis is unhesitatingly ascribed to Pierre Auguste Choteau, the young man chosen at New Orleans to be the confidential aid of Laclede Liguist. Certainly the possible miscarriage of a name is no more strangely exemplified than in the instance of this enterprising man, whose fortune it was to give original direction to a great system of affairs, and whom fate has left unmemorialized by "storied urn or animated bust."

One who contemplates the colonization centred at the capital of Upper Louisiana in 1664, should find reason for believing that a mind of a unique order shaped its early historic conditions. Added to great spirit of adventure, no man ever showed more wisdom or integrity of purpose than Liguist in the founding of a new society; even in the scanty historical accounts which have had so little to tell of him directly, the fact is not wholly wanting evidence. His loyalty to his sovereign in the naming of the village, his celibacy, his death from a fever at the age of fifty-four, and his burial by the sorrowing boatmen without priestly office, appear to be nearly all the facts of a personal character which historical writers have recorded of him; beyond these, the accounts of the early life of the settlement hardly specify an individual act of his. It is left to conjecture what part he assumed in the conduct of those

affairs, which for several years seem to have progressed like harmonies or like exhalations. The character of the colony was clearly, however, given to it by Ligest, made up of elements of his choice and essentially guided by him. Apart from express prerogative of control, his force with his followers must have been of largely magnetic quality. His, no doubt, was an intellect to pervade and regulate the social world he had organized without great consciousness of the fact on one side or the other.

The journal kept by Colonel Auguste Choteau in those days is preserved in the Mercantile Library of St. Louis; no better resource for information on these matters has been handed down than this account of Ligest's intimate companion. The young man accompanied him on the first voyage northward when seeking a location for the new trading-post. An exclusive trade with the Indians in Upper Louisiana as far north as St. Peter's River was the privilege secured by royal charter to the adventurous traders, Laclede Ligest, Antoine Maxant & Co. Ligest, the active partner in the commercial enterprise in America, was at the prime of life, about forty years of age. As simply, gravely sketched in the fine French script of the young man's diary, the journey of exploration up the river was marked by no very romantic incident. Ligest was attended merely by a little company of hunters, trappers and mechanics, without hope of abundant veins of gold or youth-perpetuating waters, but with expectation of work. Their equipment was wholly unlike that of the cavaliers who, first of foreign adventurers, heard the sound of the mighty river volume moving on between the swaying forests, and saw in its majesty the Father of Waters. They, on the contrary, journeyed in rude bateaux, and carried merchandize for the Indian trade. Storing their goods at Fort de Chartres, the band of explorers continued up the river to the turbid mouth of the Missouri. It was late autumn when they reached the present site of St. Louis on their return. There Ligest landed and commenced blazing some of the forest trees for the purpose of distinguishing the spot. He said to Auguste Choteau, who stood beside him, "You will come here as soon as navigation opens, and will cause this place to be cleared in order to form our settlement after the plan that I shall give you." His young companion noted also his remarking, on his return to Fort de Chartres, "that he had found a situation where he intended to establish a settlement which might become hereafter one of the finest cities of America."

Choteau, returning with a party of mechanics to the place selected, in February, 1764, had already built some sheds to house the tools and

provisions, and temporary cabins for the shelter of the men, when Ligest arrived in the early part of March and laid out the plan of the village. Some partial knowledge of these facts with ignorance of others, probably afforded the assumed ground for the statement before mentioned of the establishment of the settlement by Pierre Auguste Choteau.

Ligest's discriminating judgment disclosed in the choice of situation was exceeded when he made up the company—another matter and a more difficult one. Adventurous spirits they were, who held the Indian trade monopoly in the wild West in the latter part of the past century, yet withal so gentle and just that for some time neither jail nor statute was required in the frontier trading-post. Far more homogeneous the society must have been at that day than afterward, when Frenchman, Spaniard and halfbreed, the French refugee of high quality, the rude trapper, the *coureur des bois*, the miner, the cavalier, the adventurer, and the respectable old trader, lived on familiar terms together. The place bore for a long time as much the aspect of a French village as if it had been situated in France. The strong infusion of Saxon life happening in the early part of this century, served to modify not to destroy its architectural character. Here and there some of its primitive features are even yet not obliterated, but offer pictures of quaint gables and porches in nooks which have been left in some degree undisturbed.

The early settlers were under a truly patriarchal form of government, albeit not dwelling in tents. A life more idyllic than was ever elsewhere known in America went on in this French trading settlement. One almost feels in the present great thriving West that there of all places such gently poetic conditions of living could never have existed. The shocks of subsequent events, Indian attacks, encounters with river pirates, desperate deeds of lawlessness, and the records of Bloody Island were without presage in this quiet dawn of civilization. Such of the villagers as were engaged in agricultural pursuits were to be seen working merrily together in the "common fields." Twenty, thirty, perhaps more, of these fields were laid off adjoining each other near the village and forming one inclosure, the expense of fencing and general care being a common cost. A field measured an arpent wide and forty arpents long, containing about thirty-four acres, and to be had free on condition of being worked. One or more portions of this long ribbon of farmland was allowed to a man according to the number to be supported in his family and his ability for the work. A tract of commune

lands near by, not cultivated, was used in common by all the people for pasturage, wood, game and fruits. If a dispute happened among any of the inhabitants, the patriarchal body of chief citizens were not long in reasoning them into peace and good will again. The manners and the usual costumes of the villagers were the most simple imaginable. The merchants and upper classes dressed and carried themselves genteelly. The women, true to national instinct, gracefully cultivated their charms; in some of the present St. Louis homes they have feminine descendents of almost peerless loveliness. The voyageurs, *coureurs des bois* and farmers, usually wore no hat, but tied around their heads a blue cotton handkerchief; in winter they wore the white blanket coat, and in summer either a white cotton shirt or a red woolen one; pantaloons of buckskin served them in the colder weather and colored cotton ones in the summer. The men frequently wore a belt with sealskin pouch for tobacco, pipe, flint and steel; as an equipment for the Rocky Mountains or a hunt for wild animals in the neighborhood, they added a butcher-knife and small hatchet. The community was a virtuous one, but with some proportion of the people much wanting in education; among their written documents it was not uncommon to see a man's "mark" for signature. A majority of the colonists were natives of Louisiana or of Canada. They were of pious habit, and also, of course, carried abounding Gallic lightheartedness into the simple life of the frontier. Simple groups of villagers were sometimes to be seen gathered at the brink of the river, where they would sit watching the athletic sport of youths leaping down the embankment. Their fondness for amusement frequently exhibited itself in a little dancing in some of the log-cabins on a Sunday evening after the religious worship of the day had been faithfully observed. It was a custom continued down to Bishop Rosatti's time, when René and Gabriel Paul with their companions of the orchestra, were accustomed after morning service to hear the affectionate prelate command, "My children, you must dine with me." René Paul, no doubt, took as much delight in the soft waltz of a Sunday evening as in the *Te Deum* or *De Profundis* of a cathedral service. For this violoncello, pressed thus to dine with the bishop, was the same who introduced his dear Parisian round dances into that Western society—the simple souls, accustomed to meet so cordially at each other's houses for their Sunday evening recreations, having never yet dreamed of these whirling graces of the gay French capital.

In the simpler days it was Father Gibault who faithfully ministered to the spiritual needs of the gentle flock and their energetic leaders.

The first little church was dedicated in 1770; the walls of this ecclesiastical structure were formed by fragrant logs standing endwise; the interstices were filled with mortar, and wooden pegs fastened shingles two feet long and six inches wide on the roof. The religious life of the little colony had commenced six years previously—that is, with its first form of existence. When Liguist laid out the village, a square dedicated to mother-church was prominent in the plan. To this day the consecrated ground, now in the very heart of Western business life, is held for its original use. Encompassed on all sides with the scenes and clamor of trade, repairs have been recently going on in the cathedral, which contains in its shadowy vaults the ashes of the early settlers of St. Louis.

A usufructuary possession of land was all that Liguist was empowered, under sanction of royal authority, to grant. St. Ange de Bellerive, who arrived with the French troops stationed at Fort de Chartres two years after the colony was established, was vested with the power of conferring grants—or rather, the few which he made were afterward publicly confirmed by the Spanish Lieutenant-Governor. From him Liguist received a grant of land on La Petite Rivière, where he built a mill, the body of water afterward known as Choteau Pond being produced by the dam constructed at that point. Although without kindred in the New World, Liguist exercised a domestic taste in his manner of living, and built himself a house immediately after his arrival at the site selected for the trading-post. This structure, which stood on the square occupied by Barnum's Hotel, was superior to any of the other houses at first built in the village, in having its lower story of stone and being provided with a cellar. A number of squaws dug and carried away the dirt from the cellar of M. Liguist's house, receiving beads and trinkets for the service. They belonged to the Missouri tribe of Indians, of which a hundred and fifty warriors visiting the place became sufficiently enamoured of the French society to avow their resolution never to leave them. To change their too friendly purpose, threats of the soldiery at Fort de Chartres had finally to be resorted to by M. Liguist; under which circumstances, they departed cheerfully and never returned.

For half a dozen years the dread condition of the presence of a Spanish commandant in the upper province was postponed; the unwelcome intrusion had almost from the first been imminent, the news of the early surrender of the French possessions west of the Mississippi to Spain having been received at New Orleans within a month after the

founding of the trading-post to the northward. It was during these years that the colony was most distinctively what Liguist, aided by auspicious fortune, had made it. Indirectly the English gave the village its great impetus of rapid growth before the end of its first year. Some accession of numbers happened from the French population of Cahokia and of other towns east of the Mississippi, who sought a new abode in St. Louis, when England formally took possession of her newly acquired territory on the eastern side of the river. Much to the advantage of St. Louis, again, was the dislike conceived for the English by the Indians, a great part of the Indian trade in peltries being transferred on this account from points east of the river. Thus it happened from various causes that the venture of Liguist was rapidly proving itself a grand success. The lowering of the lily flag for the emblems of Spanish rule effected very little change in the affairs of the colony. Both Piernas and Cruzat, the earliest Spanish commandants, were popular officers with a conciliatory policy. The life of the colony was still nearly as much under the influence of Liguist and Bellerive as if theirs had been the political as well as the moral authority. The settlers enjoyed life and trade was prosperous. Peltries and furs bought from the Indians were the main objects in commerce; at the time of Liguist's death the average value annually of these goods received in St. Louis was about \$300,000. The merchandise was shipped to Canada, thence to Europe, and it required four years for the returns to be made. If less rapid than the transactions of our own day, they were at least followed by enviable content. A feature to be noticed in this commerce is, that in their expeditions to the North and West, the French traders had not much to fear from the Indians. The contrast is the greatest possible between these peaceful relations and those pertaining to the enterprises of General Ashley commenced in 1823. In this interval, during which the organization of the Missouri Fur Company and the establishment of John Jacob Astor's commercial house in St. Louis had taken place, a change had come over the Indian's dream of the fur trader. In General Ashley's day not less than two-fifths of the men perished in the trade. Not all of these luckless adventurers, however, were murdered by the Indians; the white bears devoured some and others were drowned. But the Indian troubles were frequent; at one time fourteen were lost in a battle with the Cherokees. It was a sad phase of a trade commenced so peacefully with the company of Liguist.

It is a noteworthy fact that almost simultaneously with the death of the founder of the colony should have happened the close of a singularly



happy period of its history. The year of his death commenced the rule of that new Spanish commandant, the third in office, whose proceedings, if not the true cause of disaster to the colony in 1780, brought abundant calumny upon his own name. The Indian attack of that date was the first greatly calamitous event which the people suffered. The new era was ushered so sharply in as to give by contrast a peculiar charm to the picture of the brief, quiet period preceding it. The story of the first fourteen years of the village life is like a summer idyl written as preface to a history abounding in dark chapters of violence and misfortune. The wise and good Ligest, somewhat vaguely sketched with his colony in the foreground, is scarcely to be recognized except through that society in its course of daring adventure, justice, love, and prosperity. A more heroic character might have been developed in Ligest had his wisdom been less directed to the general good, and his friendship for his followers a less sacred motive.

E. T. LANDER

ELOQUENCE OF THE NORTH
AMERICAN INDIANS

Communicated by John Russell Bartlett

The poverty of their languages tends strongly to excite exertions to express ideas by figures of speech. Hence their violent gestures and repetitions in all their public speeches. Their ideas are drawn from sensible objects, and these being few in number give a character to their eloquence which differs materially from ours. Like the rays of light brought to a focus by a lens, their ideas being few with only a few words to express them, Byron would call them "ideas of fire." Unaccompanied by enthusiasm, genius produces only uninteresting works of art. Enthusiasm is the secret spirit which hovers over the eloquence of the Indian.

All the senses of the Indian, from his mode of living in the open air, and indeed from necessity, exist in the highest possible perfection. Their persons are the first forms in the world. Standing erect, his eyes flaming with enthusiastic ardor and his mind laboring under an agony of thought, the Indian is a most impressive orator. He speaks in the presence of his assembled nation, on some important subject, and shows that he feels an awful responsibility. At Prairie du Chien in the summer of 1829, while listening to many Indian speeches, I was forcibly struck with the evident marks of the awful responsibility which the orators felt during the time they were addressing the United States Commissioners. I have seen an Indian orator when in the course of his speech he began to touch upon the sub-

ject of a sale of his country, turn pale, tremble in every limb, and sit down perfectly exhausted in body from the operations of his mind. The Indian orator's audience is his whole nation, often several other assembled Indian nations, and the subject matter of his discourse is of great national importance. When the subject matter is a sale of his country, in addition to his whole nation as an audience, he sees seated before him, the United States Commissioners attended by a large number of military officers in full dresses, and an army of soldiers drawn up in battle array. The cannons and the lighted matches and all the parade, show, pomp, and circumstance of glorious warfare, are presented to the orator's near and full view. On each side of him sit all the chiefs and warriors of his nation; behind him sit all the women and children of his people. His subject is one that is of the highest conceivable importance to him and his nation. His country he is called on to sell and quit forever, contains the bones of his ancestors and the hearts of many perhaps that loved him most dearly. His wives and children listen in breathless silence to every word he utters. Every eye among his auditors watches every gesture he makes.

Placed in such a situation, the character of his eloquence is easily conceived. It abounds with figures drawn from every natural object presented to his eye. He "tharks the Great Spirit that HE has granted them a day for their council with a cloudless sky, or with a few clouds, as the case may be; that their several paths between their

homes and the council were open and unattended with dangers ; that the storm is passed away and gone ; and he hopes that during the time they may be detained from home the beasts may not destroy his corn, nor any bad birds be permitted to fly about with bad stories around the council fire!" All this is uttered with little gesticulation and without enthusiasm, but should he touch on the subject of a sale of his country, his whole soul is in every look, every word and every gesture. His eye flashes fire, he raises himself upon his feet, his body is thrown into every variety of attitude, every muscle is strained, every nerve is exerted to its utmost power, and his voice becomes clear, distinct and commanding. He now becomes, to use his own expressive phrase, A MAN.

He recalls to the minds of his auditors the situation and circumstances of his ancestors, when they, and they only, climbed every hill and every mountain and traversed every vale in quest of game, angled in every river for fishes, sailed in every lake, and glided along on every stream of water in their canoes. He tells his auditors that all the labor their ancestors had to perform was merely what the white man calls "sport" or "pastime"; that in winter they dwelt in the thickest forests beside the unfrozen spring of pure water, and in the summer in the coolest, shadiest groves. In winter he was protected from every piercing wind ; in summer from every burning ray of the sun.

The white man came across the Great Water ; he was feeble and small in stature ; he begged for a few acres of

land, so that he could by digging in the earth like a squaw raise some corn, some squashes and some beans for the support of his family and himself. Indian pity was excited by the simple tale of the white man's wants, and his request was granted. But soon indeed thereafter he who was so feeble and small at first, became so mighty and large that his head reached the clouds and with a tree for his staff he drove the red man before him from river to river, and from mountain to mountain, until the Indian seated himself on a small spot of earth as a final resting place, and now the white man wants that small spot !

We will continue to use the language of Hoowaneka (Little Elk), in council at Prairie du Chien on July 1, 1829 : "The first white man whom we ever knew was a Frenchman. He lived among us as we did. He painted himself, smoked his pipe with us, sang and danced with us, and married one of our squaws, *but he never wanted to buy our land!* The Red-coat (the British) came next. He gave us new coats, leggins and shoes, guns, traps and knives, blankets and jewels. He seated our chiefs at his table to eat with him ; he fixed epaulets on their shoulders, and put commissions in their pockets. He suspended large medals on their breasts, *but he never asked us to sell our country to him!* Next came the Blue Coat (the American). No sooner had he seen a small portion of our country than he asked for a map of the whole of it ! Having shown him its map, he wanted to buy it all instantly.* Governor Cass last year at Green Bay urged

us to sell all our country to him, and now you, father, repeat the same request. Why do you wish to add our small country to yours, which is already so large? When I went to Washington City to see our Great Father, I saw great houses all along the road, and Washington and Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York are great and splendid cities! So large and beautiful was the President's house; the tables and chairs, the mirrors and carpets were so beautiful, that I thought I was in Heaven, and the old man there was the Great Spirit! but after he had taken us by the hand and kissed our women I found him like ourselves, nothing but a man! You ask us to sell our country, and wander off into the boundless regions of the West. We do not own that country, and the deer, elk, bison and beaver now there are not ours, and we have no right to kill them. Our wives and our children, now seated behind us are dear to us, and so is our country, where rest in peace the bones of our ancestors. Fathers! pity a people few in number, poor and helpless! Do you want our country? Yours is larger than ours! Do you want our wigwams? You live in palaces. Do you want our horses? Yours are larger, stronger and better than ours. Do you want our women? Yours are now sitting behind you (the speaker here pointed to Mrs. Z. Taylor, to the lady of Major Garland and her sister, Miss Lockwood, Mrs. Rolette and her daughters), are handsomer and dressed better than ours. Look at your ladies behind you, and then at ours sitting before you! Why, Fathers! What can be your motives?" Such is the substance

and almost the very words of Hoowan-eka in council. His gestures were very graceful, but in those portions of his speech which related to a sale of his country his gesticulation was violent, and his whole soul was violently agitated.

Among the Sauks and Foxes, Keokuk and Morgan were the principal orators in 1829, and these men were the chief warriors also of these tribes, at that time. Before addressing the commissioners in council, their orators always consulted the Civil Chiefs as to the substantial matters to be brought forward in their public speeches. Generally a solemn national council was called, in which the subject matters were discussed and the decision of the assembled nation was communicated to the orators, who in their public speeches, conformed to the instructions which they had received from their own council.

Among the Winnebagoes, the half breeds Snakeskin and Little Elk were generally put forward as orators, but on great occasions the principal civil chiefs came forward as orators. Among savage nations orators as such do not stand as high as they do among civilized ones. Under our aristocracy birth is esteemed of consequence, and, in a savage state bodily powers and prowess are of greater value than they are among us, who are more intellectual than man in his natural state. The Indian word for orator translated into our language is "bab-bler." Thus we see that Indians are not sufficiently advanced in the arts of life, or of government to give an orator all the consequence which he has among us. Could our native Americans throw



off their aristocracy, their love of war, their indolence, and adopt our mode of living and all our wants, and thereby add vastly to his stock of ideas, he might then become and excel as our orators at the bar, in the desk, in the popular assembly and in the Senate Hall. Until then he will rise no higher than he now is. His speeches will be vehement, his gesticulations will be violent, and repetitions and darkness and obscurity, mixed with figures of speech and some beautiful allusions to natural objects and to the vague traditions handed down to him from his ancestor, will be found in all his long labored public speeches. Logan's speech was simplicity itself; but Logan had lived all his days among the whites. He had even adopted a white man's name. Such a speech as his was never delivered by an Indian, unacquainted with the whites. There are in that speech a clearness, a simplicity, a pointedness, which belong to a civilized man's speech, who is however a full blooded Indian in his heart.

CALEB ATWATER.

Circleville, Ohio, August 27, 1846.

* A comprehensive description of the French, English and Americans, as they succeed each other in their intercourse with the Indians in this country.

C. A.

NOTE.—Mr. John R. Bartlett, to whose kindness this paper is due, writes to me that Mr. Atwater, who was a correspondent of his in 1846, promised other articles upon the Indians, but he does not think they were received.

EDITOR

NOTES.

EARLY HISTORY OF NEW YORK.—I cannot but agree with Major D. Campbell's views, as expressed in his address

before the Oneida Historical Society, but must entirely differ from Mr. S. N. D. North's opinion regarding the intelligence and education of the early Dutch colonists of New York, given in the January number of this Magazine. I am not at all astonished to find Mr. North of the same opinion as most all writers on American history, who, as a general rule, underrate or ignore the importance of the fact that the Dutch were the first colonists on the Hudson. The statement that, if it had not been for the Dutch, we should perhaps still live under English rule, or be a colony of France, seems to be a bold one; but the students of the Dutch period of New York will most likely agree with me. The proofs for this assertion are: First, the friendly relations maintained by the Dutch with the powerful Five Nations, whose rule extended over half this continent, and who served as a bulwark against the encroachments of the French in Canada. The Dutch of Albany kept up this friendship, even after the downfall of their government, to the advantage of their conquerors, not so much, as is usually stated, because they were afraid for their lives, or at least for their commerce, but because they desired more liberty than the tyrannical rule of France would have allowed them. Second, the spirit of liberty, political and religious, roused in Holland, almost a century before the colonization of this country, by the Spanish invasion of their homes, with which they had become so thoroughly imbued that they raised the cry of the Revolution, "No taxation without representation," long before the Revolution was ever thought of. Third,

the desire to get rid of the British rule, made distasteful to them from the beginning by the superciliousness with which the English treated them. Can such sentiments, bringing about such results, find birth and fostering care in the minds and breasts of "*either purely commercial or totally uneducated men?*"

Nobody thinks of denying that the Dutch were first induced to settle on the banks of the Hudson by the prospect of a profitable trade with the Indians. They were not compelled to seek new homes in an unexplored land, because their puritanical intolerance would not allow them to live among people who differed from them in religious belief; they did not start out with the benevolent intention of Christianizing the heathen Indian by exterminating him. They came for commercial purposes, and of course treated the people, with whom they desired to trade, with the same fairness and honesty with which they treated each other or other European nations. With a tolerance in religious matters, which can be only the result of education, they allowed the heathen Indian to retain his simple belief in a God, who had created him and his surroundings, and who was angry at his creature's misdoings. They had learned, if anything, that the words "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" included also the natives of this continent, the owners of the land upon which they intended to settle, and they had been taught that they could not take another man's property without giving him the demanded price for it—a lesson which the New England settlers had either never been taught, or

believed not to apply to a people of other religious belief (see the early Statutes of Massachusetts). Notwithstanding the commercial tendency of their character, which is always held up as a reproach to them, and comes with rather a bad taste from a nation who could not live without, and is made great by, its commerce—notwithstanding it, I say, their love of profit never led them to the inhumanity of dealing in Indian scalps. These last mentioned characteristics must also be set down, as the result of education, and we will see now how far the charge of a lack of educated men can be disproved. If I fail in my attempt to disprove it, I am afraid part of the charge will fall back upon Mr. North, for some of the men, whose names I shall give, were Englishmen, who, preferring the greater religious and political freedom of New Netherland, left their scholarly friends of New England to settle under Dutch government.

The De Graafs, of whom we find several mentioned in the Dutch records, belonged to a family which furnished two Burgomasters to Amsterdam in Holland, one being elected to that office nine times. The Dewitts, who settled at the Esopus (Kingston), and were the ancestors of Surveyor-General Dewitt of this State, were closely related to the celebrated Great Pensionary Dewitt of Holland. Johannes de Laet, the author of five books on America, published during the years 1625 to 1648, did not come himself to this country, but his family did, and without doubt they were well educated people. Rev. William Leveridge of Oyster Bay, L. I., was a graduate of Cambridge, England, and

the first pastor of Huntington in 1658. Richard and Lewis Morris, founders of Morrisania, were sons of a well-to-do, and, therefore, probably well-educated, English family. I cannot continue this list of names of persons, whose position or birth entitled them to be classed among the educated men of their times, and will only briefly mention the Stuyvesants, Bayards, Beekmans, Schuylers, Polhemus, Megalopolensis, Luyck, De Sille, Van der Donck, Willett, Chambers, De Vries, Van Tienhoven, La Montagne, and others, who, in their capacity of public officers, ministers, school teachers, etc., formed a nucleus of educated men, proportionately large, considering the number of inhabitants in Dutch times, and whose letters, as far as they are extant, bristle with quotations from Latin authors. With the English a number of more educated men came over, as Mathias Nicolls, Robert Livingston, William Smith, the historian of Colonial New York, and a host of others too numerous to mention.

All these men had been educated abroad; and I cannot understand Mr. North's statement, that he "can recall the name of but one New York colonist, Cadwallader Colden, who had enjoyed educational advantages in the mother country, and certainly there were none such among the Dutch settlers, not excepting the ministry." This slur is utterly unwarranted, especially as far as the Dutch ministry is concerned. Holland, in her love for education, was the first country, so history tells us, to establish a system of free district schools. The Dutch desire for knowledge is still further demonstrated by the well-known

facts connected with the establishment of the celebrated University of Leyden, the Alma Mater of a Grotius, a Descartes, a Fielding, a Goldsmith. With free district schools and a university like Leyden, it would have been almost impossible not to have the people generally as well educated, comparatively, as the people of the United States are to-day. As to the education of the ministry of New Netherland, among whom is to be mentioned Dominie Johannes Megalopolensis, Doctor of Divinity (a title then not given as now in mere courtesy, but after a rigid examination), it is to be remembered that the young man who wished to become a minister, or a master of a Latin school, had to prove, before matriculation at any continental university or college, his previous classical education, including a knowledge of the ancient languages, Greek, Latin and Hebrew, and his college course of three to five years made him thoroughly acquainted with every branch of theology or philology. I cannot understand, I repeat, how men like Dr. Megalopolensis, Rev. Peter Daillé, Johannes Polhemus, and others, can be said not to have enjoyed as good an education as any of the New England ministers.

The Dutch system of free schools was undoubtedly introduced into the colony as soon as there were children to benefit by it. The earliest mention of a school in New Netherland is made in 1633; and in 1650, New Netherland, with a population of about 250 families, had a number of schools, among which the Latin school of New Amsterdam, where the sons of such men in the province received their education as could afford

the expense of sending them there. Like many other liberal institutions first established by the Dutch, the free school system was adopted later in Massachusetts.

Mr. North may without contradiction claim for New England the palm in literature, but New Netherland was not quite devoid of a literature of its own, though the books were printed in Europe. I will only briefly mention the "Description of New Netherland," by Adrian van der Donck, Doctor of Law, who died in Westchester county in 1655; Rev. Megalopolensis' book on the Mohawk Indians, published in 1651; Johannes de Laet's "The New World," published in Dutch, Latin and French between 1625 and 1640, and the same author's "Notes" and "Reply" to Hugo Grotius' "Dissertation on the Aborigines of America." Further, De Vries' "Travels." But, on the other hand, Mr. Campbell is also right, when he says that no history of New York has been written, because the official correspondence during the first decades of her existence is a sealed book to most people. Few people think it worth their while to study a language only for the purpose of acquiring a knowledge of the early colonial history of New York, and a still smaller number would think of learning to read "black-letter" for the same purpose. The twenty or more volumes of Dutch records in the State archives, containing so much to throw light upon the inner life of the colony; the records of Fort Orange, of Esopus and of New Amsterdam are all waiting to be made public, but the interest of the great mass of the people of the State

is directed into other channels than to know what originated their country and made it what it is—a great State.

Albany.

B. FERNOW.

POETRY OF THE REVOLUTION.—

From the Webb MSS. Communicated by General J. Watson Webb.

I

THE WAT'RY GOD.

1st

The Wat'ry God, Great Neptune, lay
In dalliance soft and anxious Play
On Amphitrite's Breast;
When up he reared his hoary Head
The Tritons shrunk, the Nereids fled,
And all their Fear Confest.

2d

Loud Thunder shook the Vast Domain,
The liquid world was wrapt in Flame,
The God amazed spoke;
Go forth ye Winds, and make it known
Who dares thus shake my Corral Throne,
And fill my realms with smoke.

3d

The Winds, obsequious at his word,
Sprung strongly up t' obey their Lord,
And saw two Fleets away.
Hopkins commanded one brave Line,
The other Navy, How was thine
In Terror and dismay.

4th

They view America's bold Sons
Deal Death and slaughter from their Guns,
And strike the dreadful Blow
That made ill-fated British slaves—
Seek Life by flying over the Waves,
Or sink to Shades below.

5th

Amazed they fly and tell their Chief,
That How is ruined past relief,
And Hopkins Conquering rode.
"Hopkins!" says Neptune, "who is he
That dares usurp this power at sea,
And thus insult a God!"

6th

The Winds reply: "In distant Land
A Congress sits, whose martial Bands
Defy all Britain's force,
And when their floating Castles Roll
From Sea to Sea, from Pole to Pole,
Hopkins directs their Course.

7th

And when their Winged Bullets fly
To reinstate their Liberty,
Or scourge oppressive Bands,
Then Gallant Hopkins, calmly Great,
Tho' Death and Carnage round him wait,
Performs their dread Commands."

8th

Neptune with vast amazement hears
How great this infant state appears,
What Feats their Heroes do;
Washington's Deeds and Putnam's Fame,
Joined to great Lee's immortal Name,
And cries "Can this be true"?

9th

"A Congress! sure they are Brother Gods,
Who have such Heroes at their Nods
To govern Earth and Sea;
I yield my Trident and my Crown
A Tribute due to such renown,
These Gods shall rule for me."

Finis.

II

A NEW SONG

BY

Dr. Byvanck, Horseneck, 1777

Let the Trumpet of Fame raise its shrill notes
on high,
While the Winds on their Wings the bold ac-
cents convey
Of great Washington's Name! let the Nations
reply,
& Honour to the Sun wide his Banners display.
For Virtue and Valour walk close by his Side,
& Truth o'er his Head her Effulgence reveals;
His Soul to Discretion and Zeal is ally'd,
While his Country his Bosom with Fortitude
fills.

With Liberty fired, whilst god-like he glows,
His Heroes around him partake of his Flame;
His Warriors in thousands their ardor disclose,
And pant for to tread in his footsteps to Fame.

His Life uniform, their Example supplies,
His Conduct their precept; no other there
needs
To the Man who's resolv'd—if beside him he dies,
His Heart for fair Freedom still throbs as it
bleeds.

Beneath such a Chieftain, so great, good and wise,
Reflecting his valour, our Heroes shall move;
And with his Renown, whilst our Glories arise,
Our armies shall ever invincible prove.

Even Victory now her broad pennons expands,
And holds forth the Wreath to encircle his
Brow;
While Fame lifts her Trumpet to far distant
Lands,
His praises immortal, sonorous to blow.

Then Smile, O Columbia, in Beauty replete,
Thy æra of Liberty approaches nigh,
When Culture and Arts shall revive at thy Feet,
& Peace, wealth and plenty stand ministring by.

Thy Empire shall grasp at Ambitions bold high,
Thy greatness shall travel, thy strength shall
not tire,
Till old Time, weary'd out, shall stop short in
his flight,
And prone on his own weapon fallen, expire.

Finis.

III

AN ODE TO HIS EXCELLENCY GEN. WASHINGTON

By David Humphrey

To Washington, who greatly brave,
Resolv'd his native land to save,
Or perish in the cause;
To Washington, what praise belongs!
What marble busts! what grateful songs!
What tributes of applause!

At freedom's call, the Hero rose,
Left each dear Scene, & sought our foes,
And brav'd their fiercest rage;

While they (for us a scourge design'd)
Within their walls inglorious pin'd.
Nor dar'd with him engage.

His Martiall Skill our legions form'd,
His glorious zeal their bosoms warm'd,
And fann'd the rising flame,
Like Fabius, he by wise delay
Forc'd Britain's bands to waste away,
Then bade them fly with shame.

His Vengeance struck them with dismay,
His thunders broke their firm array,
And wither'd all their host.
Why felt thy chiefs unusual dread?
Where were thy sons O Britain fled,
To what ill-fated coast?

But now the Cannon's thundering roar
Begins to echo round the shore,
And calls on youths from far,
Oh! now may he, with glory crown'd,
While guardian Angels shield him round,
Triumphant guide the war.

At last (for so the fates decreed)
These climes by him from slav'ry freed,
And ev'ry wrong redrest—
While grateful Myriads hail his name,
May he, bright heir of deathless fame,
Long live supremely blest.

IV

WELCOME HITHER EACH BRAVE BROTHER

For the Meeting of the Cincinnati, July, 1786

Welcome hither each brave brother,
Souls who nobly scorn to yield,
Friendship binds us to each other,
Friendship form'd in hostile field.

Chorus.

Hail Cincinnatus great in arms,
Thy sons revere thy name,
To them, like thee sweet peace, hath charms
When conquest crowns their fame.

Tyrants, here behold the foes
Can make your armies flee,
No more your slavish plan propose,
Columbia (now is) (shall be) free,

Chorus.—Hail, &c.

To freedom sacred be this day
In each revolving year,
And we'll our grateful homage pay
With hearts devoid of fear.

Chorus.—Hail, &c.

THE PROPHECIC GATES.—The closing paragraph in a letter of General Gates to Washington, dated July 25, 1779, contains a prophecy, the more remarkable in that it has been realized. It must be remembered that Captain Cook had circumnavigated the world for the benefit of Great Britain a few years before.

"I am happy in congratulating your Excellency, upon the Glorious Success of Genl Wayne and His Intrepid Companions. The American Arms have now reached the summit of military fame and George the 3d may seek for another Continent in the Terra Australis; for he has lost this." J. A. S.

THE BENSON HOUSE AT HARLEM.—This house, now occupied by Samson Benson McGown, 106th Street near Lexington Avenue, was used as a hospital for the British army. The house has since been turned to face 106th Street. Mr. Benson was a grandfather of Mr. McGown, and has repeatedly spoken to him of, as he tells me, the blood-stained floors during the occupation.

THOMAS F. DEVOE.

DEATH OF COLONEL KNOWLTON.—In 1878, during a long conversation with Mr. Samson Benson McGown about the antiquity of Harlem and its vicinity, I called the attention of this well-informed old gentleman to the battle of Harlem in September, 1776. He informed me that

he had been told repeatedly by his father and grandfather that the brave Colonel Knowlton was killed on the flats, somewhere between 112th and 125th Streets.

THOMAS F. DEVOE.

NEW YORK FISH MARKET IN 1783.—
From Mr. Gaine's Mercury, dated May 26. One day last week our Market afforded us no less than 23 different sorts of fresh fish.

May 27

Mr. Rivington!!!

Having seen in Yesterday's Paper that there were twenty-three kinds of fresh Fish in the Market I want to know if it will be below the Dignity of your *Royal Typographic Pen* to announce to us their *Christened Names*.

And while you, a *very droll Fish*, are *swimmingly* laying in your Post-Meridian Tide of Goody-Burton or Barley Faleranian you may also tell us which of them will make the best Prelude to the noted *Apres la Poisson toujours*, for much Good it has often done to many of the old Friends of

De Grege Epicuri, Porcus

—*From Rivington's Royal Gazette, May 28, 1783.*

ICTHYOPAGUS.

THE FIRST AMERICAN FLAG RAISED IN THE BRITISH CHANNEL.—The Philadelphia American Daily Advertiser on Saturday, December 23, 1820, has the following notice:

"On Wednesday, the 13th inst., a letter was received by the Senate and House of Representatives of this State from the executors of the late Captain Gustavus Conyngham, presenting to the Legislature, to be deposited in their

library, the *first* American flag that was raised in the British Channel, of which the following is copy:

"*To the Honorable the Speaker of the House of Representatives:* Sir—The executors of Captain Gustavus Conyngham present to the Senate and House of Representatives, to be deposited in the State library, the first flag of the United States of America that was raised in the British Channel. It was made under the direction of Dr. Benjamin Franklin for the Government vessel *Surprise*, commanded by Captain Gustavus Conyngham, in the year 1776."

I have ascertained that it was subsequently used among the decorations of the Hall of Representatives, back of the Speaker's chair. Also that it is not now in any of the departments of the State of Pennsylvania, and my informant thinks it was taken to Philadelphia, and has been stolen. This is unfortunate, as it might solve the much-vexed question whether the stars were on our flag prior to the resolution of June 14, 1777. I am of the opinion, however, that its being made under the direction of Dr. Franklin was a family tradition, and referred to the rattlesnake emblem of the striped ensign, which preceded the Stars and Stripes. I send this note with a faint hope it may meet the eye of some descendant of Captain Conyngham, or of some person who saw it over the Speaker's chair, five or six years after his death, who will be able to recall its general features.

It is uncertain whether the *Surprise* was a Government (Continental) or Pennsylvania State cruiser.

Brookline.

G. H. P.

THE GOOD OLD TIMES.—On Monday Evening, the 14th Instant, Forty-Five Virgins of this City went in Procession to pay their Respects to a Patriot [Alexander McDougal], now unjustly confined in the Common Jail. They were introduced by a Gentleman of Note to the Illustrious Prisoner, who entertained them with Tea, Cakes, Chocolate and Conversation adapted to the Company.—*New York Journal, March 22, 1770.*

PETERSFIELD.

ARNOLD'S VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES IN 1786.—*Boston, August 3.* The celebrated Mr. Benedict Arnold, formerly in the service of the United States, but now a British General on half pay, lately paid a visit, in company with an English officer, to the eastern flank of this Commonwealth, and in a very friendly manner waited on Col. Allan at Dudley Island, but tarried only a few hours, judging it more expedient to sojourn in Nova Scotia, than in a country ever inimical to paricides.—*New Haven Gazette, August 10, 1786.*

PETERSFIELD.

WASHINGTON'S SIMPLE TASTES. — Among the Webb manuscripts owned by General J. Watson Webb, is the following interesting letter, which shows to what shifts our American officers were put to make up a dinner and also Washington's simple taste :

Robinson's 6th June 1782

Dear Sir,

General Washington dines with me to-morrow; he is exceedingly fond of salt fish; I have some coming up, & tho' it will be here in a few days, it will not be

here in time— If you could conveniently lend me 'as much fish as would serve a pretty large company for dinner to-morrow (at least for one Dish), it will oblige me, and shall in a very few days be returned in as good Dun Fish as ever you see.

Excuse this freedom, and it will add to the favor— Could you not prevail upon somebody to catch some Trout for me early to-morrow morning?

I am Dr Sir with great regard

your most obedient Servant,

Col Webb

R. HOWE

This is curious, as salmon were abundant in those days.

IULUS.

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER.—It appears by the proceedings of the convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church at Newark, N. J., on the 4th inst., that a copyright in the Book of Common Prayer, as altered by the late General Episcopal Convention, had been claimed by William Hall as proprietor under the act of Congress. The convention have remonstrated against this claim, and declare that it is not well founded—that such assumed exclusive privilege is in its operation an imposition on the members of that church; and they accordingly propose that the several state conventions of Episcopal clergy should take measures to have the said book printed reasonably and expeditiously, that a general supply of them may be obtained.—*The Universal Asylum, June, 1791.*

W. K.

GENERAL WASHINGTON AND CAPTAIN ASGILL.—Mr. Johnston, in his observations on Judge Jones' History, defends

Washington from the charge of cruelty brought against him by the Tory Thersites, Judge Jones. Mrs. Pierre Van Cortlandt of Cortlandt Manor has kindly contributed to the series of Washington letters, now being published in the Magazine, one addressed to Colonel Dayton on this subject. It is dated 11 June, 1782. The postscript reads as follows :

P. S. I am informed that Capt. Asgill is at Chatham—without guard and under no Constraint. This, if true, is certainly wrong—I wish to have the young gentleman treated with all the tenderness possible consistent with his present situation, but until his Fate is determined he must be considered as a close prisoner, to be kept with the greatest Security. I request, therefore, that he be sent immediately to the Jersey line, where he is to be kept close prisoner, in perfect security, till further orders.

I am as above, G. W.

Sparks printed in his collection a letter nearly similar in expression. They conclusively dispose of the matter.

EDITOR.

THE FIRST GARDEN IN NEW ENGLAND.—The first garden in New England that had any pretensions to the name of a *botanical* garden, was reared by Mr. Redwood, who founded the library.—*The Rhode Island Republican*, November 22, 1857. J. E. M.

RHODE ISLAND THE BATH OF AMERICA.—Rhode Island, which is about fifteen miles long, and from three to six broad, has from its salubrity, variety, temperature, and surpassing beauty, been considered, during the past century, as *the Bath of America*, and resorted to accordingly, either for the summer season or as

a permanent residence of opulence and literature leisure. Hence we may account for her numerous fine country seats, and for her two distinct ranks of people, her aristocracy, and her West Indies and African traders; her revolutionary men, and her men of navigation. — *The Rhode Island Republican*, November 22, 1857. J. E. M.

QUERIES

BRITISH SALUTES.—In the account of Washington's visit to General Carleton (*Magazine of American History*, V., 108), mention is made of a salute of seventeen guns given to him on leaving the ship, and the writer says that this was in recognition of his army rank. On what authority is this assertion based?

W. C. S.

THE BOSTON BEACON.—In the valuable Diary of a French Officer, Baron du Bourg, printed in the March number of the Magazine (IV., 208), I find a mention of the high piece of ground called the "Beacon," and on page 209 a description of the light (the original French word, I understand from the editor, is "*fanal*"), which does not accord with my previous knowledge of the character of the structure. I had supposed the Boston Beacon to be a tar-barrel. Can no antiquary set this straight? IULUS.

NEW YORK PRISONS DURING THE REVOLUTION.—In *Harpers' Weekly* for July 17, 1880, there appeared a view, purporting to be that of the "Old Sugar

House, corner of Rose and Duane streets, used as a prison during the Revolution," illustrative of an article entitled a "City of Prisons." The building referred to was long known as the Rhineland Sugar House, but I am not aware that there is any evidence, or even tradition, that it was used as a prison house during the Revolution. Every new volume on New York history that appears contains some fresh blunder in regard to localities. Miss Booth's, Mrs. Lamb's and Bryant & Gay's, each in turn; and now the Weeklies seem to be intent on befogging us also. Will not some of your antiquarian subscribers take up this matter and set it right?

W. C. S.

THE HOUDON MASK.—Where is the original mask of Houdon's statue of Washington? Houdon carried it to Europe with him on his return. What has since become of it?

A. B. G.

MONUMENTS TO THE PATRIOTS.—Josiah Dunham, in an oration pronounced at Windsor, Vt., February 22, 1814, speaking of the honored dead of the Revolution, used these words: "Go to the tombs of Warren and Montgomery!—of Wooster, of Mercer, of Nash, and De Kalb! Consult their Monuments: They will tell you in language louder than the thunders of Heaven the worth of your liberties."

Is it true that monuments have been erected over the tombs of all the soldiers mentioned? If so, what are the locations and inscriptions?

Sudbury, Vt.

R. H.

A WASHINGTON RELIC.—A lock of General Washington's hair, which was preserved in a golden urn by the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, has often been referred to by the brethren as a priceless heir-loom. Not having heard of it lately, I venture to inquire if that interesting relic is still in existence, and what is its condition?

As it may interest your Masonic subscribers, I transmit a copy of the correspondence connected with the gift by Mrs. Washington. It lacks but the resolution of the Grand Lodge to make the record complete:

Boston, January 11, 1800.

Madame,

The Grand Lodge of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts have deeply participated in the general grief of their fellow citizens on the melancholy occasion of the death of their beloved Washington.

As Americans, they have lamented the loss of the Chief, who had led their armies to victory, and their country to glory; but as Masons they have wept the dissolution of that endearing relation, by which they were enabled to call him their Friend and their Brother. They presume not to offer you those consolations which might alleviate the weight of common sorrows, for they are themselves inconsolable. The object of this address is, not to interrupt the sacred offices of grief like yours; but, whilst they are mingling tears with each other on the common calamity, to condole with you on the irreparable misfortune which you have individually experienced.

To their expressions of sympathy on this solemn dispensation, the Grand Lodge has subjoined an order that a golden Urn be prepared as a deposit for a lock of hair, an invaluable relic of the Hero and the Patriot, whom their wishes would immortalize; and that it be preserved with the jewels and regalia of the Society.

Should this favor be granted, Madam, it will be cherished as the most precious jewel in the

Cabinet of the Lodge, as the memory of his virtues will forever be in the hearts of its members.

We have the honour to be,

With the highest respect,

Your most obedient Servants,

JOHN WARREN

PAUL REVERE

JOSIAH BARTLETT

Mrs. Martha Washington

Mount Vernon, January 27, 1800.

Gentlemen,

Mrs. Washington has received with sensibility your letter of the 11 inst., enclosing a vote of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, requesting a lock of her deceased husband's hair, to be preserved in a golden Urn, with the jewels and regalia of the Grand Lodge.

In complying with this request, by sending the lock of hair, which you will find enclosed, Mrs. Washington begs me to assure you that she views with gratitude the tributes of respect and affection paid to the memory of her dear deceased husband; and receives, with a feeling heart, the expressions of sympathy contained in your letter.

With great respect and esteem,

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient Servant,

TOBIAS LEAR.

John Warren

Paul Revere

Josiah Bartlett

Past Grand Masters

BEACON STREET.

REPLIES

ARNOLD AT SARATOGA.—III.. 310.
In the appendix to his life of Brant Colonel William L. Stone printed a letter to him from Samuel Woodruff, Esq., of Windsor, Conn., who was a participator in the battle of the 7th October, in which occurs the following passage:

"Having introduced the name of Arnold, it may be proper to note here, that although he had no regular command

that day, he volunteered his service, was early on the ground, and in the hottest part of the struggle at the redoubts. He behaved (as I then thought, more like a madman than a cool and discreet officer. Mounted on a brown horse, he moved incessantly at a full gallop back and forth, until he received a wound in his leg, and his horse was shot under him. I happened to be near him when he fell, and assisted in getting him into a litter to be carried to headquarters."

This seems to be a fair estimate of Arnold's generalship on this occasion.

EDITOR.

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ANDRÉ'S BURIAL.—(V., 57.) The last four lines quoted from Miss Steward's Monody charge directly upon the authorities who presided at the execution of André a denial of decent rites to his corpse and a Christian requiem over his grave. It is not usual to perform funeral dirges over spies, but the absence of any Christian priest or Christian services from the death scene is explained in another way than unwillingness on the part of the Americans to admit such ceremonies. The Fishkill letter of October 5th, published in the Connecticut Gazette for October 10, 1780, supplies the reason:

"We learn from Head Quarters that Major André, Adjutant General of the British Army, received the reward of his dear earned labours, the gallows, last Monday. His unhappy fate was much regretted; though his life was justly forfeited by the law of nations. *From his behaviour it cannot be said but that, if he did not die a good Christian, he died like a brave soldier.* Thus died in the bloom

of life Major André, the pride of the British Army, the friend and confidant of Sir Henry Clinton. We further learned that the truly infamous Arnold, through whom this unfortunate gentleman lost his life, has lodged information against sundry persons in New York, supposed friendly to our cause; in consequence of which upwards of fifty of them were imprisoned."

From this allusion to André's want of Christianity, it would seem that he held the philosophic belief of the day, and was a free thinker.

NEW YORK.

SPILIARD THE TRAVELER.—(IV., 462.) This famous pedestrian left England in 1784, and traveled on foot 69,000 miles and upwards through all Europe, a great part of Asiatic Turkey, through Barbary, up to Manquinez and Fez, in Morocco, and through the Arab country. Being desirous to add America to the other three-quarters of the world, he took passage in 1790 for Boston, and traveled through most of the United States. In February, 1792, he reached Savannah, and took the Indian foot-paths through the country to New Orleans; he arrived at St. Augustine in July, and proceeded through the wilderness to visit the Creek nation, where he remained a considerable time taking notes. He also visited the Chickasaws, Cherokees and Choctaws.

Spiliard went up the Missouri River 3,000 miles, but being deterred by the Indians, he returned to Natchez, and so down the Mississippi to the confluence of the Red River, the source of which he was determined to ascertain. In this

he was successful, and is said to have been the first European to have taken a draught of this river at its fountain head. In 1795 he embarked for England, was twice captured by French privateers fitted out at Charleston, but had the good fortune to save his journal and notes. He was finally taken on board the frigate *Thisbe* at Halifax and carried safely to his native land.

If his observations on the United States and the Indian country still exist, they will furnish much valuable material for the modern investigator. It is hoped some of your English readers may furnish additional information with regard to this interesting personage. W. K.

THE FIRST GREAT QUARTO BIBLE IN AMERICA.—(III., 311, 455.) In reply to Mr. Clark Jillson's strictures on the propriety of so calling the Bible printed by Isaac Collins, which Caleb Cresson saw the printers at work upon in August, 1791, a word as to the history of the Collins Bible is appropriate. In O'Callaghan's list of the editions of the Holy Scriptures and parts thereof printed in America previous to 1860 it is stated that "Isaac Collins, a member of the Society of Friends, originally from Delaware, but afterwards printer to the State of New Jersey, and a resident of Trenton, published a New Testament in demi-octavo as early as 1788. In 1789 appeared two proposals for publishing by subscription the Holy Bible, to be contained in one large volume, quarto, of nine hundred and eighty-four pages, reprinted page for page with the Oxford edition; the price, Four Spanish dollars; the work to be put to press as soon

as three thousand copies should be subscribed for. The proposals bore an endorsement of Collins by W. Livingston, Governor of New Jersey, dated 11 September, 1788."

The project was favorably received by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, and subscriptions recommended May 25, 1789, and similar action taken by the Protestant Episcopal Church August 8, 1789, and by the Baptist Association October 6, 1789.

On the 24th May, 1791, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church requested that all the subscriptions be detained, "as the impression is nearly finished."

O'Callaghan says that Massachusetts was the next to commence arrangements for the publication of an edition of the Bible. The prospectus of Isaiah Thomas for a Royal Quarto Bible was issued November, 1789, and the edition printed in December, 1791.

O'Callaghan assigns the honor of having printed the *first* Quarto Bible in America to Carey, Stewart & Co., who published the Douay translation, complete in two volumes, at Philadelphia, on the 1st December, 1790. The enterprise was begun by Matthew Carey, a native of Ireland and a Roman Catholic, on the 26th January, 1789. To the Catholics, therefore, belongs the honor.

EDITOR.

DE LA NEUVILLE.—(III., 316.) In the first volume of the Livingston Correspondence (Governor William Livingston of New Jersey), a manuscript collection belonging to S. L. M. Barlow of New York, there is a translation of a

letter, written to the Governor from Amsterdam, dated July 16, 1779, by one Baron von (name not given), in which occurs the following passage, which may throw some light on the Neuville family :

"Mr. Franklin is at present engaged in a correspondence with Mr. John de Neuville, Merchant and Banker here, concerning a Plan of Negociation. They have done me the Honour to desire my Sentiments on the Subject, which I have accordingly Communicated. I would only further submit to Consideration whether Congress would think proper to have the Interest paid half yearly, to give the public an opportunity twice a year to see that the Interest was punctually paid." * * * *

In a postscript the writer says : "I am necessitated to ask your Excellency that my Letters may not be made public with his name, least his enemies in Holland should seek from them new weapons to injure me." This accounts for the absence of the letter and the suppression of the name in the translation.

John Trumbull, in his autobiography under the year 1781, says : "I called at the Counting House of Messrs. John de Neuville & Son, and there found important letters from my father. This house was then in high mercantile repute, and favorable to the cause of America. The other great houses of Amsterdam, the Hopes, Willinks, &c., were in the English interest. I had seen the junior partner of this house in London (the Son), and Mr. de Neuville invited me to accept an apartment in his house, which I accepted."

EDITOR.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Postoffice.)

THE LIFE OF WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING, D.D. The Centenary Memorial Edition by his nephew, WILLIAM HENRY CHANNING. 8vo, pp. 719. AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION. Boston, 1880.

The wide spread interest taken in various parts of the country in the celebration of the Centenary of the birth of Channing, is ample evidence to the hold this remarkable and beautiful character still retains, on the culture and intelligence of the country. It is natural enough that the Unitarian Church should claim his increasing fame to be the triumph of their principles and doctrine, but this is to take a narrow view of the value of his teachings. In fact the union of various sects and denominations in this crowning act of honor shows that it was to the man and not his religious tenets that the homage was paid. Among the many great Americans whose influence has extended beyond our own country and been felt in the moral thought of the century there is probably no one whose example has made a more permanent impression than the great Apostle of liberal christianity; of a church, broad in the truest sense of the word; and of a humanity truly large. Nor does it often occur to the mind in thinking of Channing to remember him as a preacher or teacher of religion, but rather as one in the host of great moralists, who, like Zoroaster and Confucius, Plato and Aristotle, Chrysostomus and Luther, belong to all ages. So general, even at the time of his death, was this appreciation of his character that it is related that as the funeral procession followed his body from the Church, the bell of the Roman Catholic Cathedral tolled his knell.

The study of a life full as that of Channing; the knowledge of a moral and intellectual nature, pure and elevated as his, cannot but elevate and instruct, give strength to the wavering, vigor to the strong and guidance to practical philanthropy.

Born at Newport on the 7th April, 1780, of a New England stock distinguished on both sides for character, intelligence and culture, and on that of his mother for extreme gentleness and amenity, he inherited the best traits of both strains. After a preliminary training of unusual care under the guidance of his uncle the Rev. Henry Channing, of New London, he entered Harvard College as Freshman, in 1794, being then in his fifteenth year. It was in his senior year, to use his own words that "the prevalence of infidelity imported from France, led me to enquire into the evidence of Christianity and then I found out for what I was made." In a word he saw his vocation, understood his

calling, in technical phrase, to be that of a Searcher into truth and a Moral Teacher. A curious instance, related by his biographer, opened his eyes with suddenness to one of the most difficult problems with which the moralist has to contend; the relation between moral feeling and active benevolence. His process of self-examination and the keen analytic character of his mind are well shown in this anecdote. As a result of his inward speculation he determined that there is no *moral merit* in possessing feeling and that virtue does not consist in *feeling* but in *acting from a sense of duty*. And this may be taken as the key note of his character. His speculations on the doctrinal points of Christianity gave him more serious concern and were not so easy of solution. It was while in Richmond, where interest on religious subjects was slight and infidelity general among the higher classes, that he finally determined his career and consecrated himself to the service of Christianity as a faith. In 1801, though he had just reached his majority he was elected Regent in Harvard University, an office which gave him the slight pecuniary assistance he required to continue his studies, in all of which he followed well considered rules, carefully ordering his life towards the object he had assigned for it.

At the close of his theological studies, being then in his twenty-third year, he received the "approbation to preach from the Cambridge Association." There was at this time no Divinity School at Harvard to give a current stamp to the student's doctrine. There was some doubt to which side he would lean in the earnest discussion which was then engrossing the minds of thinking men. For a time, he says, ill health and depression of spirits gave him a dark view of things, and he verged toward calvinism; but from the first he rejected the doctrine of the Trinitarians. In 1802 he received and accepted a warm invitation from the Federal Street Church, Boston, to become their Minister and was duly ordained June 1, 1803, and this connection was only severed by his death. Pastor and congregation were in happy accord. With Unitarianism as a creed Channing showed little sympathy, but in the words of his biographers "he conscientiously believed it was an advance toward an unobscured view of the Christian religion. His religious belief was in the Church Universal—a church in which a common action should dominate and dwarf all differences of opinion.

His ideas of conduct he labored to embody with profound study in a great work on the "Principles of Moral, Religious and Political Science." This work, the central thought of which was that the *true perfection* of man, is the

great idea of the Moral Sciences, was never completed. Eight chapters devoted to an analytic synthetic view of human nature were composed in the following order: I. Sensations; II. Idea of Matter; III. Idea of the I or Self; IV. External Perception; V. Internal Perception; VI. Conception; VII. Memory; VIII. Discernment of Relations.

It has been seen that Channing's first impulse towards a religious life came from his aversion to the infidelity imported from France. This aversion to the French tinged also his political prejudices. He carried his animosity to Bonaparte to the verge of passion;—and forgetting the incalculable services he rendered the cause of liberty as the armed incarnation of the revolution, he looked upon his death as the enfranchisement of the world. On this occasion his enthusiastic hearers, as devout admirers of Great Britain and haters of France, as himself, forgot that they were met in the house of God and excited by the fervor of his eloquence broke into wild applause. But warm as were Channing's sympathies with Great Britain he did not forget that his country was at war with her and gave no countenance to the efforts of those who attempted to stop the contest; even by threats of secession from the Union. Nothing else could be expected of a mind like that of Channing, but a condemnation of the system of slavery, yet he seems to have entered slowly and warily into the measures of the immediate abolitionists. His book on slavery appeared in 1835, at an opportune moment, when freedom of speech had been compromised in Boston by the "mob of highly respectable gentlemen," who broke up public meetings and threatened the orators with the tar kettle. He doubted the expediency of agitating the question in Congress, but joined in the petition to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia as a disclaimer by public act of all participation in the National guilt. He penetrated the purpose of the annexation of Texas to the Union and foresaw the terrible consequences of the national crime.

Reverie, Channing said on one occasion, had once been the hectic of his soul. Meditation had been its life. The habit of deep introspection which has been observed as the trait of his youth, call it by what name he may, was the habit of his life; and his greatest enjoyments came from its pursuit. With this tranquillity of mind and devoutness of spirit he had the great love of nature which is their usual companion and alike a love of children and of home.

The author of the life has presented his work in the form of an autobiography, the selections from Channing's manuscripts being well arranged in the two-fold order of subject and of time. Three parts are divided into appropriate chapters, the titles of which greatly assist in an

easy comprehension of the volume, and there is in addition a full and well prepared index.

REMINISCENCES OF REV. WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING. By ELIZABETH PALMER PEABODY. 16mo, pp. 459. ROBERTS BROTHERS. Boston, 1880.

This is a volume of another character from the Life or Autobiography written by the nephew of this illustrious humanitarian. Among the letters preserved by Mr. Channing in his life of his uncle, none is of greater value as showing the precise nature of his belief than that in which he avows his belief in the Christian miracles. And there are others in the same volume which show the intimate intellectual relation and confidence existing between the divine and this companion of his confidence. Quoting the well-known phrase of Eckermann, who, in the beginning of his Reminiscences of Goethe confessed his inability to give a complete image of the original, yet said: "I dare to give to the world my Goethe," this lady offers "her Channing;" the Channing she knew intimately for twenty years. The work treats essentially of Dr. Channing's mind in its religious aspects, and of himself as the exponent of that Unitarian protest of New England which she claims to have been rather a moral than an intellectual movement. This Unitarian protest was, in her own words, in the first place, against ecclesiasticism as not the church of Christ and rose from the laity; against Trinity as an unscriptural word which had produced a system of thitheism and finally against the doctrine of an universal, inherited total depravity.

These reminiscences of Dr. Channing include numerous accounts of his celebrated sermons and some pleasing anecdotes of his personal traits and habits.

CELEBRATION OF THE ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTHDAY OF WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING; at the Church of the Saviour, and at the Academy of Music, Brooklyn, N. Y., Tuesday and Wednesday, April 6 and 7, 1880. 8vo, pp. 205. GEORGE H. ELLIS. Boston, 1880.

These pages present a detailed record of the memorial services on the centenary of Channing's birth. They were four in number; a Religious Commemoration, a Memorial Meeting, Social Festival, and a Meeting at the Academy of Music. At the first a commemorative discourse was delivered by the Rev. A. P. Peabody. At the second brief remarks were made by a number of clergymen of different denominations. The Social meeting

was a pleasant conversational gathering in the interval of the morning and evening meetings of the 6th. Among the orators of the evening at the Academy of Music were George William Curtis, the reverends Dr. Collyer and Henry Ward Beecher. On this occasion clergymen of all denominations gathered on the platform, and the large hall was thronged. It will rank as one of the most remarkable meetings ever held in this country. Never before have representative men of different denominations been united in a movement of respect to an apostle of one; and in this case, it must be remembered, of a faith which not a quarter of a century since was held to be so near to infidelity that the difference was not worth discussion.

THE LIFE OF GEN. JAMES A. GARFIELD. By J. M. BUNDY. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 239. A. S. BARNES & Co. New York, 1880.

A nomination by one of the great political organizations to the Presidency of the United States, gives to the fortunate candidate a prescriptive right to a score of biographies, at the lowest count. General Garfield will have his full share, but we doubt whether any will take the place in popular favor which seems to be already bespoken for that of Major Bundy, the enterprising editor of one of our Republican organs, the *Evening Mail*. Certainly none can be more reliable as to its facts, the author having the benefit of personal acquaintance with the distinguished statesman, the incidents of whose life he relates, while the peculiar advantages a newspaper editor has over the world at large for the collection and digestion of the politico-economic data which enter into the electoral problem, will make his book most valuable as a "treasury of facts," from which the campaign orators may draw with comfortable assurance of accuracy.

Every man in this country—or perhaps it would be better to say every presidential candidate—has begun somewhere. The Garfields were of Massachusetts origin. Men who, after standing by the old Bay State through thick and thin for generations, fighting the Indians and the Frenchmen, and at last the troops of King George, emigrated to the west for elbow room. There, in a log cabin in a hole in the forest, in the wilderness of Orange, in the county of Muskingum, State of Ohio, James A. Garfield was born in 1831.

To be born in a log cabin is not of itself a sure title to political honor, but to be born in a log cabin, take kindly to study while carrying on the hard struggle for existence with nature and the elements, and to lift oneself by sheer perseverance, force of will, mental and bodily endur-

ance, to the highest rank among the leaders of the land, has always been and will always be a certificate of character in the eyes of the American people. Such a man is necessarily a representative man. No one who has seen the sturdy, thick set frame of General Garfield, can doubt his enormous energy. He is of that medium stature, deep chested and thick necked; of that type who rule the world, for the simple reason that they were born to rule it. They hold their place by the right of selection of the fittest. When a youth is compelled to teach school in order to acquire the means for his own instruction, it follows as a matter of course that he educates himself. There is no road to learning so direct as that of conscientious teaching. Young Garfield went to Williams, where he was graduated with high honors, and with something worth more than that, the unreserved confidence of President Hopkins. Returning to Ohio, he became first Professor of Latin and Greek, then President of the Western Reserve College at Hudson, whence the influence of his character spread so fast and far that he was called to public service, and throwing himself heartily into the ranks of the republican party, the new party which was rapidly absorbing the youth of the country, he was elected State Senator in 1859, when only twenty-eight years of age. When the war broke out, Garfield espoused the cause with his usual vigor, and was soon made Colonel of one of the Ohio regiments, and joined Buell's command. He did good service in the western campaigns, and was promoted Brigadier General by Lincoln. Later he was Chief of Staff to Rosencranz. In the winter of 1863 he resigned his commission to take the seat in Congress to which he had been elected by the Nineteenth Congressional District, where he at once took rank as a man of independent character, of remarkable powers of labor as a committee man, the arduous work of Congress. He left the field, where military promotion was open, only at the earnest request of his friends, who considered that there was more need of great talent in the halls of Congress than in the Army. On the withdrawal of Mr. Blaine from the House, the leadership of the party fell to him by common consent. It would be difficult to find in the history of the House of Representatives the record, of any member, more full of substantial work than that of General Garfield. After a long and unbroken service of twenty years, he has recently been unanimously chosen United States Senator. That Judge Thurman himself moved that his nomination be made unanimous, is sufficient testimony to the estimation in which he is held by those who know him best, the companions of his childhood and the rivals or friends of his mature age. If it be the will of this great nation of fifty millions of people that he become

Balance of trade in 1879.....	\$251,414,077
" " " 1878.....	305,343,028
Total	\$556,757,105

This large sum of over *five hundred and fifty-six millions* is represented by the increase of the stock of precious metals and the liquidation of indebtedness to foreign nations. If the business of the country be managed with prudence for a few years, the centre of trade will be transferred to this city, and with it the centre of exchanges, and in another decade we may become also the financial centre of the world.

COIN—CURRENCY—BANKS

In the entire retrospect of this interesting year, which will, it is to be hoped, be counted as the opening of a long era of national prosperity, there is no point of such importance in the eyes of the economic student as the increase, by production and importation, of the stock of precious metals, which is the very base of every sound financial system.

The year of 1877 was, as noticed in our last review, the first year since 1861 that the United States was able to retain any considerable portion of the annual product of its mines. The year 1878 was the first year in which we not only retained the entire annual product, but, in addition, received large sums of gold and silver on account of the heavy balance of trade in our favor. The form of statement now presented is precisely that of last year:

STATEMENT FOR FISCAL YEAR.—Production, as estimated by the deposits and purchases at the Mint of gold and silver, for the year ending June 30, 1879, to have been..... \$65,484,434
Imports during same period..... 20,296,000

Total addition..... \$85,780,434
Exports and re-exports during same period, deducted..... 24,937,441

Increase in fiscal year ending June 30, 1879, \$60,782,993

The increase in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1877, was..... \$65,145,241
Increase in fiscal year ending June 30, 1878.. 72,951,507
Add for increase, as above, to June 30, 1879.. 60,782,993

Increase in fiscal years 1877-79..... \$198,879,741

To arrive at the amount of coin in the country, we again, as in previous years, take as the point of departure the estimate of the late Dr. Linderman, the Director of the Mint, of the amount of gold and silver in the Fall of 1873, point of the lowest decline, an estimate which has been accepted by our most eminent statisticians:

Stock of gold and silver in 1873—Dr. Linderman's estimate..... \$140,000,000
Production, 1873 to 1879..... 360,659,763
Imports of coin, 1873 to 1879..... 156,184,032

Total..... \$656,843,795
Less exports, 1873 to 1879..... 330,168,623

In the country, June 30, 1879..... \$326,675,172

In the country, June 30, 1878.. \$265,892,179
Increase to June 30, 1879..... 60,782,993

CALENDAR YEAR.—To obtain approximately the amount of coin in the country on the 1st January, 1880, an addition must be made for the increase of the last 12 months, both by product and importation, the latter of which show figures startling in their novelty and magnitude:

Amount in the country, June 30, 1879..... \$326,675,172

Estimated production to 1st January, 1880..... \$32,000,000
Imports, July, 1879, to January, 1880..... 84,087,868

Less exports and re-exports, July, 1879, to January, 1880..... 9,068,303

Increase, July, 1879, to January, 1880..... 107,019,565

Amount of gold in country, January 1, 1880.. \$433,694,737

The manner in which the coin in the country is distributed appears in the following statement:
Coin in the Treasury, as per statement of the public debt, December 31, 1879..... \$158,307,590
Coin held by the National Banks, as by the statement of the Comptroller of the Currency, December 31, 1879..... 54,725,095
Coin in outside holding..... 220,662,051

Total, January 1, 1880..... \$433,694,737

This sum of *four hundred and thirty-three millions of coin exceeds any ever reported in the history of the United States*. In 1854 Mr. Guthrie, Secretary of the Treasury, estimated the amount at two hundred and forty-one millions; in 1861 Mr. Pollock, Superintendent of the Mint, at two hundred and seventy-one to three hundred millions. All the depletions of succeeding years were shown to have been already repaired in the statement of last year. If the country be true to itself, if the directors of the finances seize the favorable opportunity, which this great addition to our store of precious metals affords, to withdraw sufficient paper to admit of the free circulation of gold and silver from hand to hand, the prosperity of the country for a long period is assured; if, on the contrary, this addition to the money of the country only serve as a basis for an expansion of bank credits, a financial revulsion is sure to occur.

The amount of coinage of the precious metals for the past three years is also deserving of notice, as showing the extent to which the increased stock is available for the daily transactions of life. In the three years ending June 30, 1879, the sum amounted to two hundred and twenty-two millions of dollars.

CURRENCY

An examination of the condition of the currency of the country and of the banks may be examined with profit in this connection. By the official statement of the public debt there were outstanding of old demand and legal-tender notes and fractional currency, December 31, 1879..... \$362,415,669

National Bank notes, as by statement of the Comptroller of the Currency, December 31, 1879..... 321,949,154

Total paper currency in circulation:
January 1, 1880..... \$680,365,823
January 1, 1879..... 670,873,225

Increase of paper, January 1, 1880..... \$13,492,598

Turning to the statement of the Comptroller—showing the condition of the National Banks, January 1, 1880, as compared with the same date of 1879, it will be found that their loans and discounts were nine hundred and thirty-four millions in 1879, against eight hundred and twenty-four millions in 1878, an increase of one hundred and ten millions. That their total resources and liabilities respectively amounted in 1880 to nineteen hundred and twenty-five millions, against eighteen hundred and one millions in 1879, an increase or expansion of one hundred and twenty-four millions. That the legal-tender notes held by them amounted to fifty-five millions in 1880, against seventy-one millions in 1879, and the specie to seventy-nine millions in 1880, against forty millions in 1879. The latter is a movement in the right direction.

THE ERA OF PROSPERITY

The most careless review of these pages is sufficient to show that the United States has again fully entered on a period of marvellous activity. Such rapid movement is inevitably accompanied by considerable fluctuations, and is not devoid of individual danger. Never so much as now has it been the duty of every leader of opinion, whether a great merchant or a director of financial institutions, to exercise discretion, and to set an example to others.

It must be remembered that the business of the country has never been so independent of control by financial corporations, and so left to itself, as at present. In other countries, where financial policy is directed by the great

banking institutions connected with the Government, as, for example, the Bank of France and the Bank of England, the course of exchanges is watched by their managers—men of wide range of observation and great experience—and the rate of discount is fixed to meet the immediate or prospective situation of trade. This bank rate serves as a financial barometer, by which the merchant may govern his operations. In the days of the old United States Bank that institution served the same purpose as a financial regulator. Later the adoption of the Sub-Treasury system by the United States entirely separated the banks from the Government, and the State banks were left to control the immediate financial movements of the business community. In New York these were brought into homogeneous action by the Clearing House system. The new order of National Banks, excellent as it is in its uniform *circulation*, provides for no such regulation of the rate of discount, by advice or action at a financial centre, where the demand and supply of money are quickest felt and anticipated, but leaves each bank to its independent action.

We cannot too earnestly entreat each one of our readers, who has the welfare of his country at heart, to ponder over these significant figures, and to cast his influence for a congressional action which will restore gold to our circulating medium, and settle on a firm basis the prosperity of the nation.

AMERICAN POEMS — LONGFELLOW, WHITTIER, BRYANT, HOLMES, LOWELL, EMERSON. With biographical sketches and notes. The Riverside Press. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co Boston, 1879.

This charming little volume has been prepared for the reading of young people, and is made up of longer poems than usually find place in American Readers. The selections are of the highest order, and the compiler has added a variety of foot notes, which contribute to an understanding of the historic and other allusions of the text. We notice with delight among the poems Lowell's exquisite Lay of Sir Launfal, which has the odor of the best of the simple fabliaux of the middle ages. That the volume comes from the Riverside Press is sufficient warrant of its typographical merit.

LIFE OF WILLIAM EUGENE HARRARD. By Rev. FRANK E. CLARK. 12mo, pp. 176. HOYT, FOGG & DENHAM. Portland, 1879.

The subject of this simple and sympathetic sketch was born in Portland in 1839, and died there in 1874. At the outbreak of the Civil War he was engaged in a store in New York City, and was one of the Seventh Regiment of National Guards, famous in story and song. His account of his service is graphic. With him at Annapolis, to which the regiment marched, were Fitz James O'Brien, Winthrop, Shaw, Farnham, LeFort, Miller, Alden, Trenor, Kelly, Chapman, Marshall, Harrison, and others, all of

whom fell in command at other periods during the war. His recollections of these and others of his companions are attractive reading. The second part of the volume gives his experience of European travel. As a whole it is a pleasing bit of personal experience.

GENERAL ULYSSES S. GRANT'S TOUR AROUND THE WORLD. Embracing speeches, receptions, and description of his travels, with a biographical sketch of his life. Edited by L. T. REMLAP. 16mo, pp. 394. I. FAIRBANKS & Co. Chicago, 1879.

Differ as men may with regard to General Grant's abilities as a soldier, a statesman and a ruler, history will hold him as the most remarkable personage who has appeared on earth's surface since Napoleon. All the progresses of Emperors, Kings, Princes and Presidents are dwarfed into insignificance compared with that upon which, in a tour embracing the great countries of the earth, this plain, unpretending citizen, without state, or parade, or suite, was hailed by Governments and races as the representative man of the fifty millions of people who now dominate and master an entire continent. And to the praise of this well-poised nature, even his bitterest enemies cannot but admit that never for one moment, amid the adulations of the hour, did he assume to himself, as an individual, one breath of the incense which was burned in his honor. And, since his return, in the heat of party strife and the turmoil of political divisions, he has maintained the same dignified composure that on the battle-field and in the cabinet has earned for him the significant name of the "Silent Man." The incidents of the tour are told in a simple manner in this volume.

CLASSICAL WRITERS. Edited by JOHN RICHARD GREEN. EURIPIDES, by T. P. MURHAFFY. 12mo, pp. 144. D. APPLETON & Co. 1879.

This monograph of the immortal dramatist is an effort to rescue from obscurity the life of one of the greatest authors of ancient times, and to reconstruct the moral and mental character of the individual by a study of the time in which his life was cast. In the analysis of the plots in Euripides, however, the author shows best his critical acumen. He very properly divides the great tragedies into dramas of *character* and dramas of *situation*, the former representing the will of man in conflict with an irreversible fate, yet supreme in dignity even in defeat; in the other, man pursued by a succession of misfortunes, visitations from the gods, against which it is folly to rebel and useless to repine.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY; the Celebration of its Fiftieth Anniversary or Golden Jubilee on June 24, 1879. By WALTER H. HILL, S. J. 16mo. PATRICK FOX. St. Louis, 1879.

This, an outline history of the first college established by the Jesuit Society in the Western States, was prepared in 1869; to it is added an account of the proceedings of the Jubilee celebrated June 24, 1879, on the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the University. The historic chapters give a full account of the progress of the order in Missouri from the year 1815, when William Louis Dubourg was consecrated Bishop of Upper and Lower Louisiana, of which the territory of Missouri then made part. The new prelate arrived at St. Louis, and took up his residence in January, 1818, and following in the footsteps of his eminent predecessors in the proselyting order, laid broad plans for the Christianizing of the Western tribes of Indians. In 1823 a farm was begun on the slopes of Florissant, and a school for Indian boys begun; but soon the necessity of training the young men who had dedicated themselves to the work, for their mission, both as priests and teachers was manifest, and the scheme of establishing a college, which had been for some time contemplated, was carried into effect; a foundation was laid in the city of St. Louis, and the building was opened in November, 1829. The college grew rapidly, and the St. Louis University has now eleven buildings, covering a front of eight hundred feet, a fine library, museum, and collection of costly instruments for purposes of instruction. In 1829 the college numbered fourteen members, in 1879 the number had reached three hundred and thirty-four.

REPORTS AND COLLECTIONS OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN, FOR THE YEARS 1877, 1878, AND 1879. Vol. VIII. 8vo, pp. 571. DAVID ATWOOD. Madison, 1879.

This volume opens with the twenty-third Annual Report, January 2, 1877, which relates the progress of the Society from its re-organization and beginning of real efficiency in January, 1854. In that period, thanks to the enlightened liberality of the Legislature of the State, and the excellent judgment and executive service of its management, it has increased its Library at a rapid rate, until it now numbers over seventy thousand volumes and pamphlets; a progress compared with which that of many of our eastern institutions, where the wealth is an hundred fold greater, and the culture is presumed to be more widely extended, because of

the larger number of persons of leisure for literary pursuits, is but a snail's pace. The twenty-fifth Annual Report for January, 1879, shows that the growth of the library continues, and that it already has one of the very best historical collections in the country.

Passing to the papers preserved in this volume, we find the following titles: The Ancient Copper Mines of Lake Superior, by Jacob Houghton; Pre-historic Copper Implements, by Edmund F. Slafter; Mode of Fabrication of Ancient Copper Implements, by Lyman C. Draper; The Pictured Cave of La Crosse Valley, by Edward Brown; Notes on Jean Nicolet, by Benjamin Sulté; Early Historic Relics of the Northwest, by James D. Butler; Langlade Papers, 1737-1800; An Incident of Chegoimegon, 1760; Capture of Mackinaw, 1763; A Menomonee tradition; Green Bay and the Frontiers, 1763-65; The Indian Wars of Wisconsin, by Moses M. Strong; Wisconsin in 1818, by Edward Tanner; Reminiscences of the Northwest, by Mary Ann Brevoort Bristol; Early Times at Fort Winnebago, and Black Hawk War Reminiscences, by Satterlee Clark; Recollections of Rev. Eleazer Williams, by A. G. Ellis; Additional Notes on Eleazer Williams, by Lyman C. Draper; Early Exploration and Settlement of Juneau County, by J. T. Kingston; The Swiss Colony of New Glarus, by John Lucksinger; Additional Notes on New Glarus, by J. Jacob Tschudy; Wisconsin Necrology, 1876-8, by Lyman C. Draper.

Of these papers none will attract more general attention than those on Eleazer Williams, which finally dispose of the claims of the visionary and scheming half-breed to be the long lost Prince—the Dauphin of France.

A HISTORY OF BRISTOL PARISH, VA.; with Genealogies of Families connected therewith, and historical illustrations. By Rev. PHILIP SLAUGHTER, D. D. 16mo, pp. 237. Second edition. J. W. RANDOLPH & ENGLISH. Richmond, 1879.

Attention was invited in the August, 1877, number of the Magazine (I., 519) to the History of St. Mark's Parish, Culpepper County, Va., by the reverend author who now presents a similar account of that of Bristol. This, however, antedated the former in time of publication, having been originally printed in 1846, when the author was the Rector of Bristol, and was the first historical tract based on the old church registers of Virginia. The first edition has been long out of print, and is practically inaccessible except in a few public libraries. It is full of local information, and its genealogies are priceless to those concerned in this branch of investigation.

THE CRUISE OF THE FLORENCE;
OR, EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF THE
PRELIMINARY ARCTIC EXPEDITIONS OF 1877-
8. 16mo, pp. 183. JAMES S. CHAPMAN.
Washington, 1879.

In four parts or chapters: New London to Cumberland Gulf; Winter in Cumberland Gulf; Annanatok to Disco, and Homeward Bound. The cruise of the Florence from August 2, 1877, when she sailed from New London to the 26th September, 1879, when she put into St. John's, Newfoundland, for repairs on her homeward voyage. The purpose of the expedition. Polar Colonization, as explained by Captain Howgate, was thoroughly recited in the Magazine for August, 1869. (III., 524). The incidents of the cruise are narrated by Captain Tyson, who commanded the expedition. The failure of Congress to grant the assistance asked of it, was fatal to the success of the expedition; with it, Captain Howgate boldly asserts that the Polar mystery would have been solved.

THE ADIRONDACKS. ILLUSTRATED
BY S. R. STODDARD. 8vo, pp. 200. VAN
BENTHUYSEN & SONS. Albany, 1879.

The narrative portion of this guide-book to the famed region of the Adirondacks, describes a journey through the northern wilderness in 1873, to which additions have been continually made in new editions, as incidents of interest have transpired. The foot traveler will find all desirable information concerning stopping places, distances, &c.

WORDS, AND HOW TO PUT THEM
TOGETHER. By HARLAN H. BALLARD. 12mo,
pp. 82. D. APPLETON & CO. New York,
1879.

The aim of the author in this little volume is, to use his own words, to "crystallize oral teaching," and accustom the child to use his independent thoughts, thus lightening the instructor's labors and training the mind to do its own work." We commend it heartily as a beginner's book.

SELECTIONS FROM AMERICAN AU-
THORS. A Reading Book for School and
Home. Franklin, Adams, Cooper, Longfellow.
Edited by SAMUEL ELIOT. 16mo, pp. 412.
TAINTOR BROTHERS, MERRILL & CO. New
York, 1879.

This volume is intended to supply the want reported by many prominent school superintendents, of a supplementary course of reading in

history, poetry, biography and fiction. The purpose is not to give fragments of writings, but selections, complete in themselves, which will awaken the reader's interest, both in the subjects treated and their respective authors. It differs from ordinary readers in being made up of continuous passages. The selections in the present volume are happy in themselves and their variety. An abridgement of Franklin's autobiography, a model of style; familiar letters of John and Abigail Adams, an exquisite block of epistolary correspondence; an abridgement of Cooper's Spy, a blending of fiction with historic incidents; and for poetry Longfellow's charming Tales of a Wayside Inn.

EASY LESSONS IN POPULAR SCIENCE,
AND HAND-BOOK TO PICTORIAL CHART. Com-
bining the Conversational, Catechetical, Black-
board and Object Plans, with maps, illustrations
and lessons in drawing, spelling and composi-
tion. By JAMES MONTEITH. 16mo, pp. 252.
A. S. BARNES & Co. New York, Chicago
and New Orleans, 1879.

The purpose of this volume is to draw out and strengthen the reasoning faculties, and to encourage habits of observing, thinking, analysing and comparing, and thus to combine self-education with instruction proper. Its method is unusually practical; its illustrations adapted for extension on the blackboard, with measurements given, are admirable, and the text in elucidation simple and intelligible. As a whole it is well adapted to youth, and a perfect example of object teaching by the eye. The worry of learning is avoided, while the difficulties quite enough to arouse without wearying the student. Learning can never be made easy, but here it is made attractive.

THE BARQUE FUTURE, OR LIFE IN
THE FAR NORTH. By JONAS LIE. Trans-
lated by Mrs. OLE BULL. 12mo, pp. 253. S.
C. GRIGGS & Co. Chicago, 1879.

This is a Norseland tale by a master of Norwegian fiction. The novels of Walter Scott, who had a passion for Scandinavian literature, first awakened the attention of English readers to the mine of legendary lore, which still exists among the descendants of the ancient Skiolds of the northern country. Later, Afraja, one of the most fascinating life pictures in literature, told us of modern life on the Fiords of Norway and Sweden, and now Jonas Lie introduces us to the Finns and Lapps in a series of stories of strange fascination. The first in order was the Pilot and his wife. That now be-

fore us succeeds, and promise is made of a third, Dom Fremssynte (the Man of Second Sight).

The Barque Future, a Copenhagen vessel, bound for Kollefjord, was disabled in one of the terrific November storms of 1807 on the coast of Finmark. Deserted by her crew, who were lost in attempting to escape, she was found drifting at sea scuttled. The incidents connected with this cruise, and the story of the child, the captain's daughter, who was saved by a Sea Finn and adopted by his family, are the threads on which are strung in a vigorous, sketchy style, pictures of Norse peasant life.

The translation is crisp and idiomatic, and the poetry from the hand of Professor R. B. Anderson of the University of Wisconsin.

ABORIGINAL SOAPSTONE QUARRIES IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. By ELMER R. REYNOLDS. From the Twelfth Annual Report of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. 8vo, pp. 12. 1879.

This is a brief account of two well developed soapstone quarries within four miles of Washington City, which, recently opened, showed evident signs of having been worked at some former time by a people who dwelt in its neighborhood. This quarry has been found to be superior in archaeological interest to any similar deposit so far as known in the country, presenting seven well defined shafts or excavations. Nothing has as yet been discovered, however, which offers any indication of their probable age.

HILDA. A POEM. BY HANNAH A. FOSTER. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 101. J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co. Philadelphia, 1879.

The atmosphere of this poem, for such it may be fairly called, is charming. It has just enough of war reminiscence to bring many of its passages home to hearts who have experienced the feeling the accomplished authoress describes. The versification, in its varied and appropriate manner, shows a well trained hand. The illustrations are pretty, and the make up of the volume exquisite.

WORDS, AND HOW TO PUT THEM TOGETHER. By HARLAN H. BALLARD. 32mo, pp. 83. D. APPLETON & Co. New York.

This book is not intended to rival any now in use, but to precede them all. In the words of the author, who is the principal of Lenox High School of Lenox, Massachusetts, its aim is to crystallize "oral teaching," and every page of it

calls for independent *thought*. The author does not claim for it what we take to be its greatest merit, that it is a beginning of logical instruction at the very root in the virgin soil of the infantile mind. We commend it to all mothers.

WITH GENERAL GRANT IN THE EAST. By JOHN M. KEATING. With illustrations. 16mo, pp. 229. J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co. Philadelphia, 1879.

Mr. Keating, who accompanied the party as a physician to one of its members, originally communicated these pages in the form of letters to the Philadelphia Evening Telegraph. He has not pretended to any elaborate account, but simply gives the daily impressions which he jotted down in the East. A map of the route from Paris to Yokohama is prefixed to the volume. As a book of travel, without regard to the exceptional advantages under which it was taken, it amply repays perusal.

THE FAITH OF OUR FOREFATHERS: An Examination of Archbishop Gibbon's "Faith of our Fathers." By the Rev. EDWARD J. STEARNS. 4to, pp. 380. THOMAS WHITTAKER. New York, 1879.

This is a severe examination of the doctrine and history of the Roman Catholic Church as laid down in the book of the Archbishop, the name of which appears on the title page. The discussion is as old as the hills, and will remain until a broader church swallows up all the conflicting schisms, and mankind returns once more to the simple teachings of the four gospels as the best guide for life ever laid down to man, while the doctrinal points which divide the schoolmen are left to their disputations as not vital to the purposes or spread of Christianity.

NOTES ON RAILROAD ACCIDENTS. By CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS. 12mo, pp. 280. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS. New York, 1879.

A former work on the general subject of "Railroads, their Origin and their Problems," by the same author, was noticed in the December, (1878), number of the Magazine (II., 767). The present volume is merely a collection of notes on accidents which came under the author's observation while connected with the railroad service of Massachusetts as Commissioner. They furnish a valuable mass of material which our railroad officers will do well to study in the management of the network of roads daily becoming more intricate and involved in the United States.

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE—ITS GRAMMATICAL AND LOGICAL PRINCIPLES. For the use of Grammar and High Schools and Academies. By HARRIS R. GREENE. 16mo, pp. 347. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1879.

The object of this treatise is to illustrate the grammatical and logical principles of the English language. The method of discussion adopted by the author is novel. In the First Part he confines himself to Forms of Expression, which, being generic, he classifies under the heads of Word forms, Phrase forms and Clause forms, each embodying thought. These moulds of thought he finds to be essentially the same in all languages. Starting with this idea he considers the syntax of language of easy mastery. In the Second Part he discusses the elements of thought and here again finds that the logical methods of the human mind are every where the same. Their mastery, therefore, in one tongue leads to their easy mastery in all. All this seems rational enough. How far the system may be put into practice in teaching can only be determined by practical experience.

FOOTPRINTS. BY F. E. COOK. Published by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, Piety and Charity. 12mo, pp. 150. A. WILLIAMS & Co. Boston, 1879.

In this little volume are presented, in a colloquial style, accounts of John and Charles Wesley; George Fox; Mohammed; John Huss; and John Falk. The introduction of the founder of the Arab faith into this cluster of Christian teachers would seem strange, but his faithfulness to the voice of God, as he understood it, points a lesson to even Christian missionaries of a grander creed.

HISTORY OF THE LAND TITLES IN HUDSON COUNTY, N. J., 1609-1871. By CHARLES H. WINFIELD. 8vo, pp. 443, with five maps. WYNKOOP & HALLENBECK. New York, 1872.

HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF HUDSON, N. J., FROM ITS EARLIEST SETTLEMENT TO THE PRESENT TIME. By CHARLES H. WINFIELD. 8vo, pp. 568. KENNARD & HAY STATIONERY M'FG & PRINTING CO. New York, 1874.

These two volumes are an excellent contribution to a branch of history which has as yet received but little attention—the County history of the United States. Those familiar with the

colossal works which have appeared in England know the extreme value of such studies. They can only be written on the spot, and to be valuable, need an enormous amount of patient research. Hudson County was a part of New Netherland, and its history is, therefore, contemporaneous with that of New Amsterdam. Mr. Winfield, whose address is Jersey City, has all the characteristic traits of a true antiquarian delighting in anecdotes and detail, and his book is a model work. It is supplemented by a number of Hudson County genealogies, and is profusely illustrated in a handsome manner.

KING'S POCKET-BOOK OF CINCINNATI. Edited and Published by MOSES KING. 12mo, pp. 88. Cambridge, Mass. 1879.

A well arranged little volume, giving the principal points of attraction in this growing city in an alphabetical order. The author is well known by his Hand Book of Boston which was noticed in the April, (1879) number of the Magazine (III., 269).

TICONDEROGA: PAST AND PRESENT "MIXED." A companion to Lake George illustrated; being a history of Ticonderoga. Illustrated with etchings, and containing a Map of the Ruins of to-day. By S. R. STODDARD. 12mo, pp. 68. WEED, PARSONS & Co. Albany, 1873.

LAKE GEORGE, (ILLUSTRATED). A BOOK OF TO-DAY. By S. R. STODDARD. 8vo, pp. 153. VAN BENTHUYSEN & SONS. Albany, 1879.

These two little volumes, with their maps and illustrations, are a welcome guide to those who visit this historic ground; the romance land of our northern borders.

ENGLISH MEN OF LETTERS. EDITED by JOHN MORLEY. BURKE, by JOHN MORLEY. 16mo, pp. 214. HARPER & BROS. New York, 1879.

No one of this admirable series of biographical sketches of English writers is of more value to the American readers than this essay upon the life and character of Burke. It is quite a different volume from the purely critical study on the same subject published by Mr. Morley some years since. The greatest speech Burke ever made Mr. Morley considers to have been that on Conciliation with America, the wisest in its

temper, the most closely logical in its reasoning, the amplest in appropriate topics, the most generous and conciliatory in the substance of its appeals. Yet as an evidence of the failure of the orator to influence his hearers, it is remarked by Erskine, who heard it, that it drove everybody away, even those who, when they came to read it, read it over and over again, and could hardly think of anything else, and in this and other similar instances Mr. Morley points to the fact that the very qualities, which are excellences in the literature of speeches which have become English classics, were drawbacks in the spoken discourses. Mr. Morley notices one curious fact, that when it was proposed to make Burke a peer, the title to be assumed was that of Lord Beaconsfield. It is needless to commend John Morley to American readers.

GEMS OF THOUGHT; BEING A COLLECTION of more than a Thousand Choice Selections, or Aphorisms, from nearly four hundred and fifty different authors, and on one hundred and forty different subjects. Compiled by CHARLES NORTHEM. 12mo, pp. 233. D. APPLETON & CO. New York, 1879.

These extracts are arranged under alphabetical heads, such as Affection, Brevity, Eternity, and are specially intended for use in the family circle. There is an excellent author's index.

EARLY CHRONICLES OF EUROPE.

FRANCE. By GUSTAVE MASSON. 16mo, pp. 370. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. POTT, YOUNG & CO. New York, 1879.

The purpose of this little book is to give in a moderately small compass an account of the sources available for the study of mediæval French history. It is a digest and an indispensable companion to those who would make any thorough research into this remote but thrilling period of Christian civilization. Characteristic extracts are presented from the chief chroniclers, Villehardouin, Joinville and Commines. Most noticeable are the thorough indices, chronological, biographical and geographical, which supply references elsewhere unattainable except at great individual pains.

ENGLAND. By JAMES GAIRDNER. 16mo, pp. 328. do., do.

In this volume the mediæval history of England is treated in a manner somewhat different from that adopted by Mr. Masson in his work on French Chronicles. Mr. Gairdner has preferred to popularize the sources of mediæval history by presenting specimens of the chronicles

from Bede to Holingshed. The extensive series published by Bohn is familiar to scholars, and well repays a thorough reading, but no doubt many, who would hesitate to undertake so great a task, will find the impulse to it in the attractive extracts given in this compact volume. The story of London is told in a chapter of its own, entitled Records of the City, in which the reader will also find the original sources of Shakespeare's historical dramas. We know of no publication more desirable than these textbooks for colleges or as aids to individual study.

THE PRE-HISTORIC WORLD. By ELIE BERTHET. Translated from the French by MARY T. SAFFORD. 12mo, pp. 310. PORTER & COATES. Philadelphia, 1879.

This is an effort, in a romance form, to present the results of the discoveries in archæology by the famous scientific investigators of this and the last century. These are summed up in three tales, the First of which, The Parisians of the Stone Age, is a study of the inhabitants of the Parisian soil who were the contemporaries of the mammoth and the bear; the Second, entitled The Locustrian City, the action of which is in a period several thousand years later, deals with the Dolmen nation, which dwelled in the Lake Villages at a time known as the intermediate Age of Polished Stone and the Bronze Age; the Third tale, The Foundation of Paris, is cast in the Age of Metals, some centuries before Cæsar's invasion of Gaul.

The narrative is striking and the actions of the characters in the story are well-motivated from what is known through the countless but infinitesimal remains of the dark past, and this novel treatment with its graphic illustrations will convey to the mind of the old and young an admirable idea of pre-historic man as he appears in the recomposition of science. Let the reader take this volume with him to the museum in Central Park, and verify the correctness of M. Berthet's deductions by his own observations of the relics he will find there.

THE MOUND-BUILDERS. BEING AN

account of a remarkable people that once inhabited the Valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi, together with an Investigation into the Archæology of Butler County, Ohio. By J. P. MACLEAN. Illustrated with over one hundred figures. 16mo, pp. 233. ROBERT CLARKE & CO. Cincinnati, 1879.

In this volume, which contains about all the information that the general reader cares to obtain concerning the existing remains and probable extent and habits of the remarkable people,

whose footprints are as deep as those of the race which built the pyramids, the author has sought rather to give all the views of contending archaeologists than to adopt any special line of theory. Among the discoveries here recorded, are the "ancient fire beds," and "the method of planning as pursued by the pre-historic engineers." The archaeology of Butler county, one of the most fertile fields of discovery, is specially treated, and is illustrated by a map, carefully divided into numbered sections for convenience of reference.

A MANUAL OF THE ANTIQUITY OF MAN. By J. P. MACLEAN. 16mo, pp. 159. WILLIAMSON & CANTWELL PUBLISHING CO. Cincinnati, 1878.

This little manual is intended for those who find the works of Lyell and Lubbock too elaborate and expensive. An introduction gives a rapid summary of discoveries from 1734, when Mahudel explained in the Academy of Paris that the stone axes and weapons found in the soil and drift of Europe were human implements, to the discovery in 1873 by Mr. Rivière of the fossil man of Mentone in a cave near Nice, and later of several other skeletons in the same rich soil. Chapters follow on the Glacial Epoch, the Reindeer Epoch, the Neolithic Period and the Iron Epoch. A chapter treats of the unity of the human race, a subject which has divided scientific men into hostile camps in a struggle which Mr. MacLean holds, by weight of evidence thus far, to lean to the side of unity—and finally of the relation of Science to the Bible, in which the author holds that the world of nature and spirit of revelation are in harmony.

A HISTORY OF ENGLAND. By A. P. STONE. Based on and retaining portions of Worcester's Elements of History. 12mo. THOMPSON, BROWN & CO. Boston, 1879.

This brief volume is designed as a text-book for a moderate course in English history. It is rather a manual for use of teacher and pupil than a history itself. One of its chief features is that of side notes, which give a current key to the paragraphs in place of the usual questions which are ordinarily found in works of this character.

THE STORY OF CREATION. By S. M. CAMPBELL, D.D. 8vo, pp. 385. A. D. F. RANDOLPH & CO. New York, 1877.

The reverend author of this suggestive and instructive volume has endeavored to reconcile the Mosaic cosmogony with the revelations of

modern science. He holds that the story of creation is the same whether read from the "rock-record or the inspired word." Having lived to see the nebulous hypothesis propounded, disputed and finally accepted, he now witnesses the development hypothesis passing through the same ordeal, and approaching, though it has by no means yet reached, general acceptance. The volume is written in a liberal spirit. With regard to the probable age of man, however, he takes sides with the doubters, and considers that there is little evidence that man existed before the chronological date of his creation, given in our reference bibles, that of 4,004 B. C. As a whole the author sums up his inquiry with the conclusion, to his mind irresistible, "that Moses wrote his story by inspiration of God."

CLASSICAL WRITERS. Edited by JOHN RICHARD GREEN. MILTON, by STOPFORD A. BROOKE. 12mo, pp. 168. D. APPLETON & CO. New York, 1879.

This is one of the English series of semi-biographical, semi-critical essays which the celebrated English historian is editing in this convenient form. It would be difficult to find nicer bits of mental analysis, or of subjective criticism of Milton and his methods, than these simple pages supply.

SELECTIONS FROM THE GREEK LYRIC POETS. With an historical introduction and explanatory notes. By HENRY M. TYLER. 12mo, pp. 184. GINN & HEATH. Boston, 1879.

These selections are intended to familiarize the students in American colleges with the works of the minor Greek poets, from whose songs the common life of the common people can be best understood. An historical introduction traces the growth of the Greek poetic art, and each selection is prefixed by a sketch of its author. The Greek text is given without translation in all cases.

TALES OF ANCIENT GREECE. BY THE REV. G. W. COX. Fourth edition. 16mo, pp. 372. JANSSEN, MCCURTIS & CO. Chicago, 1879.

As enchanting a volume as has appeared in many a day. The style in which the narrative of these poetic myths is written is exquisite in its simplicity and Saxon purity. As a study of language alone, of the flow of words in harmonious rhythm, full of grace and verse, they should be placed in the hands of all young persons. Sprung from sources the origin of

which is lost in the nebulae of prehistoric time, these tales run through all literature, and permeate the thought of races between whom no relation is found. An introduction traces each story to its earliest form, resolving it into its original elements. The introduction shows how little historical value may be attached to these myths, yet how truly they are an exponent of the morality and of the refinement of thought of the races to whom they were the familiar household tales. We are at loss for words to express our delight with this volume.

THE FALL OF THE ALAMO. An historical Drama in four acts. Concluded by an Epilogue, entitled the Battle of San Jacinto. By Professor FRANCIS NONA. 16mo. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS. New York, 1879.

Readers of the Magazine will remember the graphic story of this bloody incident in Texian history, told by Captain R. M. Potter of the U. S. Army, in the January, 1878, number (II., 1), and recently an account of the battle of San Jacinto (IV., 321), by the same brilliant pen. In these pages Professor Nona has attempted to dramatise the thrilling story. Our readers must judge for themselves of the success of the effort.

MAP OF THE CATSKILL MOUNTAINS. By A. GUYOT. 1879. For sale by B. WESTERMANN & CO. New York.

The tourist in the regions of the Catskills will do well to carry with him this excellent topographical guide, which gives the elevations above tide from actual measurement and correct tracings of the streams.

STUDIES OF PARIS. By EDMONDO DE AMICIS. Translated from the Italian by W. W. C. 16mo, pp. 276. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS. New York, 1879.

These sunny pages were written when Paris was at the height of its renewed glory during the Exposition year of 1878. "One vast gilded net, into which one is drawn again and again, whether willing or not." Only those who are familiar with this most wonderful city of modern times can appreciate the finely drawn analysis of the impressions its life produces on the sense. Two chapters in the book will attract attention in their judgment upon two of the celebrities of the day by a competent critic; and these two are the very opposites, antipodes of each other. The one walks always erect, with his head in the clouds, the other crawls with his nose in the mud—one paints misery, the other delights in obscenity. Both consider themselves

reformers. One is Victor Hugo, the other it is needless to say is Emile Zola. The Italian kneels at the shrine of Hugo, and, it is sad to say, was not disgusted with Zola. It is true that Nana, the filthiest work in modern literature, had not then been published. As a whole the studies are more suggestive than instructive, more gossipy than philosophical; what formerly went under the name of Impressions de voyage.

THE USE OF TERRA COTTA IN ARCHITECTURE. By JAMES J. TALBOT. 16mo, pp. 66. AMERICAN BANK NOTE CO. NEW YORK, 1879.

The object of this little tract, which is taken from the author's work on "Ceramic Art and Art Education," is to answer the numerous inquiries now made as to the use and durability of this pretty form of ornamentation in practical architecture.

MR. PHILLIPS' GONENESS. By JAMES M. BAILEY, the Danbury-News Man. 16mo, pp. 179. LEE & SHEPARD. Boston, 1879.

A thoroughly American book of fiction, full of human sympathy and tenderness of feeling, and teaching a very excellent and familiar lesson, with free and easy touch and thoroughly native humor, but without much narrative power or dramatic force; well worth taking note of, however, as a thoroughly home-made book, both in subject and style. We accept the author's conciliatory word.

THE FLAGS OF ALL MARITIME NATIONS. Prepared from the Most Authentic Sources, in which are accurately represented the Royal Standards, etc., the International Code of Signals and the United States and Canada Yacht Club Signals, etc., printed in colors. 8vo, 16 plates. WILLIAM T. AMIES. Philadelphia.

By far the best, most convenient and well colored book of Flags and Signals which has come under our observation. The Coats of Arms of Various Nations which are appended give it a general value.

TANAGRA FIGURINES. 8vo, pp. 44. The Riverside Press. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & CO. Boston, 1879.

These figurines or little figures, some exquisite specimens of which are now to be seen in the Pan Archaicon collection in New York, take their name from Tanagra, the Boetian city, the

neighborhood of which has been the scene of recent exploration. The diminutive figures or statuettes found are made of hard baked clay and colored. The well prepared sketch before us thus describes a good specimen "A perfect figurine has the flesh lightly tinted, the cheeks, rouged, the lips also reddened, the pupil of the eye tinged with pale blue or gray, the eye elongated as by the use of henna, and the eye-brows defined by a slender line. The draperies are of all colors with dark red or brown borders, sometimes gilded. The hats, fans, bracelets, ear-drops, and other numerous accessories are generally gilded, or done in yellow ochre, perhaps as a foundation for gilding. In all cases the hair is of a golden brown or red auburn." The tasteful volume is illustrated with numerous photographic pictures of the best of these curious and beautiful works of art. There is a fine collection in the Boston Art Museum, the gift of T. G. Appleton.

SUPPRESSED SENSATIONS, OR LEAVES FROM THE NOTE BOOK OF A CHICAGO REPORTER. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 254. RAND, McNALLY & Co. Chicago, 1879.

This is a series of stories, based on fact, it is said, but without much to interest the ordinary reader. They are worth noticing simply as pictures of the changing phases of American life, which are kaleidoscopic in their variety, and as evanescent as those on the disc of the camera.

THE SILK GOODS OF AMERICA. A brief account of the recent improvements and advances of Silk manufacture in the United States. By WM. C. WYCKOFF. 8vo, pp. 156. Published under the auspices of the Silk Association of America. D. VAN NOSTRAND. New York, 1879.

This volume is written to show the advance in the manufacture of silk goods in America, and claims that those made here are not only better, but cheaper than the imported. The sixth annual report of the Silk Association of America is appended to the volume.

PIZARRO — HIS ADVENTURES AND CONQUESTS. By GEORGE M. TOWLE. 16mo, pp. 327. LEE & SHEPARD. Boston, 1879.

The first volume of the Young Folks' Heroes of History related the voyage of Vasco de Gama around the Cape of Good Hope to unexplored Hindostan. In this, the second, the reader is made acquainted with the chief incidents of the conquest of Peru by Pizarro, which laid the foundation of a Spanish empire in South America. Like its predecessor, it is written in

an easy, personal style, which is well suited to the instruction of youth. There are a few illustrations.

RAPID TRANSIT ABROAD. 32mo, pp. 196. JAMES MILLER. New York, 1879.

The reader must not be misled by this novel title. He will find here no account of elevated railroads or watered stocks, but a plain, fresh account by a young woman of a summer's run with a party of friends over Europe. The narrative is hasty as the trip, and conveys little more than a bird's eye view of the chief points of interest in continental travel. The party had not time to dwell over the thousand memories which spring up at every turn, but after all, Murray, and Joane and Baedeker leave little to be said, and perhaps the young lady was wise to give little more than her personal impressions of the journey itself.

LEGEND OF THE MOUND. BY FREDERICA K. WITMAN, 4:0, pp. 39. LANE S. HART. Harrisburg, 1875.

On delicate and tasteful pages of the best of paper, adorned with dainty illustrations in fine steel engraving, the authoress presents a pretty Indian tale in verse, sometimes rythmical, at others blank.

"On the bosom of the Susquehanna,
Lies an island of all her children the fairest."

Here is the scene of the legend of the mound. Here, of a summer's day, while the women and girls are busy with their quiet occupations, two restless boys, "busy spirits of the throng," quarreled over a grasshopper they had jointly pursued, and one had caught in the grass. A girl gives the alarm, and the mothers interfere. A general turmoil ensues, in the height of which the men return from the chase, disappointed and ill-tempered. The village divides into two camps, tomahawks and scalping knives flash in the evening glare. As the sun drops below the horizon, the survivors pause; the strife ends. At dawn they bury the dead in a circular bed toward the southwestern part of the island, and the final ceremonies close the legend of the mound. The versification is smooth, and there is a tender poetic feeling in the simple story.

A DREAM OF ARCADIA, AND OTHER VERSES. By LAWRENCE B. THOMAS. 4:0, pp. 87. TURNBULL BROTHERS. Balt., 1878.

Attention has been invited in these pages to the excellent genealogic work done by this gentleman (II., 255.) in his sketches of Maryland families. In this dainty little volume he presents the fruits of his leisure hours in a collection of pretty verses which show taste and culture. It is neatly illustrated.



HERBERT CLARK

Major-General in the Army of the United States, and the Virginia Militia, &c.

LONDON: J. JOHNSON, 1789.



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THE SOUTHERN CAMPAIGN

1780

GATES AT CAMDEN

THE first connected account of the Southern campaign of 1780 was that included by Dr. Ramsay in his History of the Revolution of South Carolina, published in 1785;¹ the next that of the Rev. Dr. Gordon, which appeared in 1788.² A comparison of these two histories shows that many of the passages descriptive of this particular period are verbally identical. At first sight it would seem that Gordon adopted the account presented in the earlier volume. But as Gordon in his foot notes repeatedly acknowledges his indebtedness to Dr. Ramsay for information concerning the operations in the Carolinas, yet omits any such acknowledgment in his description of the Southern campaign, there is a fair presumption that the omission was not without reason. That reason seems certainly to be that the account given by Ramsay was furnished to him by Gordon. Dr. Ramsay in 1809, subsequently to the publication of Gordon's history, published a History of South Carolina,³ in which the campaign from Hillsborough to Camden is related in substantially the words of his earlier work. Gordon, in a note to his third volume (p. 59), says that "General Gates' letters were examined by him at [Traveler's Rest] his Seat in Virginia the latter end of 1781." The friendly relations existing between Gates and the worthy historian are well known, and it is not unfair to suppose that he was inclined to give the most favorable coloring possible to the conduct of the hero, whose well-won laurels had been blighted in a disaster, the completeness of which was only rivalled by that of the earlier triumph. Gordon says elsewhere (in a note to his second volume, p. 450) that in compiling his narrative "recourse had been had to a detail of facts written by the deputy adjutant general, Col. Otho H. Williams," "who was himself a prominent actor in the scenes he relates.

Gordon's is, therefore, the earliest most authentic account, and should, unless disproved by contemporaneous evidence, take precedence and authority over all subsequent to it, from the fact that the author had opportunities for knowledge of this particular branch of the history of the war which have been since closed to all others. A few words will suffice to establish the truth of this statement. General Gates died at his estate, Rose Hill, his residence in New York City, in April, 1806. By his will, proved 15th of the same month, he devised to his wife his entire property, real and personal, without reservation. Mary, his widow, survived him until 1810. By her will, proved December 10th of that year, she made numerous bequests; among others, one in the following words: "To Joel Barlow, Esqr., I bequeath all public papers in my possession, in the full confidence that he will use them for the purposes of impartial History, and to enable him to give a fair and correct account of the American revolution, and of the persons concerned in carrying it into effect." These papers, of a voluminous nature and great variety, were for a long period in the hands of Dr. Jared Sparks, who made free use of them in his histories; later they passed into the keeping of the New York Historical Society where they now are. An important part of the Gates papers, however, was not, and is not, comprised in this collection.^a This includes among other valuable documents such as the series of original commissions borne by General Gates, his Letter Book containing copies of all the official letters written by him while in command of the Southern army, and his Book of General Orders issued during the entire campaign. These valuable papers were accidentally found by Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet of New York City in the garret of the house of his grandfather of the same name about two years since. Thomas Addis Emmet, the famous counsellor, was the legal adviser of General Gates. For what reason these documents were separated from the others is not now known. There may have been no reason. But this is of small consequence, since Dr. Emmet freely consents to their publication. They made part, undoubtedly, of the documents examined by Gordon at Traveler's Rest in 1781, but it is not probable that they have ever since fallen under the eye of any other historian. So much of these precious documents as relates to the period from the 21st June, 1780, when Gates, from his home in Berkeley county, Virginia, addressed his letter of acceptance of command to the President of Congress, to the 31st August, when he was again at Hillsborough, a defeated, humiliated man, endeavoring to build up the remains of his

broken army, is now for the first time made public. The sources from which Gordon drew his information having been thus indicated, his narrative, in view of the rarity of the history which contains it, is now given in full.

"Upon gen. Lincoln's being made a prisoner at Charles Town the command of the forces of the southern district devolved on Baron de Kalb. His experience and abilities were allowed to be great; but as he was a foreigner, unacquainted with the country, and unaccustomed to the temper of undisciplined troops, who were to constitute the major part of the army, these and other reasons wrought in favor of gen. Gates, who was considered in common as the best qualified for the command; and it was unanimously resolved in congress on the 13th of June 'that major gen. Gates do immediately repair to and take command of the southern department;' the next day he was empowered to take such measures for the defense of the southern states as he might think most proper. He received the resolves of congress at Traveler's Rest in Virginia, a few miles from Shepherd's-town, on the 20th, and set out on Monday the 26th. He soon felt for himself, finding that he succeeded to the command of an army without strength, of a military chest without money, of a department apparently deficient in public spirit, and in a climate that increases despondency, instead of animating the soldier's arm. He had before him the most unpromising prospects his eyes ever beheld. He arrived at the camp on the 25th of July; and at a review of the troops the next day, was in every respect received by the Baron with marks of great distinction. In return he treated his predecessor with due consideration, confirmed his standing orders, and requested that he would keep the command of his division as formerly in the grand army. The Baron's division consisted of all the Maryland and Delaware troops: these with a small legionary corps under col. Armand, consisting of about 60 horse and as many foot soldiers, who arrived a few days before, and three companies of artillery, constituted the whole of the army. The Baron with great satisfaction complied with Gates's request. A considerable body of North Carolina militia had taken the field under gen. Caswell. His appointment and instructions to join and co-operate with the regular forces had been announced to the Baron, who daily expected his arrival, and with him a considerable supply of provisions. Caswell, however, upon the plea of preventing some disaffected inhabitants from taking arms in favor of the enemy, excused his not complying with the instructions; and as to the supply, though promised, no part of it ever arrived. On the morning of July the 27th, gen. Gates marched at the head of the army to effect a junction of the regular and irregular forces, to assume an appearance of hostile views upon the enemy's advanced posts, under expectation of sharing with the militia the supply they received from the state. The troops passed Deep river at the Buffalo-ford, and encamped in the afternoon at Spinks' farm, on the road to Camden. (Vol. III., 391.)

"On the 28th of July (the day after the American army encamped at Spinks' farm on the road to Camden) col. Otho H. Williams repeated to gen. Gates the advice he had given in substance to baron de Kalb more than a fortnight before; which was to deviate from the direct road to Camden—to order gen. Caswell to join him at the mouth of Rocky river on Peedee, and from thence to send his heavy baggage, women and invalids to Salisbury (a day's march higher up the country) and there establish an hospital and magazines—to march all his effective troops from the mouth of Rocky river to Charlotte, where a magazine, hospital,

and if necessary an armory might be securely established—and from Charlotte to march by way of Waxhaws towards Camden. By this route the army might have proceeded without impediment through a well cultivated country, whose inhabitants were attached to the common cause. Magazines and hospitals might have been established in the rear, secure from surprise, and directly upon the old trading road from Philadelphia to Charles Town, by which the supplies from the north might have followed the army without danger. Not only so, but the army would have been followed by numerous bands of faithful friends able and willing both to furnish supplies and to assist with arms, instead of being encompassed with a host of fugitive tories, whose poverty afforded no subsistence, and whose perfidy prevented secrecy. A council was called upon the occasion; but the opinion did not prevail: the first motives preponderated, and the army pursued the direct route for Camden. It was joined by lieut. col. Porterfield, an officer of distinguished merit, with about 100 Virginia soldiers. He had by his singular address and good conduct, found means, not only to avoid the hapless fate of the other corps which had retreated after the surrender of Charlestown; but to subsist his men, and keep up the semblance of a possession of that part of South Carolina.

“The army soon felt the scarcity of provisions; and their fatigue, fasting and repeated disappointments as to supplies so exasperated them, that their murmurs became very audible. The aspect of mutiny was in almost every countenance; but as there was no object to be siezed upon or sacrificed, the conciliating arguments of the officers, who shared the calamity without discrimination, induced the soldiers to forbear and rely upon legal expedients and a good providence for succour. The principal means of subsistence found on the march were lean cattle accidentally picked up in the woods. Meal and flour were so very scarce, that the whole army was obliged to make use of green corn and peaches, as the best substitutes for bread the country afforded. Dysenteries afflicted the troops in consequence of such diet. It was however the least of two evils. They had no other relief from famine, which added to the intense heat of the season, and unhealthiness of the climate, threatened destruction to the army. *Starvation* became a cant term upon the occasion. Perhaps the burlesque introduced by the ignorance of some and the policy of others to show a contempt for their sufferings, contributed not a little to the resolute stoutness that now discovered itself.

“In the afternoon of the 5th of August, the American general was informed from gen. Caswell, that he meant to surprise or attack a part of the enemy, on little Lynch's creek. This made Gates the more anxious for a junction, as he apprehended some injudicious adventure might deprive him of the assistance which the militia were capable of affording. The next morning intelligence arrived from the same authority, which increased his anxiety to a painful degree, it was, that the enemy just mentioned, meditated an attack upon the militia in their encampment. Such a show of enterprise, and such marks of intimidation—such a contrariety of intentions and apprehensions perplexed the commanding officer, and made the junction still more desirable. Gates therefore gave orders for the troops to clean their arms and to have every thing ready for action; and then proceeded with his deputy adjutant general and aids to the encampment of the militia, whom he found to be a fine body of men, deficient only in discipline and military arrangements. Whether Caswell found his vanity gratified in a separate command, or wished to precipitate the army into an action with the enemy, was not discoverable: the fact is, he postponed a junction until he saw the per-

plexity and danger in which his ambition or indiscretion had involved the army. When it was too late for measures to be changed, he complied more through necessity than inclination.

"At Deep creek (August 6th) the troops received a supply of good beef, and half a pound of Indian corn meal per man. They eat their mess; drank of the stream contentedly; and the next day with great cheerfulness marched to the cross-roads, where they were joined by the militia, and the whole were encamped together. A good understanding appeared to subsist among the officers of all ranks, and the common soldiers vied with each other in supporting their spirits and despising their fatigues, which they appeared to forget. The expectation of this junction had induced the commanding officer of the post on Lynch's creek to retire the day before, under the mask of offensive operations, which caused the alarm above related.

"Being now in a country of pine barrens, extensive sand-hills and impenetrable swamps, unable to collect provisions and forage from the lower and more fertile parts of the country, which were covered by the enemy's advanced posts, the army could not remain more than a day in this situation, though a large reinforcement of militia from Virginia was expected every hour. Gates therefore pressed forward; and finding the enemy disposed to dispute the passage of Lynch's creek, while he kept up an appearance of taking that route, he marched the army by the right towards Clermont (better known by the name of Rugeley's mills) where the enemy had a small garrison. His intentions being discovered, both posts were abandoned with some precipitation on the 11th, the officers fearing either that their march to Camden would be intercepted, or that they should be attacked on their retreat. Lord Rawdon, who commanded the advanced posts of the British army, assembled all his forces at Camden, and suffered gen. Gates, without any material interruption, to conduct his army to Clermont about 13 miles from Camden, where his troops encamped on the 13th. The next day brigadier gen. Stevens arrived with a respectable reinforcement of 700 Virginia militia. An express also arrived the same day from col. Sumpter, who reported to Gates, that a number of the South Carolina militia had joined him on the west side of the Wateree; and that an escort of clothing, ammunition and other stores for the garrison at Camden, was on the way from Charles Town, and must pass the Wateree at a ferry about a mile from Camden, under cover of a small redoubt occupied by the enemy, on the opposite bank of the river.

"A detachment of the Maryland line, consisting of 100 regular infantry and a company of artillery, with two brass field pieces, and 300 North Carolina militia, were immediately forwarded under the command of lieut. col. Woolford to join col. Sumpter, who had orders to reduce the redoubt and intercept the convoy. Gen. Gates was preparing at the same time to advance still nearer to Camden, and if necessary, to take a position on some good grounds in its vicinity: but he was not without hope that lord Rawdon would evacuate that post as he had the others; and if he should not, the prospect was, that the multitudes of militia expected from the upper counties would cut off his supplies from all quarters, and leave the garrison an easy prey to the army. After making some convenient arrangements, having the arms cleaned, and distributing some provisions, which had been collected, Gates convened his general officers, of which grade there were not less than thirteen in that little army, the militia brigades of North Carolina having far more than sufficient; and after a conference with them, he directed the deputy adjutant general, col. Williams, to issue the following orders, with the intention as well to take advantage of the time when col. Sumpter was to execute his enterprise, as to be prepared for action himself, in case it should be offered.



[These orders, dated Camp Clermont, 15th of August 1780, and issued as "after General Orders," will be found in their place in the General Orders issued by General Gates, printed in the Original Documents in the Magazine.]

"When the deputy adjutant general received these orders, he showed Gates an abstract of the field returns of the different corps, which he had just been digesting into a general return. From thence it appeared that the whole American Army, officers included, amounted only to 3,663 (exclusive of the troops detached to col. Sumpter), beside col. Porterfield's and major Armstrong's light infantry, amounting to 250, and col. Armand's legion to 120, altogether 370, and a few volunteer cavalry. There were about 900 continental infantry, rank and file, and 70 cavalry. This force was inferior to what the general imagined: his plan, however, was adopted, and he thought it too late to retreat. The army marched about ten at night, and had proceeded to within half a mile of Sander's creek, about half way to Camden, when a firing commenced in front.

"Lord Cornwallis, unknown to gen. Gates, arrived the day before at Camden. His inferior force, consisting of about 1700 infantry and 300 cavalry, would have justified a retreat; but considering that no probable events of an action could be more injurious to the royal interest than that measure, he resolved upon taking the first good opportunity of attacking the Americans; and learning that the situation of their encampment at Clermont was disadvantageous, he marched about the same time the Americans did, with a full determination to attack them in their camp at day-break. About half an hour past two in the morning the advanced parties of both armies met in the woods, and a firing commenced. Some of the cavalry of Armand's legion being wounded by the first fire, threw the others into disorder, and the whole recoiled so suddenly, that the first Maryland regiment, in front of the column, was broken, and the whole line of the army thrown into a general consternation. This first impression struck deep. The light infantry, however, executed their orders, and particularly those under Porterfield behaved with such spirit, that the enemy was no less surprised at this unexpected meeting. A few prisoners were taken on both sides, by whose information the respective commanders derived a knowledge of the circumstances, of which both, till then, were ignorant. Porterfield, in whose abilities and activity Gates had justly placed great dependence, received a musket ball, which shattered the bones of his leg, and was under the necessity of submitting to be carried into the rear. A part of the light infantry still kept their ground, and being supported by the vanguard and the legion infantry, which discovered much bravery, the American army soon recovered its order. Cornwallis also kept his ground; and frequent skirmishes ensued during the night, with scarce any other effect than to discover the situation of the armies, to evince the intentions of the generals, and to serve as a prelude to what was to occur in the morning.

"Immediately after the alarm, the American army was formed in the following manner—the Second Maryland brigade, under gen. Gist, on the right of the line, flanked by a morass; the North Carolina division, under gen. Caswell, in the centre;—and the Virginia brigade, under gen. Stevens, on the left, flanked by the North Carolina militia, light infantry and a morass: thus both flanks were well covered. The artillery was posted on the most advantageous ground near the main road, which was about the centre of the line. Col. Armand's corps was ordered to the left, to support the left flank, and oppose the enemy's cavalry. Baron de Kalb commanded on the right of the line; and gen. Smallwood the

first Maryland brigade, which was posted as a corps-de-reserve two or three hundred yards in the rear. Gates then called his general officers together, and desired col. Williams to communicate the information which he had collected from the captives, which being done, the general said, 'Gentlemen, you know the situation, what are your opinions?' Gen. Stevens answered, 'It is now too late to retreat.' Silence ensuing, and no reply being made, the general, after a pause, pronounced, 'Then we must fight: gentlemen, please to take your posts.' No more was said in council: but it was afterward declared to be the private opinion of some then present, that it was injudicious to risk a general battle, and that a retreat was by no means impracticable. It was not to the credit of any officer to make such declaration. Whoever is called to a council of war, and declines giving his own opinion, if he has any, acts below the courage of a soldier, and should thenceforward screen either his cowardice or treachery by keeping the matter a profound secret.

"The British army was thus disposed—the division on the right consisted of a small corps of light infantry, the 23d and 33d regiments, under lieut. col. Webster;—the division on the left was formed of the volunteers of Ireland, the infantry of the legion, and part of lieut. col. Hamilton's North Carolina regiment, under lord Rawdon, with 2 six and 2 three pounders, commanded by lieut. McLeod;—the 71st regiment with a six pounder, composed the reserve, one battalion in the rear of the right division, the other of the left;—and the cavalry of the legion stationed in the rear, close to the 71st regiment. This disposition was made at break of day: but before it took place the British appeared in column about 200 yards in front of the American artillery, while gen. Gates was with his corps-de-reserve. Col. Williams ordered the artillery to be fired upon them, which was instantly obeyed: and then went to inform Gates of the occasion of the firing, and of the enemy's having the appearance of spreading and forming a line by their right, 'which,' said the colonel, 'gives us a favorable opportunity of commencing the attack of infantry with Stevens' brigade.' The General answered, 'Very proper, let it be done.' Orders were immediately given to Stevens, who advanced with his brigade in excellent order with great alacrity. The enemy had however, formed their line before he got near enough for action. Both lines were advancing, and had come within firing distance of each other, when Stevens, encouraging his men, put them in mind of their bayonets, which they had received only the day before, calling out to them, 'My brave fellows, you have bayonets as well as they, we'll charge them.' Col. Williams had advanced in front of the brigade, from which he had taken a few volunteers, intending, by a partial fire, to extort that of the enemy at some distance, in expectation that the militia would stand the first discharge, and be brought to closer action with their loaded muskets. But the advantage was lost. Lord Cornwallis observing the movement of the Virginians under Stevens, gave orders to lieut. col. Webster to begin an attack. The British infantry upon that rushed through the thin fire of the militia with great intrepidity, and furiously charged the brigade with a cheer. The intimidated militia threw down most of their arms, bayonets and all, and with the utmost precipitation and trepidation fled from the field, and were followed by the North Carolina militia light infantry. The whole North Carolina division being panic-struck, imitated the shameful example; except one regiment, commanded by col. Dixon, next in the line of battle to the continental regulars, which fired several rounds: indeed gen. Gregory's brigade, to which that regiment belonged, paused longer than the others: but at last all fled, and the majority without their arms, or firing a single shot. It cannot appear excessively strange that such raw militia could not stand before bayonets, when it

is considered that for some time they had subsisted on fruit scarcely ripe, without any regular rations of flesh, flour, or spirituous liquors;—that their strength and spirits were depressed by such preceding low regimen;—and that, after an unexpected meeting of the enemy, they had to lie for hours on their arms, attended with the apprehension of immediate danger and the horrors of the night.

“All the militia who composed the left wing and centre being routed, the second continental brigade, consisting of Maryland and Delaware troops, making the right wing, and the corps-de-reserve, were left to fight or retreat; but as they had no orders for the latter, they maintained their position with great resolution, and gave the British an unexpected check. The second brigade even gained ground, and took no less than 50 prisoners. But the corps-de-reserve being considerably out-flanked, were thrown into disorder: they were soon rallied by their officers, and renewed the action with much spirit. Overpowered by numbers they were again broken: but the brave example and exertions of the officers induced them to form afresh. The gallantry of this corps covered, in a great measure, the left of the second brigade, which was in a manner blended with the enemy's line on their left, where the conflict was desperate. The Americans, thinking themselves masters of the field, disputed with the British who should conquer and retain the other as prisoners of war. At length the enemy directing their whole force against these two devoted corps, the fire of musketry became yet more tremendous, and was continued with equal perseverance and obstinacy, till Lord Cornwallis observing that there was no cavalry opposed to him, pushed forward his dragoons, and charging with his bayonets at the same moment, put an end to the contest. Never did men behave better than the continentals in the whole of the action; but all attempts to rally the militia were ineffectual. Lieut. col. Tarleton's legion charged them as they broke, and pursued them as they were fleeing. Without having it in their power to defend themselves they fell in great numbers under the legionary sabres.

“General Gates was borne off the field by a torrent of dismayed militia. They constituted so great a part of his army, that when he saw them break and flee with such precipitation, he lost every hope of victory; and his only care was, if possible, to rally a sufficient number, to cover the retreat of the regular troops: he retired with gen. Caswell to Clermont, in hope of halting them at their late encampment. But the further they fled, the more they dispersed, and the generals giving up all as lost retired with a very few attendants to Charlotte. On their retreat, an officer from col. Sumpter overtook them, and reported to Gates, that the colonel had succeeded fully in his enterprise the evening before against the enemy's post on the Wateree; had reduced the redoubt and captured the guard; and had intercepted the escort with the stores, which were all taken, with about 40 waggons and upwards of 100 prisoners. Gates however could take no advantage of this success: the enemy was at his heels, and his victorious friends on the opposite side of a river too distant to form a junction in time to prevent his fate.

“Most of the Virginia militia returned to Hillsborough by the route they came to camp; and gen. Stevens found means to stop a considerable number at that place: but the term for which they had taken the field being nearly expired, all who had not deserted were soon afterward discharged. The North Carolinians fled different ways, as their hopes led or their fears drove them; and many were intercepted by their disaffected countrymen, who but a few days before had generally submitted to Gates, by whom they were generously sent to their homes, upon a promise of remaining neuter or of following his colours. Several consider-

able parties had actually taken arms with a professed design of joining the Americans: but so soon as they heard of their defeat, they became active in the pursuit of the fugitives, and killed and captured all that came in their way.

"Baron de Kalb, while exerting himself with great bravery to prevent the defeat of the day, received eleven wounds. His aid-de-camp, lieut. col. du Buysson, embraced him, announced his rank and nation to the surrounding foe, and begged that they would spare his life. While he generously exposed himself to save his friend, he received sundry dangerous wounds, and was taken prisoner. The baron expired in a short time, though he received the most particular assistance from the British. He spent his last breath in dictating a letter, expressive of the warmest affection for the officers and men of his division—of the greatest satisfaction in the testimony given by the British army of the bravery of his troops—of his being charmed with the firm opposition they made to superior force, when abandoned by the rest of the army—of the infinite pleasure he received from the gallant behaviour of the Delaware regiment, and the companies of artillery attached to the brigades—and of the endearing sense he entertained of the merit of the whole division he commanded. The Congress resolved on the 14th of October, that a monument should be erected to his memory in Annapolis, the metropolis of Maryland, with a very honorable inscription. Gen. Rutherford surrendered to a party of the British legion. All the other general officers escaped; but were separated from their respective commands, and obliged to flee with precipitation. Every corps was broken, and dispersed through the woods. The bogs and brush, which in a degree screened them from the fury of their foes, laid them under the necessity of separating from each other. Major Anderson, of the 3d Maryland regiment, was the only infantry officer, whose efforts to rally the men, after the total rout, were in any degree effectual. A few individuals of several companies joined him at some distance from the field and others added to that small number by falling into his ranks on the march. The removal of the heavy baggage to Waxhaws was delayed till the morning of the action contrary to Gates's express orders the day preceding: so that the greatest part, together with all that followed the army, fell into the hands of the enemy, or was plundered in the route by those who went off early, and could take time for such baseness. A general transfer of property took place: even that which escaped the foe fell not again into the hands of the right owners, except some small part of the officers' baggage, which was recovered at Charlotte. The baggage waggons indeed of gen. Gates and baron de Kalb, being furnished with stout horses and clever drivers, who understood their business and knew the roads, were fully preserved. All the baron's baggage and papers were saved: as were Gates's, and every paper and private letter of all the gentlemen belonging to his family. The pursuit was rapid for more than twenty miles; and so great was the dismay of the retreating troops (the cries of the murdered in the rear, being echoed by the women and wounded men with increasing terror) that at the distance of forty miles whole teams of horses were cut out of the waggons to accelerate the flight. Many wounded officers and soldiers were got off by like expedients: some of whom gave astonishing proofs of what pain, fatigue and want, the human constitution can bear. The road by which the troops fled was covered with arms, baggage, the sick, the wounded, and the dead. Gates was persuaded by all that he saw and heard, that the regular troops were entirely cut off, and the whole either killed or captured; and that there was no prospect of collecting a force at Charlotte (where he arrived late in the night) adequate to the defence of the country: he therefore left Gen. Caswell at Charlotte to assemble the militia of Mecklenburg county, and proceeded with all possible despatch to Hillsborough, to



command on the frontier of South Carolina, having found means to subsist them, and to maintain the appearance of holding that part of the country.

"The force of which Gates could dispose was greater than that which could be brought against him, it revived the hopes of the South Carolinians, who were writhing under the insolence of an army in which every soldier was a licensed plunderer, and every officer a functionary with power to outlaw peaceful citizens at will. The British commander on the Peedee called in his detachments, abandoned his post on the Cheraw Hill, and repaired to Lord Rawdon at Camden. An escort of Carolinians, who had been forced to take up arms on the British side, rose against their officers, and made prisoners of a hundred and six British invalids who were descending the Peedee River. A large boat from Georgetown, laden with stores for the British at Cheraw, was seized by Americans. A general revolt in the public mind against British authority invited Gates onwards. To the encouragements of others, the General added his own illusions; he was confident that Cornwallis, with detached troops from his main body, was gone to Savannah, and from his camp on the Peedee he announced on the fourth, by a proclamation, that their late triumphant and insulting foes had retreated with precipitation and dismay on the approach of his numerous, well appointed and formidable army; forgiveness was promised to those who had been forced to profess allegiance, and pardon was withheld only from those apostate sons of America who should hereafter support the enemy.

"On the seventh, at the Cross Roads, the troops with Gates made a junction with the North Carolina militia under Caswell, and proceeded towards the enemy at Lynch's Creek.

"In the following night, that post was abandoned; and Lord Rawdon occupied another on the southern bank of Little Lynch's Creek, unassailable for the deep, muddy channel of the river, and within a day's march of Camden. Here he was joined by Tarleton with a small detachment of cavalry, who on their way had mercilessly ravished the country on the Black River as a punishment to its patriot inhabitants, and as a terror to the dwellers on the Wateree and Santee. By forced march up the stream, Gates could have turned Lord Rawdon's flank, and made an easy conquest of Camden. Missing his only opportunity on the eleventh, after a useless halt of two days, he defiled by the right, and marching to the north of Camden, on the thirteenth encamped at Clermont, which the British had just abandoned. The time thus allowed, Rawdon used to strengthen himself by four companies from Ninety Six, as well as by the troops from Clermont, and to throw up redoubts at Camden.

"On the evening of the tenth, Cornwallis left Charleston, and arrived at Camden before the dawn of the fourteenth. At ten o'clock on the night of the fifteenth, he set his troops in motion, in the hope of joining battle with the Americans at the break of day.

"On the fourteenth, Gates had been joined by seven hundred Virginia militia under the command of Stevens. On the same day, Sumter, appearing in camp with four hundred men, asked as many more to intercept a convoy with its stores on the road from Charleston to Camden. Gates, who believed himself at the head of seven thousand men, granted his request. Sumter left the camp, taking with him eight hundred men, and on the next morning captured the wagons and their escort.

"An exact field return proved to Gates that he had but three thousand and fifty-two rank and file present and fit for duty. 'These are enough,' said he, 'for our purpose;' and on the fifteenth he communicated to a council of officers

an order to begin their march at ten o'clock in the evening of that day. He was listened to in silence. Many wondered at a night march of an army of which more than two-thirds were militia, that had never even been paraded together; but Gates, who had the 'most sanguine confidence of victory and the dispersion of the enemy,' appointed no place for rendezvous, and began his march before his baggage was sufficiently in his rear.

"At half-past two on the morning of the sixteenth, about nine miles from Camden, the advance guard of Cornwallis fell in with the advance guard of the Americans. To the latter, the collision was a surprise. Their cavalry was in front, but Armand, its commander, who disliked his orders, was insubordinate; the horsemen in his command turned suddenly and fled, and neither he nor they did any service that night or the next day. The retreat of Armand's legion produced confusion in the first Maryland brigade, and spread consternation throughout the army, till the light infantry on the right, under the command of Colonel Porterfield, threw back the party that made the attack and restored order; but at a great price, for Porterfield received a wound which proved mortal.

"To a council of the American general officers, held immediately in the rear of the lines, Gates communicated the report of a prisoner, that a large regular force of British troops under Cornwallis was five or six hundred yards in their front, and submitted the question whether it would be proper to retreat. Stevens declared himself eager for battle, saying that 'the information was but a stratagem of Rawdon to escape the attack.' No other advice being offered, Gates desired them to form in line of battle.

"The position of Lord Cornwallis was most favorable. A swamp on each side secured his flanks against the superior numbers of the Americans. At daybreak his last dispositions were made. The front line, to which were attached two six-pounders and two three-pounders, was commanded on the right by Lieutenant-colonel Webster, on the left by Lord Rawdon; a battalion, with a six-pounder, was posted behind each wing as a reserve; the cavalry were in the rear, ready to charge or to pursue.

"On the American side, the second Maryland brigade, of which Gist was brigadier, and the men of Delaware occupied the right under Kalb; the North Carolina division with Caswell, the centre; and Stevens with the newly arrived Virginia militia, the left: the best troops on the side strongest by nature, the worst on the weakest. The first Maryland brigade, at the head of which Smallwood should have appeared, formed a second line, about two hundred yards in the rear of the first. The artillery was divided between the two brigades.

"Gates took his place in the rear of the second line. He gave no order till Otho Williams proposed to him to begin the attack with the brigade of Stevens, his worst troops, who had been with the army only one day. Stevens gave the word; and as they prepared to move forward Cornwallis ordered Webster, whose division contained his best troops, to assail them, while Rawdon was to engage the American right. As the British with Webster rushed on, firing and shouting huzza, Stevens reminded his militia that they had bayonets; but they had received them only the day before, and knew not how to use them; so, dropping their muskets, they escaped to the woods with such speed that not more than three of them were killed or wounded.

"Caswell and the militia of North Carolina, except the few who had Gregory for their brigadier, followed the example; so that nearly two-thirds of the army fled without firing a shot. Gates writes of them, as an eye-witness: 'The British cavalry continuing to harass their rear, they ran like a torrent and bore all before

situation of the northern states from which Gates rescued them by his military skill at Saratoga. "Our affairs to the southward look blue—so they did when you took command before the *Burgoyne*. I can only now say, *go and do likewise*—God bless you."

Nor was the Chevalier de la Luzerne, the representative of the generous monarch whose fleet was hourly expected with timely succor, less marked in his words of pleasure with the appointment. "The choice (he wrote on the 6th July) which the thirteen States have made of you in the present condition of affairs, to labor to reestablish matters in the Southern States, gives me every ground for favorable augury of the success of the enterprises you may undertake. The union of your interests with our own is so intimate that we congratulate ourselves as much as the United States at seeing such important operations in your hands." These seem to be sufficient evidence of the correctness of Gordon's statement that "Gates was considered in common as the best qualified for the command." It also appears that it was in deference to this common opinion that Congress made the appointment, and not in consequence of any importunity on the part of General Gates or his immediate personal friends, as has been hinted, if not directly charged, while the interference of Rutledge shows with equal conclusiveness that Gates was not alone the choice of the New England members of Congress in a supposed jealousy of Washington's paramount influence, but that he was the choice, also, of those most immediately concerned in the conduct of affairs in the southern department.

Peters' opinion of the "blue" aspect of affairs has been quoted. Nor were the Armstrongs, father and son, better satisfied with the outlook. "Whilst I congratulate you," wrote John Armstrong on the 15th June, "on your present unanimous appointment to the command of the Southern department, I cannot be insensible of the prospect before you & the many known & unknown difficulties you have to encounter. Let wisdom, patience and fortitude from above carry you through." And the son, John Armstrong, Jr., a few days later, in his characteristic eccentric vein, says, "As it stands I don't know whether the appointment be a matter of condolence or congratulation," and adds, "be it eventually, my dear General, what it will, I intend to share your fortunes and shall be with you in a few days."

To the modesty of the deportment of Gates, Mr. Bancroft himself bears witness. "He made his acknowledgment to Congress without elation." Gates' own words express more than this sentence implies. "While I live I shall be happy to execute the commands of Congress, and notwith-

standing they have given me a new field for action, and that in the most untoward circumstances, I promise them I will do my utmost to save and most effectually to serve the general interest in the Southern States."

The resolution of Congress, conferring the appointment, was accompanied by a letter from the war office (June 15, 1780,) which enclosed a letter from Baron de Kalb, on whom the command of the southern department had devolved after the surrender of Lincoln, showing his situation and pointed out to Gates the necessity of his "immediate presence to organize and collect the too much divided little force which he would have for the beginning of his army," and furnished him an estimate of the forces, amounting to 3,200, total in rank and file.

The difficulties which General Gates encountered, concisely stated by Gordon, are passed by in silence by Bancroft. The letters now first published fully bear out the words of Gordon: "He soon felt for himself, finding that he succeeded to the command of an army without strength, of a military chest without money, of a department apparently deficient in public spirit, and in a climate that increased despondency instead of animating the soldier's arm. He had before him the most unpromising prospect his eyes ever beheld." These words of Gordon are without change from the letter Gates himself wrote from Fredericksburg, July 4, to General Lincoln, his predecessor, condoling with him on his defeat, and soliciting his advice in the management of the people he was about to command.

Those which he wrote from Hillsborough, on his arrival on the 19th July, to the President of Congress and Governors Jefferson and Nash, give a strong picture of the 'deplorable state in which he found every arm of the service. An entire deficiency of magazines; a hospital without medicines or stores of any kind; arms partly out of repair; too many without cartridge boxes, and all destitute of bayonet belts; without tents; frequent intervals of twenty-four hours in which the army, without distinction, were obliged to feed upon such green vegetables as they could find, having neither animal food or corn; the treasury of Virginia without a single dollar, and that of North Carolina, on which he had also warrants from Congress, in a like deficiency.' Yet the brave hearted old man still clung to the hope that with the united and animated endeavors of Virginia and North Carolina, all might be saved. With tireless energy he finally supplied all immediate deficiencies. In the evening of the 24th July he arrived at the Camp of de Kalb, at Cox's Mills, and in the morning following summoned a meeting of general officers for Thursday, the 27th, to consult on a plan of campaign,



inviting the presence of Major General Caswell, who commanded the North Carolina Militia, and of Generals Rutherford and Harrington. To Caswell he expressed his satisfaction in the belief that the active "measures taken by the governments of Virginia and North Carolina" would enable him "to push the enemy from their advanced posts." Bancroft says that from information received while at Hillsborough from General Huger, "Gates formed his plan to march directly to Camden, confident of its easy capture and the consequent recovery of the country." The authority for this statement is not given, and the letter of Gates to Governor Nash, which went with General Huger to the Governor, announces no such intention, but contains only the general expression "that with proper exertions he had no doubt that the enemy might be confined to Charles Town, and finally expelled from it."

It was not until he reached de Kalb's camp that he arrived at any plan. He was warmly received by de Kalb, who was made "happy by his arrival," being in strait for provisions and in trouble with his cavalry officers. Here he found information, from Colonel Sumpter, concerning the British force, which was by that enterprising officer estimated at 3,240 men, scattered over twelve posts, including Charleston and Savannah. At Camden and its vicinity Sumpter considered there were not over 700 men, and in the Cheraws 600 were reported.

In his letter, which was of the 17th July, from his camp on the Catawba River, and addressed to de Kalb, Sumpter strongly urged immediate efforts to prevent a junction of these different bodies, "which if attempted could not possibly be effected in less than twelve to fifteen days time." He pointed out "how vastly weak the enemy was by being so detached in small parties." "If," he added, "they are permitted to retreat slowly to Charles Town, or have an opportunity of collecting the forces and embodying the militia, whom they compel to do duty;" "If, I say," (he repeats his opinion,) "they are suffered to do this, they will by that means add above ten thousand men to their army, and thereby become so strong as not only to keep possession of Charles Town, but also a great part of the State besides." The plan suggested by Sumpter to prevent this junction need not be considered here, these extracts from his letters being merely introduced to show the nature of the arguments for a rapid advance, which were pressed upon General Gates by those best acquainted with the nature of the country, the force of the enemy, and the disposition of the population.

In a note to his first edition, Bancroft says, on the authority of a letter

of de Kalb published by the British, "It was the opinion of Kalb that the enemy would not make a stand at Camden," and incorporates the statement in his revised work. In a second note, quoting from Kapp's Life of Kalb, Bancroft further says that Gates was confident that Cornwallis with detached troops from his main body had gone to Savannah. And Gates was right in the supposition that he had gone southward, as Bancroft admits in the statement that on the evening of the tenth of August Cornwallis left Charleston for Camden. "To these encouragements," Bancroft says, "Gates added his own illusions."

The conference of general officers, invited by Gates on the 25th July, did not take place, General Caswell replying from his camp at Moore's Ferry, on the west side of the Yadkin, at ten o'clock the next morning, that Generals Rutherford and Harrington were at Mask's Ferry, forty-five miles below on the east side of the Peedee, adding that he was himself in a bad state of health, and asking to be excused. His letter closed with the information that the militia under his command were passing the Yadkin, and that he proposed to move down to Colston's, thirty miles below, in the fork of the Peedee and Rocky Rivers.

The next day Gates received word from General Stevens, by a letter written from his camp at Col. Thacherstone's the night of the 26th, that he expected to be at Cox's Mill with the Virginia militia, early on the morning of the 28th (July). Aware that the conduct of Caswell was a continuance of the independent action he had maintained against de Kalb's repeated requests that he should join the main body, Gates justly considered it to be an intentional evasion of his orders, and alarmed at the consequences which might ensue, determined to effect a junction. In the afternoon of the same day (the 26th) the troops were ordered to strike their tents the next morning at half-past three, and the officers were directed to keep their platoons, posts and stations with the nicest exactness, as the advance was towards the enemy. On the morning of the 27th (July) the army moved, General Gates at its head, crossed the Deep River at Buffalo Ford, and went into camp in the afternoon at Spinks' farm. Here it was, according to Gordon, that Colonel Otho H. Williams, later his Adjutant-General, repeated to General Gates the advice he had in substance given to Baron de Kalb more than a fortnight before, which was to deviate from the direct road to Camden; to order General Caswell to join him at the mouth of Rocky River on Peedee, thence to Charlotte, and from Charlotte to march by way of Waxhaws toward Camden. Colonel Williams' narrative con-



firmly this statement, in these words, that "presuming on the friendship of the General, he ventured to expostulate with him upon the seeming precipitate and inconsiderate step he was taking." Bancroft states that the safest route, by way of Salisbury and Charlotte, "was recommended by a memorial of the principal officers," but gives no authority in support of the statement. Colonel Williams asserts that a short note from the most active and intelligent officers was presented to General Gates, concisely intimating the same opinion (he had expressed). General Gates said "that he would confer with the *general officers* when the troops halted at noon." Whether any conference took place or not, Colonel Williams adds, he did not know. If there were any formal council, the minutes of it should certainly appear among the Gates manuscripts, and the same may be said of the protest of the officers, if such there were—but the extremely full files in the New York Historical Society, from which it is evident that nothing has been designedly excluded, contain no such document. Gordon, who must have questioned Gates on this important point, says, "that a council was called upon the occasion; but the opinion did not prevail; the first motives preponderated, and the army pursued the direct route for Camden." What the first motives were must be looked for in the words used by Gordon in a preceding chapter (III., 392), viz., to effect a junction of the regular and irregular forces, to assume an appearance of hostile views upon the enemy's advanced posts. From Gordon's statement, it is probable that de Kalb, and perhaps others, were verbally consulted, and that the importance of striking Camden, before the British garrisons could be concentrated there, outweighed all considerations of comfort or convenience to the army, in the alternative route suggested, or concern as to the character of the population which dwelled upon it.

Camden seems to have been considered as the strategic key to the country by the officers of both armies. Gates and Cornwallis were equally eager to reach it in force, and in the campaign which succeeded Greene and Cornwallis again struggled for its mastery. Moreover, Gates was in possession of information that, alarmed by the approach of the North Carolina militia, which had made their rendezvous at Anson Court House on the 25th of July, Major McArthur had abandoned his post on the Cheraw Hill, and marched straight for Camden, where Lord Rawdon was in command; the inhabitants rising in his rear. It is a nice question for military strategists to determine whether, with the information before him, Gates was or was not justi-

hed in choosing the shorter but more difficult route, in order to strike Camden before it could be adequately reinforced from the more southerly posts. The sequel showed that had he been a day earlier the post might have been carried.

Renewing the march on the 27th Gates reached Colston's on the 28th July and, with increased watchfulness as the army neared the South Carolina borders, moved on the 29th to Kimborough, where he halted till the 1st August, being detained over the 31st by a violent storm. From the camp at Kimborough Gates sent an express to General Caswell on the 29th July, advising him of his movement and intentions, and invited the expression of his views as well as those of General Rutherford upon the circumstances and state of the enemy, all of whose outposts, quite to Camden, he had learned from a British deserter, had been evacuated the Sunday night previous, July 23. He also particularly asked of General Caswell "all intelligence of Lord Conwallis' designs," and his opinions "what in the circumstances it was best to do." In this deference to Caswell's superior knowledge of country, Gates showed no signs of that reckless indifference to the opinion of others which Colonel Williams apparently imputes to him in the direction of his march.

In reply a letter was received from General Rutherford dated Camp near the Cheraws, July 30th, to the effect that a party sent out to reconnoitre the road toward Camden had gone as far as within fourteen miles of Lynch's Creek, and returned with the intelligence that the British had left the Cheraws, and that the party which retreated from Anson's Court House was encamped at Big Lynch's Creek; and General Caswell the same day sent Brigadier General Harrington from Anson's Court House, an officer well acquainted with the country, to give details of information, expressing himself inclined to the opinion that the enemy would "collect his utmost strength at Camden, where he either intended making a stand or to retreat to Charles Town." This being in accordance with the views already entertained of his purposes, Gates pressed forward his army with all his energy. To General Caswell he wrote in conciliatory terms, excusing the neglect to comply with his summons. Inferring that this officer had put his troops in motion from Deep River he resolved to support him.

On the 30th Gates wrote to General Stevens, who was in his rear, to hurry forward, and directed General Caswell to march by the shortest road to Anderson's, to which he was directing his own course.

As he neared the enemy he desired a speedy junction of the whole force, and he had other reasons quite as important. As he advanced he found that Caswell and Rutherford had foraged the country on both sides of the river, while the Virginia militia behind him stopped all the provisions as they came forward, to such an extent that while the outlying bodies were in comparative comfort, the main army was at the point of *starvation*. Mortified, disappointed and grieved at the sufferings of his troops, the General wrote letters of bitter remonstrance to Governors Jefferson and Nash, at Richmond and Newbern, on whose promises he had relied.

Waiting for the artillery and baggage to come up, and delayed by the storm, the army was not put in motion until the afternoon of Tuesday, the 1st August, when the Maryland brigade crossed the Peedee at Mask's Ferry, and encamped on the east side of the river. Colonel Senf, the engineer, was ordered to trace out a redoubt on the west bank of the river to cover the ferry, and a guard of militia was left to execute the work. The crossing of the river on the 1st being again interfered with by a heavy storm, the artillery was not all gotten over till the next night. On the 3d the march was resumed, with renewed caution to the troops to preserve a perfect discipline, "as though every hour to apprehend a surprise." May's Hill was reached on the 4th, Deep Creek on the 5th.

It required still another summons to persuade General Caswell to put himself on the march. Finally on the 30th he took the required direction and his advance arrived the next day at the appointed spot. He halted himself, however, with his main body, at Jennings' Branch, where he received information by a "person from the British camp" that there were only about 700 British at Lynch's Creek, a post fifteen miles distant, whom he thought it possible to surprise, and intimated his desire to try the venture. This word he sent by letter to Gates through Colonel Williams, who was instantly returned with consent to the attempt and orders to Colonel Porterfield, who was in the advance in camp at Thompson's Creek, to join in the enterprise, engaging also to coöperate in the movement with the main army, "not doubting that the intelligence could be relied upon." A few hours later a second messenger reached Gates from Caswell, announcing that he had received further information that the enemy, 2,900 strong, were about to march and attack him, and urging instant reinforcement.

General Gates, surprised at this conflicting intelligence, lost confidence in the judgment of Caswell, and alarmed for the safety of the

militia, hurried his troops forward. Riding in advance of his army, which halted on the road on the 6th, the General pushed on with Colonel Williams, whom he had that day appointed Deputy Adjutant-General, to Caswell's camp, which he found in confusion and disorder. The next day, the 7th, the main body came up after a forced march of forty miles in two days, and the long desired junction was made at the Deep River Creek Cross Roads.

Bancroft passes by without comment the peculiar conduct of General Caswell. His protracted neglect of the orders given him with his command of the militia to "join and coöperate with the regular forces" is noticed with implied censure by Gordon and Williams. The latter adds, that Gates told him that "Caswell's evasion of orders was caused by the gratification of his vanity at having a separate command, and that he had reason to believe, from the letters of Governor Nash, that the supplies of provisions destined for his army had been used in profusion in Caswell's camp." Surely, never was commander more shabbily treated than Gates in this unfortunate campaign. Yet with an energy unusual in a man of his age, Gates pressed on to reach his objective point, where he counted upon immediate security and abundant supplies from the fertile country. Finding Caswell's troops well armed and accoutred and eager for action, also satisfied that the force of the enemy had not increased from the middle of June, when it was estimated at not exceeding 2,000 at and near Camden, of which 1,000 regulars, 550 loyalists, and 300 cavalry and infantry of the Legion, he despatched a courier to Colonel Sumpter with news of his movements and a request for the latest intelligence concerning the enemy, and continued his forward march. The army was re-arranged. Major-General the Baron de Kalb at the head of the Maryland troops commanded the right wing, and Major-General Caswell the left wing, North Carolina militia. Before leaving Camp Anderson Gates had placed General Harrington in command of the militia forces raising on the Peedee from the Cheraw district to the mouth of the river, and directed him to make an effort with a picked band to surprise the British garrison at Georgetown, an enterprise which, if successful, would threaten the security of the British advance posts.

Colonel Armand's legion with Colonel Porterfield's infantry and the light infantry of General Caswell's division, were now thrown forward, with orders to hang upon and harass the rear of the retreating enemy. General orders of the same day (7th) directed that the sick and the superfluous baggage be sent to Charlotte.



At three o'clock the next morning, the 8th, the army marched, and reached the post on Lynch's Creek which Lord Rawdon had evacuated the night before. Here a deserter brought in intelligence that the enemy halted the same morning on an eminence four miles beyond on Little Lynch's Creek, a day's march from Camden, and a much stronger position by nature than that they had left. Here the army encamped in regular order. The retreat of the British left Gates master of the field, but as Colonel Williams observes, "it was a barren one." "To have descended among the fertile fields of Black River would have been," to quote Williams again, "leaving the garrison of Camden between the army and the expected reinforcements from Virginia, besides the refugees from North Carolina repeated their assurances of joining in considerable numbers in a few days."

On the 9th the sick and the heavy baggage left for Charlotte under escort, Colonel Hull was thrown forward six miles on the road leading to Camden by Little Lynch's Creek, and Colonel Senf, the Chief Engineer, was directed to reconnoitre the ground and fix an encampment. Notwithstanding the anxiety of Gates to have his whole force in hand, the nature of the country did not admit of any delay. The last word from General Stevens was that on the 3d he still lay with the Virginia militia, in camp at Cox's, impatient to move, but awaiting supplies, to "cross the desert." The desire of Gates to reach Camden with the least possible delay was heightened by the news he in the course of the day received from Colonel Hull, five miles in advance of the army, that he had intelligence that "Lord Rawdon, with four regiments, was two miles beyond the bridge (at Little Lynch's Creek), and Cornwallis expected that evening." This disposes of Bancroft's assertion that Gates was not aware of Cornwallis' presence with the British army.

On the 10th the army again moved forward, and encamped on Lynch's Heights. On the 11th they advanced as far as Marshall's farm, on Little Lynch's Creek. Here it was discovered "that the enemy's post was on the south side of the water on commanding ground; that the way leading to it was over a causeway on the north side to a wooden bridge, which stood on very steep banks; and that the creek lay in a deep muddy channel, bounded on the north by an extensive swamp, and passable nowhere within several miles, but in the face of the enemy's work. The enemy was not disposed to abandon these advantages without feeling the pulse of the approaching army; and General Gates observed that to attack him in front "would be to take the bull by the horns." It was nec-

essary for once to depart from the shortest route to the enemy's principal outpost—Camden."

Finding the enemy inclined to dispute the passage of the stream, Gordon says that an "appearance of taking that route was kept up." The army, which had been moving by the left, was on the morning of the 12th marched by the right towards Clermont or Rugeley's Mills. Armand's legion leading the way, followed by the Maryland division of regulars, while the North Carolina division of militia brought up the rear, with Porterfield's light infantry on their left flank. The change of march was covered and concealed by Colonel Hull with a detachment from the Maryland division.

This movement Bancroft condemns. "By a forced march up the stream," he says, "Gates could have turned Lord Rawdon's flank, and made an easy conquest of Camden. Missing his only opportunity, on the 11th, after a useless halt of two days, he defiled by the right, and marching to the north of Camden, on the 13th encamped at Clermont, which the British had just abandoned. The time thus allowed Rawdon used to strengthen himself by four companies from Ninety-six, as well as by the troops from Clermont, and to throw up redoubts at Camden." On a matter of tactics of this nature military critics must be allowed to decide. Johnson, in his incidental account of this campaign in his *Life of Greene*, charges upon Gates as a military error that, opposed by a very inferior force to his own on the banks of Lynch's Creek, he should have suffered himself to be forced to ascend its left bank, and to pass its head, instead of forcing his way across to Camden. But from what Williams says of the nature of the ground, the passage could not have been forced without severe loss.

In addition to these motives for diverging from the direct route, was the receipt of information from Colonel Sumpter (Camp Waxsaw, 9th August) that on the evening of the Sunday previous (the 7th) he had fallen upon the British camp at Hanging Rock, and defeated them with severe loss. In his letter Sumpter says: "Both British and Tories are panic struck, and seem well convinced that fifteen hundred men can go through any parts of the State with ease," and he adds, "this will not be the case ten or fifteen days hence;" and urged strongly on Gates to send a force to take possession of the high hills and Neilson's ferry, a central post, which commands all the passages, both by land and water, to Charlestown. Twelve to fifteen hundred men he considered enough for this purpose. On the 11th this enterprising officer sent further advice, that he had taken possession of all the passways over the Wateree

camp he had visited, at five thousand men if it did not consist of more than two thousand, according to Gordon, or one thousand if we accept Colonel Williams' statement as to the active numerical force.

The final catastrophe is now approached. Strong or weak there was nothing left to the army but to advance, and as has been seen there was no reason for discouragement. Moreover the reinforcing militia had brought with them no supplies to aid the starving army; behind was a sterile desert, whose scant yield had already been stripped to the last blade; in front the fertile plains and rich valleys of South Carolina; between this land of promise and the advancing army lay the enemy they had come to meet and were anxious to engage; and the contest did not seem unequal.

On the 15th, according to Gordon, "Gates convened his general officers, of which there were not less than thirteen, and after a conference with them directed his Adjutant General, Col. Williams, to issue his marching orders, the army to move at ten o'clock in the night." Colonel Williams says there was "no dissenting voice in the council." Bancroft, that Gates "was listened to in silence." The orders were, according to Williams, no sooner promulgated than they became the subject of animadversion. Nowhere, however, is there any information that the dissatisfaction of the officers was with the order of march. The objection is said to have been to the night march with troops two-thirds militia. The marching orders, however, prescribed "the profoundest silence." Besides, as Williams justly observes in this connection, neither officers nor men "knew or believed any more than the General that any considerable body of the enemy were to be met without of Camden." The purpose of Gates was to "take a position on some good grounds" (to use Gordon's words,) in the vicinity of Camden, and to be in supporting distance of Sumpter.

The army marched at the hour appointed, and before daylight fell in with the British advance. The troops were formed in line of battle, and a council of officers immediately summoned. The information obtained from prisoners captured by the advance guard was communicated, that Cornwallis in person was in front of them, and their opinions asked. Stevens exclaimed, "It is now too late to retreat," and it is difficult to see how a retreat could have been successfully made. The authorities essentially agree in the account of the battle. The Virginians were led to the attack, but the British troops moving down upon them with impetuosity, threw the whole body into such a panic that, according to Williams, "they threw down their *loaded* arms and fled in the utmost



PART OF MAP ENGRAVED FOR JOHNSON'S LIFE OF GREENE.



Greene visited the battle-ground in company with Colonel Williams in 1781. Williams in his narrative says that the choice of the field was approved by that "judicious and gallant" officer. Gordon (IV., 98) quotes a letter of Greene, written from the High Hills of Santee, 8 August, 1781, to a friend at Philadelphia, which confirms this statement, and contains a complete vindication of Gates' conduct in and after the action.

"Gen. Gates left this country under a heavy load; and I can assure you he did not deserve it. If he was to be blamed for anything at all, it was for fighting, not for what he did or did not do in or after the action. I have been upon the ground where he was defeated, and think it was well chosen, and the troops properly drawn up; and had he halted after the defeat at Charlotte, without doing the least thing, I am persuaded there would have been as little murmuring upon that occasion as in any instance whatever, where the public meet with a misfortune of equal magnitude." By common accord Greene stands at the head of the military men developed by the long struggle, and his unsupported testimony is alone sufficient to outweigh the censorious criticisms of civilians or historians of whatever grade. He commanded the very troops who had been defeated under Gates, was surrounded by their officers, acquainted with their opinions, and his practical eye had measured the route of the army and the scene of its contests.

How Washington was affected by the news appears in his letter of the 8th October to Gates. "The shock was the greater," he says, "as the operations a few days preceding the action were much in our favor. The behaviour of the Continental troops does them infinite honor." This letter is printed by Sparks in his *Writings of Washington*, VII., 237. What lesson he drew from the conduct of the militia may be seen in his as yet unpublished circular letter, a copy of which addressed to Governor George Clinton, from his headquarters near Passaic Falls, 18th October, 1780, is in the New York State Library.

"America has been almost amused out of her liberties. We have often heard the behaviour of the Militia extolled upon one and another occasion by men who judge only from the surface; by men who had particular views in misrepresenting—by visionary men, whose credulity easily swallows every vague story in support of a favorite Hypothesis. I solemnly declare I never was witness to a single instance that countenances an opinion of Militia or raw troops being fit for the real business of fighting. I have found them useful as light parties to skirmish in the Woods, but incapable of making or sustaining a serious attack. This firmness is only acquired by habits of discipline and service. I

mean not to detract from the merit of the Militia. Their zeal and spirit upon a variety of occasions have entitled them to the highest applause, but it is of the greatest importance we should learn to estimate them rightly. We may expect every thing from men that Militia is capable of, but we must not expect from [them] any services for which Regulars alone are fit. The late battle at Campden is a melancholy comment on the doctrine. The Militia fled at the first fire, and left the Continental troops, surrounded on every side and overpowered by numbers, to combat for safety instead of Victory. The enemy themselves have witnessed to their valor."

The misfortune which befell Gates is not alone in history. It was not unlike that which befell the great Frederick, who was swept off the field of Mollwitz by a part of his own routed army to a great distance, and returned to find the battle had been won by those who remained. To one portion of Bancroft's severe charge, that Gates was "a petty intriguer, but no soldier," this paper has been devoted, and the argument is willingly surrendered to the decision of the candid mind. The conclusion is that Gates moved forward at the earnest solicitation of Congress on the promise of abundant supplies; that once engaged upon the march, to halt or turn back would have been alike disastrous in effect upon the population of the southern states, and that when the barren desert had been crossed, he pressed on under the double stimulus of abundance in the rich country before him, and the assurances of Sumpter and those best competent to judge that his march to Camden would not be seriously opposed. That his dispositions were not in accordance with true military laws has not yet been asserted by any competent military critic.

Ramsay, in his history of the Revolution of South Carolina, sums up the argument in a sentence. "Though much censure was cast on General Gates for this unfortunate action, yet, upon a careful examination of every circumstance, his chief fault seems to be his risking a battle. He chose the most advantageous ground, drew up his men to the best advantage, but to make them fight was beyond his power." In this the historian concurs with Greene, the best military authority.

Of the equanimity of spirit with which Gates bore his mortification, and the dignity with which he disregarded the malice of his contemporaries, his admirable correspondence is sufficient proof.

The remaining charge of Bancroft, that Gates was a "petty intriguer," is far more grave. Fortunately it is not supported by one atom of evidence. It was not the opinion of his contemporaries, in whom his char-



acter was held in high regard. It cannot be shown from his manuscripts, where the correspondence of those of his friends who are said to have been concerned with him in the cabals of the day remains intact; a testimony of conscious innocence. Gates at the time himself indignantly repudiated any connection with the intrigues against Washington, and Gordon, who examined his papers in 1781, records that "there was not a single paragraph to be met with that contained any intimation of his being concerned in any such plan."

General Gates died childless. The news of the death of his only son, "an elegant young man, well educated and just entering the active scenes of life," was kept from him while in camp, after the battle of Camden, but added to the bitterness of his retirement. His fame has no defence save the use that historians may make of his abundant manuscripts, to which he seems to have left the perfect vindication of his capacity and his character. And this silent appeal is not in vain. The disaster of Waterloo will never blot out the glory of Austerlitz, nor the rout of Camden efface the memory of Saratoga.

Washington, in one of his letters to Major Tallmadge consoling him for his mishap on an expedition with which he had been entrusted, made use of an expression which may well be applied to the conduct of Gates. The experience of the great chief had been chequered. He had as often felt the humiliation of defeat as the exultation of victory. "However," wrote Washington, "it may be the practice of the world and those who see objects but partially, or through a false medium, to consider *that* only as meritorious which is attended with success, I have accustomed myself to judge of human actions very differently and to appreciate them by the manner in which they are conducted, more than by the event; which it is not in the power of human foresight and precedence to command." Let Gates be measured by this standard.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

¹ *The History of the Revolution of South Carolina, from a British Province to an Independent State.* By David Ramsay, M. D., Member of the American Congress. In two volumes. 8vo. Isaac Collins. Trenton, 1785.

² *The History of the Rise, Progress and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America; including an account of the late war; and of the thirteen colonies, from their origin to that period.* By William Gordon, D. D. In four volumes. 8vo. London, 1788.

³ *The History of South Carolina from the first settlement in 1670 to the year 1808.* In two volumes. By David Ramsay, M. D. 8vo. David Longworth. Charleston, 1809.

⁴ A Narrative of the Campaign of 1780. By Colonel Otho Holland Williams, Adjutant General. Printed as Appendix B to Sketches of the Life and Correspondence of Nathanael Greene, Major General of the Armies of the United States, in the War of the Revolution. Compiled chiefly from original materials, by William Johnson of Charleston, South Carolina. In two volumes. 4to. A. E. Miller. Charleston, 1822.

⁵ The Historical Society Collection of Gates' Papers contains drafts or copies of the letters of General Gates for this period, but no Order Book.

⁶ History of the United States from the Discovery of the American Continent. By George Bancroft. Vol. X., 8vo. Little, Brown & Co. Boston, 1874.

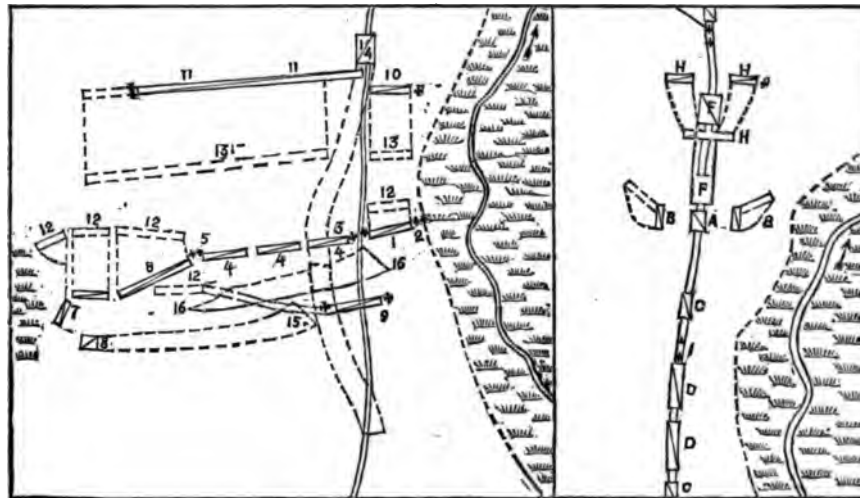
⁷ History of the United States of America from the Discovery of the Continent. By George Bancroft. In six volumes. Thoroughly revised edition. Vol. VI., 16mo. Little, Brown & Co. Boston, 1876.

APPENDIX

I

PLAN OF THE BATTLE NEAR CAMDEN, BY COLONEL SENFF

From the Steuben Papers—N. Y. Historical Society



The 13th August, 1780, General Gates arriv'd with the Southern Army at Rugely's House, 13 miles this side Camden, on the Road from Charlotteburg to Camden, where the Enemy had a Post, but retreated precipitately on the approach of Genl Gates. That afternoon, Night & next Morning Reconoitering partys were sent out, the Enemy at Camden and inferior to our Army. Upon intelligence of the Engineer the Genl detach'd in the Night of between the 14th and 15th inst. 400 men,

with 2 field pieces, Conducted by Col Senf, to join Brig Genl Sumpter of the South Carolina Militia (12 miles West from the Army), who was moving down the West Side of Wateree river, according to Genl Gates' order. This junction was effected the 15th in the morning by crossing the Wateree River at a kind of Ford. Genl Sumpter march'd down the river (on which the Enemy evacuated several out posts on the river), Surprised a Guard on the West Side of Wateree Ferry, 3 miles from Camden, consisting of about 40 Men, under a Militia Col (Carey), took them prisoners, with which he took also 40 waggons with Drivers, 4 Horses & Waggon, loaded with Rum, Flour, Corn, &c., 300 head of Cattle & some Sheep.

A few Hours after this a Detachment of 70 men of the 71st & 33d Regts came from Ninety Six to join the Enemy at Camden, were likewise taken Prisoners by Genl Sumpter, after which the Enemy made motion to cross the river below to attack him; he retreated up the River that Night for 10 miles, of which Col Senf return'd to report to Genl Gates.

The 15th Genl Gates, as the 700 Virg'a Militia, under B Genl Stevens made junction, consulted with all the General Officers on taking another Position for the Army, as the Ground where they were upon was by no means tenable. On reconnoitering a Deep Creek, 7 miles in the front, was found impassable 7 miles to the Right, & about the same distance to the left, except only at the place where the Ford intersects the great road. It was Unanimously agreed upon to march that Night the Army to that Creek, by which means they would get a more secure Encampment, come nearer Genl Sumpter, occupy the road on the East side of Wateree river, and would be able to get nearer intelligence of the Enemy. As for to march back on that Road, and take an equal Strong or Stronger Position, was not certain, would have given the Enemy a weak opinion of our Strength & more encouragement to attack— The Communication with Genl Sumpter, which had been effected, yet rather too great adistance, would have been given up again, difficult of getting Intelligence of the Enemy, & our Horses in want of Forage. To march to the Right to fall into the road on the East side of Wateree river (if even the road would have admitted of it), but it would not without a great deal of work, & Pioneers too were wanted, the Baggage of the Army would have been exposed; the Road where Supplis came from open to the Enemy & impossible to turn those Waggons directly into another road before the Enemy's Horse might have cut them off from the Army.

Certain Intelligence came the 15th to Genl Gates that Lord Cornwallis had arriv'd the Evening before at Camden, & a reinforcement had arriv'd that Day, but no certainty of the Strength could be obtain'd.

The 15th, the Evening, at 10 o'clock the Army march'd from Rugeley's to take Post in Front at the mentioned Creek in the following order— Col Armand's Legion (a) made the Van, supported by 200 Light Infantry on each Flank under Col Potterfield (b). The Van Guard of the Army (c). The first (d) and second (d) Maryland Brigade, under Major Genl Baron de Kalbe, each Brigade two field pieces; the three Brigades of North Carolina Militia under Genl Caswell. The Virginia Militia under Genl Stevens, the Artillery (e), Stores and the Rear Guard, During the march Reconnoitering Parties, sent out from the advanc'd Corps, came back, & nothing seen in the Road, soon after, (about half an Hour after two in the morning of the 16th August) Col. Armand's Van party got hail'd by an advanc'd party of the Enemy; an answer was made directly on our side on which the Enemy's Horse immediately charg'd furiously with a great deal of Huzzas (f). Col Armand stood the charge, & Col Potterfield's light Infantry (g) gave a crossing Fire upon the Enemy's Horse, which made them retreat immediately, upon which

the Enemy's Light Infantry advanced (h), and after a fire of about five minutes drove our Advanc'd Corps back upon our Advanc'd Guard and Main Body, and then likewise retreated ; This affair caused a little Confusion in the Line, but was soon redress'd. The Army drew up in order of Battle, & having taken a Prisoner of the Enemy, who confirm'd that Lord Cornwallis Commanded the Army himself, consisting of not above 3000 men, and that he was come out with an Intention to attack General Gates in his Camp at Rugeley's, upon which Genl Gates call'd all the General Officers together to hear their opinion on that occasion, & it was their Unanimous Opinion that it was now too late to retreat, a Battle ought to be fought, & some of them were glad to have an opportunity of such, as they had no Idea of the Enemy's Superiority or of the following behaviour of the Militia.

General Gates form'd order of Battle, viz—

The Second Maryland Brigade (1) about 400 men under Brig Gen Gist on the right of the road leading to Camden, two field pieces on his right (2) & an almost unpassable Swamp & Greys Quarter Creek on the right of field pieces, on the left of the Brigade in the main road two Field Pieces (3), the three Brigades of North Carolina Militia (4) of 1200 Men under the Brigadiers Rutherford, Graigery & Butler, two Field Pieces (5) the Virginia Militia (6) of 700 men under Brigadier Genl Stevens, the Light Infantry (7) then about 300 men under Col Potterfield, and Col Armand with the Horse about 60 (8) in the rear of the Light Infantry to support the left. The first Maryland Brigade (9) about 400 men under Brig Genl Smallwood in the rear of the Line across the road, as a Corps of Reserve.

Half an Hour before sun rise, the Enemy came in sight, drove in our advanc'd Posts, and as soon as they came in proper distance, our artillery began to play upon them. Their first Troops suppos'd Light Infantry, display'd, form'd and advanced on their left on the road with a field piece (10). Their Main Body (11) display'd to their right, when in the time they displayed our Field pieces made a good fire upon their column. Before the Enemy had fully display'd their Line, Genl Gates gave orders to Genl Stevens of the Virginia Militia & Light Infantry to advance in good order & make the attack, gave likewise immediate orders to Genl Smallwood to advance with the Corps of reserve, to support the Left Wing and occupy the Ground of Genl Stevens. Genl Gates rode up to Genl. Gist, gave orders to advance slowly with the Brigade, to reserve their fire till proper distance, fire & charge Bayonets which has been according to orders Executed. They came close, Genl Gist's Brigade took a Field Piece from the Enemy and kept it some time. Our Army's position was by that time such as (12), and the Enemy's (13). The North Carolina & Virginia Militia all broke & dispers'd in the utmost confusion, no sooner the Enemy's Horse discovered the confusion than they charg'd (14), they wheeled to the right & Left, took the 1st & 2d M. Brigade in their Flanks & rear (16), when in the mean time the Enemy advanced in their Front, to which of course our brave Troops have fallen a Sacrifice. General Gates, who was in the rear of the 2d Maryland Brigade, after having given the men'tioned order look'd back to the road, saw the Militia run and the Enemy's Horse charge, rode to the militia & Endeavoured himself with the assistance of General Caswell and Aids to bring the Militia into order and fire, but all in vain, the Enemy's Horse then came so close upon the General & Col Armand oblig'd to wheel. The General then hop'd to bring them to order at some Distance, but neither this would do, the militia was struck with such a Panick & obeyed no more command. The Baggage, which had been ordered off to Retreat in the night, on the road to the Waxaws, was so retarded by obstruction of the Night, bad roads & tired Horses, as to fall

likewise a Prey to the Enemy. The Enemy's Horse pursued as fast as possible Genl Gates & Col Armand, who had about 14 men, as the remainder of his Legion, Col Armand's Horse much fatigued. Genl Gates could not be escorted by him, to get free from the Enemy, he therefore made his Escape with two of his Aids de Camp & the Engineer. He arriv'd that Night at Charlotte but no view was left to assemble any Forces there, & if it was possible, there was no Ammunition, no Arms, no Provisions, and in the middle of a disaffected Country. The Genl therefore thought proper, with the advice of his officers, to get by the assistance of the Night through that part of the country to Hillsborough, where there had been left some Detachments & Artillery, & that most chiefly the militia had directed their course that way, it was therefore more probable to reassemble some of the scattered Militia in that Quarter and Draw all the Detachments together 'till other Measures could be taken. General Gates arriv'd at Hillsborough the 19th August. —*Extract of a Journal concerning the Action of the 16th August, 1780, between Major General Gates and General Lord Cornwallis.*

II

THE BATTLE OF CAMDEN DESCRIBED BY MAJOR MCGILL

From the Gates Papers.—N. Y. Historical Society.

FIELD OF BATTLE WITHIN EIGHT MILES OF CAMDEN

[August 1780]

In the Evening of the 15th Inst, a Council of Genl officers were unanimously of opinion that our Army should move within five miles of Camden, to an advantageous post with a swamp in our front, fordable only at the Road, and no other within seven miles on each side—At ten o'clock the Army moved in the following order—

Col^o Armand's Corps, about seventy Horse in front, Col^o Porterfield with 50 men belonging to our Reg^t, and 150 Militia upon Armand's right flank, about two Hundred yards off the road—Maj^r Anderson with a party of N^o Carolina militia upon Armand's left Flank, in the same order—Col^o Armand's orders were, should the Enemy's Horse attack him, to stand their charge, and Porterfield with the other Light Infantry to flank them—Genl Smallwood's Brigade in front, Genl Gist's followed, the N^o Carolina Division under Genl Caswell next, and in the rear the Virginia Brigade commanded by Genl Stevens—After marching in this order nigh five miles, about half after two in the morning the British Horse made a most violent onset Huzzaing all the time, but were bravely repulsed by Porterfield with considerable loss—The Enemy's Light infantry next came up, the Virginia militia or the Greatest part that were with Porterfield took to their heels, and left the men belonging to our Reg^t to stand the Attack of the whole light troops; which to their Honour they did for about five minutes, in which a warm and incessant fire was kept up—Col^o Porterfield then ordered a retreat, and in turning his horse about had his leg shattered by a musket ball, which struck him upon the shin Bone—After some time the firing ceased, our line was formed, and Half an Hour before sun rise the Enemy advanced—Our Army Drawn up in the same order as in their march, only that Gist's Brigade was on our Right, Smallwood's being formed in the Rear as a Corps Du reserve Immediately on the Enemy's driving in our Party in Front, Genl Stevens was ordered to advance & Attack their right, and

Gist with his Brigade to attack their left, the orders were immediately complied with, but upon the first fire the whole line of militia broke and ran ; the firing upon our right had begun ; I was there with Gen^l Gates, who perceiving the militia run, rode about twenty yards in the rear of the line, to rally them, which he found impossible to do there ; about half a mile further, Gen^l Gates and Caswell made another fruitless attempt, and a third was made at a still greater distance with no better success—Gen^l Smallwood, on Stevens advancing to the attack advanced to support him, and on the militia giving way, occupy'd the ground where the Right of Stevens, and the left of the N^o Carolina militia were drawn up ; this made a chasm between the two Brigades, through which the Enemy's Horse came and charged our rear ; the men to their Immortal Honour made a brave defence, but were at last obliged to give ground, and are allmost all killed or taken ; Gist's Brigade behaved like heroes, so did Smallwood's, but they being more to our left afforded us no opportunity of saving them ; upon Gen^l Gates Riding to stop the militia, Gist's Brigade charged Bayonets and at first made the Enemy give way, but they were reinforced—We owe all misfortune to the militia ; had they not run like dastardly cowards, our Army was sufficient to cope with them, drawn up as we were upon a rising and advantageous ground.—*Extract of Major McGill's letter to his father, copied at my desire by George Hite.*

III

GENERAL GREENE'S ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF CAMDEN

From the Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society, Vol. VI., 265

CAMP AT KENNEMARK, Sept. 5th, 1780.

Dear Sir,

We have just received the disagreeable intelligence of General Gates' defeat to the southward, with all the troops under his command. The action happened on the 16th of last month within a few miles of Camden, at which place the enemy lay, and to which place our troops were directing their march.

The two armies met in the night, and a little skirmishing ensued ; but the action was not serious until the morning. At daylight General Gates made the necessary disposition of his troops, consisting of between eight hundred and a thousand regulars, and about two thousand militia and some few horse. The enemy had from twelve hundred to fifteen hundred regular troops, and about one thousand militia.

Our militia gave way the first fire, and left the Continental troops to bear the brunt of the whole of the enemy's force, which they did with great spirit and bravery. General Gist, who commanded one of the Maryland brigades, repulsed the enemy with charged bayonets ; but the militia quitting their ground, let the enemy into his rear.

General Gates made several unsuccessful attempts to rally the militia, but they were so panic struck, it was all to no purpose, and the general was borne away on the road, and had the mortification to leave the Maryland line bravely engaged, without having it in his power to assist them, or even to tell what was their fate ; but as the firing ceased after he had got eight or ten miles in the rear, he supposes they must have been cut to pieces ; however, this is not certain by any means from any intelligence we have as yet received. Further particulars are hourly expected.



Reports come on with General Gates' letter, which say that both General Smallwood and Gist are slain, and that Baron de Kalb is wounded, but there is no authority for it.

We lost eight pieces of cannon, and doubtless all our baggage and stores. The militia dispersing and taking to the woods, few or none of them fell into the enemy's hands; but probably many of them might suffer greatly for want of provisions, and perhaps some might perish.

General Gates retreated one hundred and eighty miles in three days to Hillsborough, at which place he wrote to Congress of the misfortune which had befallen him.

This is a great misfortune; and the more so as that unfortunate country was too discouraged before to make any great exertions. However, it was beginning to recover itself, and some few days before the action we had gained several advantages, and taken several hundred prisoners.

It is high time for America to raise an army for the war, and not distress the country by short enlistments, and hazard the liberties of these States with an order of men, whose feelings, let their principles be ever so good, cannot be like those who have been long in the field.

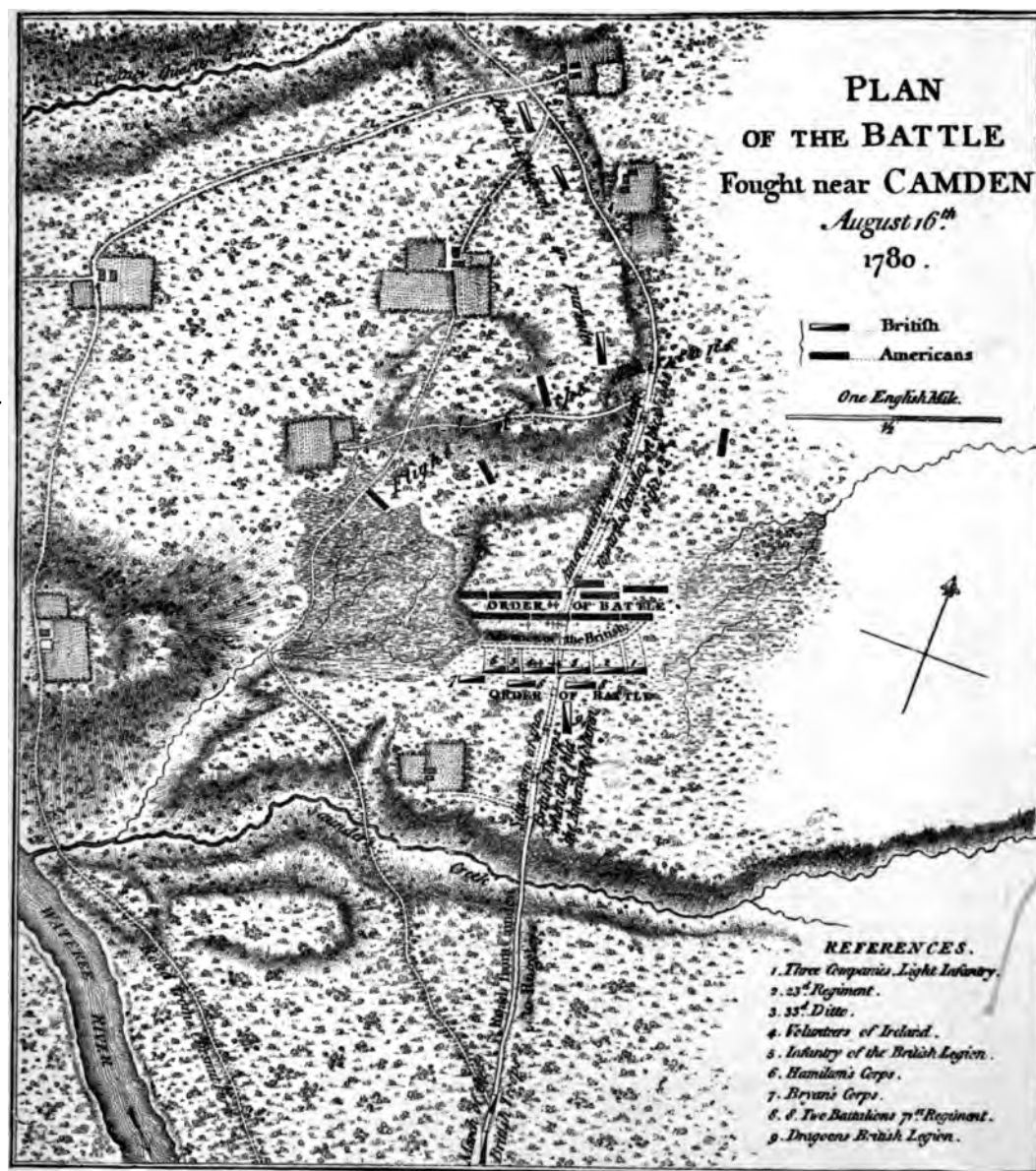
I am, with great respect,

your most obedient, humble servant,

NATH. GREENE.

N. B. I wish you not to have any part of this letter published, as the President of Congress did not think it proper to publish General Gates's letter until the arrival of further particulars.

To His Excellency Governor Greene.



Engraved for Stedman's History of the American War. Jan. 30. 1794.

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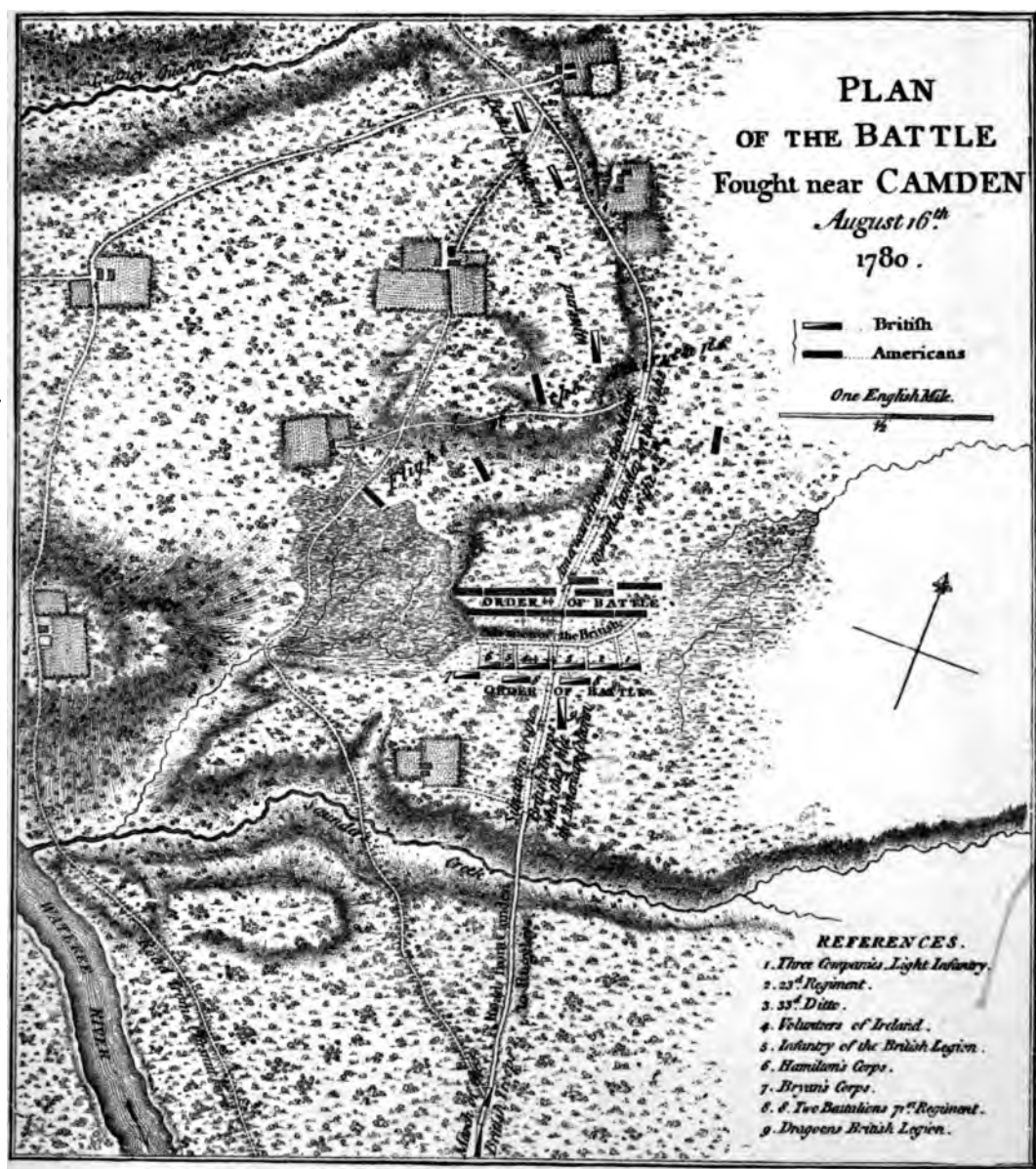
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Engraved for Stedman's History of the American War. Jan. 30. 1794.

No. 3

Fredericksburgh 4th July 1780

Sir,

The 29th Ultimo I had the Honor to receive Your Excellency's Pacquet dated the 16th June.—I have in Consequence wrote Governor Nash of North Carolina and inclosed him the Resolves of Congress as you directed, and a Letter with orders to Dep paymr Genl Clay to repair immediately to my Head Quarters with all the Warrants and Monies in his Possession where, he is also informed, he will receive his further Orders. I communicated the Resolve of Congress respecting Genl Weedon and Colonel Morgan, to those Gentlemen—they cheerfully acquiesced in obeying the Commands of Congress; but Colonel Morgan requests me to represent to Your Excellency, that the State of Virginia have appointed some Junior Officers to himself Brigadiers General who will take Command of Him, should he take the Field in his present Rank.—This is not only a galling Circumstance to so old and deserving an Officer, but must impede, and possibly entirely defeat my Intention, in placing Colonel Morgan at the Head of a Select Corps from whose Services I expect the most brilliant Success. Therefore I humbly entreat your Excellency, will move Congress to order a Commission to issue immediately, appointing Colonel Morgan a Brigadier General.—I am confident the Rank, the Services and the Experience of Colo Morgan is such as will prevent any officer, from thinking Himself aggrieved by His Promotion—I shall impatiently expect the arrival of this

Commission as I wish the Service in which I design to employ Colonel Morgan may meet with the least possible Delay.—I shall set out from hence early Tomorrow Morning, and hope to get to Richmond on Wednesday; where the Governor and Legislature are now sitting:—from thence I shall again address Your Excellency—I every Hour wish to receive the Answer of Congress in regard to what I wrote Your Excellency concerning the Commissary and Quarter Master's Departments.

I am &c

H[ORATIO] G[ATES]

To Saml Huntington Esqr
President of Congress

No. 4

Fredericksburgh 3d July 1780

Sir

I have the Honor to enclose certain Resolves of Congress, which I am ordered by that Honble Body to transmit to your Excellency—I hope to be at Richmond, Wednesday Evening or Thursday Morning at furthest being necessarily detained here until I have answered the Despatches of Congress I have received from the Northward, and settled some Matters with the public Officers in this Town—When I have consulted with the Governor and Council of this State at Richmond upon the proper Means of repelling the Invasion of these States,—I shall again do myself the Honor of addressing Your Excellency.—In the Mean Time, I am confident, the State under Your Command will be inspired to act with the utmost vigour in the Support of the Common Cause. I shall be happy to hear from Your Ex-

cellency by way of safe conveyance, being with Sentiments of great Respect and Regard

Your most faithful & obedient
hble Servant

H[ORATIO] G[ATES]
To His Excellency Governor [Nash]
of No Carolina

No. 5

Fredericksburgh 4th July 1780
Dear Genl Lincoln

The series of Misfortunes you have experienced, since you were doom'd to the Command of the Southern Department, has affected me exceedingly. I feel for you most sensibly.—I feel for myself who am to succeed, to what? To the command of an Army without Strength—a Military Chest without Money. A Department apparently deficient in public Spirit, and a Climate that encreases Despondency instead of animating the Soldiers Arm. I wish to save the Southern States. I wish to recover the Territories we have lost. I wish to restore you to your Command and to reinstate you to that Dignity, to which your Virtues, and your Perseverance, have so justly entitled you :—with me you have experienced that the Battle is not the strong. Poor Burgoyne in the pride of Victory was overthrown. Could the Enemy's Triumph over you, meet with the like Disgrace, I should be content to die in Peace, so might America be free and Independent; and its future Happiness under God rest solely upon Itself. You will oblige me very much by communicating any Hints or Information, which you think will be useful to me in my Situation. You

know I am not above Advice, especially where it comes from a good Head and a sincere Heart. Such I have allways found yours to be; and as such, shall always venerate and esteem both. I mean not by this to urge you to divulge Matters the obligation of your Parole of Honor, commands you to conceal; I only ask you for the knowledge you have acquired at the *Charte du pais*. The Whigs and Tories of the Southern States, and how you would advise me to conduct, in regard to all those. The Enemy I must judge of from what I see, and what I will by every Means endeavor to know

H[ORATIO] G[ATES]
To General Lincoln

No. 6

Richmond 9th July 1780

Sir

The Governor has acquainted me, that he every Hour expects an Answer to his Express to Congress (who had consulted His Excellency Genl Washington upon the Subject) what Regulation was to take place, as well in respect to the Officers and Soldiers of the Virginia Line, who were not captured at Charles Town; as those who are accounted supernumerary. Before the 15th of this Month you will most probably receive Letters and Directions how to proceed thereupon.

I am, &c
H[ORATIO] G[ATES]
To Brigadier Genl Muhlenberg

No. 7

Hillsborough 19th July 1780

Sir

The deplorable state of the Com-

misary and Quarter Master's Departments, and the entire Deficiency of Magazines, to supply the Southern Army, obliges me to request General Huger to be the Bearer of this Letter. His Zeal for the Public Service, anticipates my Wish, that he would be my Advocate with your Excellency and the Executive Power of the State, to supply our wants, by immediately establishing Magazines of Provisions and Forage, and properly organizing the Quarter Master General's Departments. Without these Things are done, our Army is like a dead whale upon the Sea Shore—a monstrous Carcass without Life or Motion. To be particular in representing the exact state of the two Departments, and how much each Wants of its due Supplies, would fill a Volume. Genl Huger has seen and knows them all; to him I beg leave to refer your Ex'y and the Council, for more minute Information. Can I hope that our Distress will move ye to come for a short Time to Hillsborough. Your appearance may operate advantageously, upon the Spirits of the Militia as well as be immediately necessary in establishing a System of Supplies. With proper Exertions, I have no doubt that the Enemy might be confined to Charles Town, and finally expelled from it; but on the contrary should Inactivity or Neglect continue; their Baleful Influence must be fatal to the Army, and ruinous to the Southern States. Before I finish my Letter I must request your Excellency will use your utmost Endeavors to supply 700 Tents for the Militia of your State. Virginia has promised instantly to forward a proper Number for her Troops.

The indispensable Necessity for this Article, is too striking, to need any Reasoning to enforce it. I have received no answer to the Letter I had the Honor to write your Excellency from Richmond. General Huger takes with him the Demand I have upon your Excellency from Congress, as well as that upon Virginia. I wish the Circumstances of your Treasury may be such as to enable you to answer both. General Huger will acquaint your Excellency with the Reason, I was not paid those Draughts upon the Treasury of Virginia.

I am, &c

H[ORATIO] G[ATES]

To Governor Nash

No. 8

Hillsborough 19th July 1780

Sir

In passing through Richmond in Virginia I was informed of the Appointment you held in this Department— It was my Intention to have written you from thence, but at once unacquainted with your Motives for remaining at Williamsburgh, and the Necessity of your Personal Attention here,—I put it off until I arrived at this Post, where I find an Hospital under the Direction of a Regimental Surgeon—without medicines or Stores of any kind— I also learn from the Army that with it there's no Hospital Establishment whatever, and that the Sick are but illy accommodated— I have now to request that you will repair to my Head Quarters immediately—with such other Gentlemen as fall within your Arrangement, and may be absent. Should any Acci-

dent prevent your complying with this order, you will give me as Early Notice of it as possible. I am Sir &c,

H[ORATIO] G[ATES]

To the Director of the Hospitals
in the So Department

No. 9

Hillsborough 19th July 1780

Sir

When I had the Honor of seeing your Excellency at Richmond, I was taught to look forward to much Difficulty and a perplexed Department—yet I cannot but profess that in the Course of a long and often critical Service, It has never hitherto fallen to my Lot to witness a Scene of such multiplied and encreasing Wants as my present command exhibits—of the Militia voted by your State—only 1438 are now upon the Ground, Commissioned and Non Commissioned Officers included, & those not so compleatly supplied as I either wished or expected—The Arms were yesterday distributed among them; a few out of repair,—but too many without Cartridge Boxes; and all destitute of Bayonet Belts; which I need scarcely tell your Excellency is the certain Loss of the Bayonet—They are deficient also in Hatchets or light Axes; this article you will find in the List of Military Stores, and one that becomes doubly necessary from the Face of the Country in which we shall act—These Defects are however but trifling when compared to the Weightier Considerations of Arms, Ammunition and Provision. This State is unhappily but too much at a Loss for the First—The Casualties of the Campaign may render

Issues necessary to the regular Troops, and such Volunteer Corps as I may find it expedient and practicable to embody—this leads me to press yr Excellency that, not only such Arms and Ammunition as you may allot us from the State Stores, but all Supplies from the Board of War, may meet with as immediate a Passage into this State as possible—Upon the Subject of Provisions—my Reports must be still less Satisfactory—An officer just from the Baron's Head Quarters has assured me that there are often Intervals of 24 Hours—in which the Army without Distinction are obliged to feed upon such Green Vegetables as they can find, having neither Animal Food or Corn.—So frequent and total a Want must eventually break up our Camp; should not the Evil be hastily remedied. This Scarcity has unfortunately arose from several Causes, one of which can alone be corrected. The Scarcity of Crops for the Last year. The Disaffection of many of the Inhabitants; and a want of Economy and Management—The Supplies have been precariously obtain'd by Detachments from the Army—whose misapplied Violence in some Instances must affect any future purchases.—I have this Day made a Representation of our Wants in this and other respects to Governor Nash—General Huger has taken charge of my Dispatch, and will Personally urge such Steps to be taken by the Council of this State, as in conjunction with those I cannot but hope for from your Excellency—may soon restore our Affairs, and enable me to prosecute my own Wishes and the Intentions of Congress.—I

cannot conclude this Letter without suggesting the Necessity that the 1000 Tents, for which I had your Excellency's Assurances, may be sent on without a Moment's Delay—and that Mr. Finnie, D. Q. M. Genl, may be ordered to repair to my Head Quarters immediately—a System of Communication will be settled,—at the Establishment of which he should necessarily be present. I have other Reasons also for wishing him here. I must also beg the Liberty of adding the very defective State of Maherrin Bridge; to the Representation I have already made of Pomunky and Petersburg Ferries, & hope these Objects, as they need the Redress, so they will meet with the Attention of your honorable Council.

I am &c

H[ORATIO] G[ATES]

To His Excellency Govr Jefferson

No. 10

Hillsborough 20th July 1780

Sir,

The last Letter I am honored with from your Excellency is dated the 21st Ulto with the Resolves of Congress of the 17th & 19th inclosed; those I immediately communicated to Govr Jefferson. I was unfortunate in finding the Treasury of Virginia without a single Dollar, near Two Millions having been sent to Congress, some few Days before my arrival at Richmond; and it is with deep Regret I find the like Deficiency in this State—without Money, without Provisions—without Tents—and without many Articles, which I shall enumerate to the Board of War;—I have before me the most unpromising Prospect my Eyes

ever beheld—but with the united and animated Endeavors of Virginia and North Carolina, I am yet in Hopes all may be saved—for indeed at present all seems in Danger.—My Letters of yesterday's Date to Governor Nash and Governor Jefferson, copies of which are inclosed, will in some Degree describe the Situation of Affairs in this Department—a very dismal Picture indeed! to which the inclosed Letter from Baron de Kalb, received yesterday, not a single Ray of Comfort is added. I can but do my best to support our tottering Fabrick this Way, confident that Congress will, with what is left of the Southern States, do their utmost to strengthen and maintain the army under my command. My dispatches being closed, I shall set out immediately from here to join the army at Coxe's Mill, about Fifty miles to the Westward. From thence Congress may again expect to hear from me. I cannot yet know for Certainty where Mr. Clay Depy paym Genl is; but somewhere in this State he must be. The immediate re-establishment of a Military Chest in this Department is the Sole Concern; and I doubt not will be the instant care of Congress. With sentiments of the Highest Regard &

I am

H[ORATIO] G[ATES]

To Saml Huntington Esquire

President of Congress.

No. 11

Hillsborough 20th July 1780

Sir

By this Time the Issue of your application to the Governor and Council of Virginia must be determined. I hope

favorably to your Wishes and mine. I look up to the Cavalry for many services, in a Campaign, which from our domestic Management as well as the supposed energetic operations of the Enemy, must be a Campaign of much hazard and some enterprise on our part. The Practicability however of mounting all your Dragoons, is I fear questionable; and upon an inquiry into our Force, I am led to confirm the Order which I presented to you at Richmond, for the Direction of your Conduct—that it may not be mistaken, I think proper, to repeat my Intentions; that upon making the necessary Representation to Governor Jefferson, of your wants—you will arm the Detachment lately at Petersburg, and march the whole from thence to Halifax; leaving an intelligent industrious officer to stimulate the State Agents in their Purchases. This officer will from Time to Time communicate their progress to you; and should they succeed in procuring any considerable Number at the End of a Month or Six Weeks, he may bring them forward to the Corps;—with such other additional supplies as may be obtained from the Government.—After mounting such Number of both Regiments at Halifax as the state of your Horses and Accoutrements will admit, you will proceed immediately to my Head Quarters, with such also as must act on Foot (being the Residue of both Regiments)—An Officer with a small party, taken from those least fit to go on, must remain with the Horses to be left—who will occasionally Report their state to you; and answer the other important Papers of quickening the Passage of your Supplies from Virginia.—

Mr. Long D Q M Genl shall have orders to afford you any assistance in his Line, to render your March easy and Expeditious. I am Sir &

H[ORATIO] G[ATES]

To Colonel White of the Light Dragoons

P. S. If from a scarcity of Arms at Richmond you cannot be provided there—some steps shall be taken to furnish you at this place.

No. 12

Hillsborough 20th July 1780

Sir :

My Letter to Congress of this Date, with the Inclosures, all which will doubtless be referred to your Honourable Board, will give you a thorough Information of the State of Affairs here—and convince the Board how much their aid and authority will be wanting to support and supply the Army in this Department When I arrived at Richmond in Virginia, I found the Outlines of a Laboratory beginning to be laid; which I hope will shortly be in some degree perfected; but the Board will not entirely depend on this, but send forward such Small Arm Stores as can be spared to Hillsborough. Five Hundred falling axes are absolutely necessary with the Army—this I have mentioned to Governor Jefferson—it may not be amiss in you to repeat it; and request his sending them properly packed to the Army—I know not how we are supplied with intrenching Tools; but those I will endeavor to get in this State. The Flints are bad, if better can be spared, send me 40,000 of such as are pick'd. The Stores you mention to have forwarded in your Letters of the 13th and 15th June, are not yet

arrived—but cannot be far from hence, by the Time they must have been upon Road. Inclosed is a Copy of a Letter to Colo White at Hallifax. I desire the Board of War will if possible, leave the Cavalry under His Command; without a Pretence for not returning to Camp.—I wish there appeared more Harmony between these gentlemen of the Cavalry and the Executive Council of Virginia—but indeed the Contrary is too apparent—it is nevertheless our Business, to strengthen the Files of the Southern Army as much as possible. Gibson's Brent's and the Remains of Buford's Regiments, are at Petersburg, and when they will be equip'd and march'd to the Army, I know not; all that I can do has been done, to spur up the State of Virginia, to put them also in Motion—A small Hint from Congress may facilitate this, and many other Matters.

As I have no answer to any Letter I have wrote you, since I rec'd the Orders of Congress to take command this way, I know not what is doing to supply the medical Department.—I yesterday wrote to Doctor Rickman, who lives near Williamsburgh, and ordered him to come and reside here, when the First General Hospital must be fixed. The Board will do well to enforce this Order, or see that some otherwise properly provided with a Director to the General Hospital of the Southern Army. Colonel Finnie, as I understand, the D. Q M Genl of the Southern Army; has rec'd my Orders, to repair to, and reside at Richmond, and to act from thence to Hillsborough in forwarding the carriages, and Stores & from thence to the Camp.—I do not know if he will quit his Residence at

Williamsburgh; if not, another should be instantly put in his Place.—One Hundred Waggon Continental Property should be immediately supplied this Army.—I am told Colo Hunter of Fredericksburgh would willingly furnish them upon Credit if the Board requests his doing it—This cannot too soon be done. I am earnest for the arrival of the Arms, and the Three Hundred and Sixty Thousand Musquet Cartridges, you mention in your Letter of the 13th Ultimo to be sending forward.

I am &c

H[ORATIO] G[ATES]

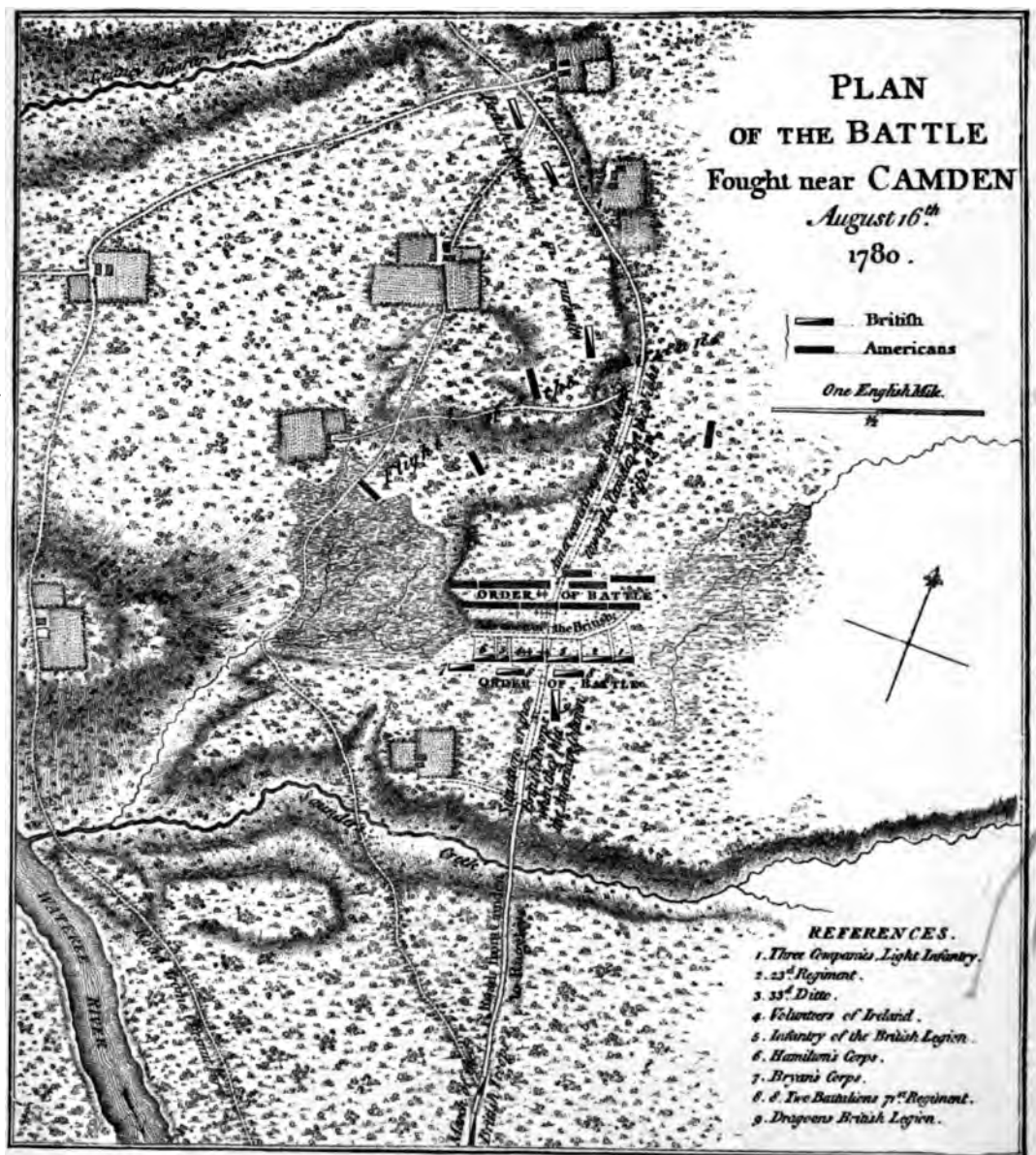
To the President of the Board of War
Philadelphia.

No. 13

Hillsborough 20th July 1780

Dear Baron

Yesterday I had the Honor to receive your obliging Letter of the 16th Instant, dated from your Camp on Deep River. I am astonished at your Distress, and Difficulties, and have ever since my arrival here, upon last Tuesday, been endeavoring to alleviate them. I have sent Despatches to the Governor and Executive Council of this State—to Governor Jefferson of Virginia and to Congress. In all these you may be satisfied, I have described our Real Situation, so that no Mistake may be entertained on that Head. Enough has already been lost in a vain defence of Charles Town, if more is sacrificed, I think the Southern States are undone; and this may go nearly to undo the Rest. I think all my writing Business will be finished to-day, if so, I shall set out To-morrow for Camp and hope to



Engraved for Stedman's History of the American War. Jan. 30th 1794.

left Virginia, and to whom intrusted—
as it carries exceedingly the appearance
of Neglect or Fraud

No. 16.

Hillsborough 20th July 1780

Sir

In a Letter from Baron de Kalb of the 16th Instant is the following Paragraph, "You may have met with a small Detachment of Colo Buford's Remains. I wanted to keep them with the Army, but wanting Arms and Cloathing, he insisted on marching them to Virginia, and promised me he would join in the beginning of July. I have not heard from him since." In the Difficulty of finding Arms and Cloathing I can find an Excuse for your Delay hitherto. Those Articles, I cannot but suppose are by this Time furnished; and in that belief, must convey my orders, that you join the Army under my Command as early as possible. But should any accident have arisen to prevent your Supplies, you will make such urgent application to the Executive Authority of the State, as the Necessity of the Case so clearly demands—and when prepared, lose not a Moment in coming forward. I can add Nothing upon the Subject of collecting your Men, in your passage hither, which your own Judgment will not suggest.

I am, &c

H[ORATIO] G[ATES]

To Colonel Buford

No. 17

Hillsborough 22d July 1780

Dear Sir

Provisions and carriages sufficient for the Troops under your Command being

prepared, you will at Day break on Monday Morning next, march from your present Encampment, by the most convenient Route for Cox's Mills, and from thence to the Grand Camp of the Southern Army. You will proceed by easy Stages, so as not to fatigue your Troops. Upon your last Halt previous to your joining the Army, you will despatch your Quarter Master to me, to receive Directions, where the Troops under your Command are to encamp. Confident that you will preserve the utmost Order and Regularity upon your March, practicing your Militia in that strict Discipline the same as is necessary in the Face of the Enemy, I forbear to trouble you with more particular Instructions. I only hint that as Nothing can have more pernicious Consequences, than suffering with Impunity any wanton Depredations, on the Inhabitants, our Friends and Fellow Citizens, that you will severely punish all who commit any outrages of that Sort.

I am, &c

H[ORATIO] G[ATES]

To General Stevens Virginia Militia

No. 18

Hillsborough 22d July 1780

Sir

I sent your Excellency a large Packet yesterday by Captain Pendleton of the Caroline County Militia; he was directed to leave it with the stationed Express on Roanoke near Taylor's Ferry, who had a Written Order to set out with it immediately for the next Stage. The Letter for the Congress Board of War, &c I conclude your Excellency will forward with the like Dis-

patch. This Morning Mr. Samuel Lewis appeared here with a large drove of Cattle, going with them to Charlotteville. The Troops here being entirely in Want, I have detained sixteen of them for your Militia under Genl Stevens. I perceive Mr. Lewis's contract is for Three Thousand Head, and he informs me they are all designed to be sent to Virginia. I beg your Excell'y will consider how enormous a Draught this is from a State already invaded, and where the Southern Army void of a Magazine is to be supported. I exceedingly approve of Mr. Lewis's Vigilance and Activity in procuring Cattle, but cannot help requesting the produce of this Industry may be applied to the Maintenance of the Army, or at least so large a proportion of it, as to leave us without the Reach of Want. I am happy to find by your Excellency's Letter to Colonel Monro, that the two Regiments of Cavalry with Gibson's, Brent's and Buford's Regiments are in a way to be pushed forward to Camp. The same Letter also informs me that Major Lee's Infantry are also on the March to join us. I beseech yr Excell'y to continue to leave all these Corps without a Reason for not joining the Southern Army; as soon as their Zeal for the Public Service will prompt them to do it. I am told there is a great deal of Tent Cloth in this State, I think at Willmington, Edenton, Hallifax and Cross Creek. Your Excy will doubtless by this Information be induced instantly to provide your Militia from thence. I despair of any Assistance from the Continental Board of War, in this Article, and request your Excell'y not to think

of it. I request the favor of yr Excell'y not to think of it. I request the favor of yr Excell'y to be particular in forwarding the inclosed to Mrs. Gates by the first safe conveyance; her letters to me will be sent addressed to your care. I am, &c

H[ORATIO] G[ATES]

To His Excellency Governor Jefferson

No. 19

Cox's Mills 25th July 1780

Sir

Last night I arrived at this Camp in consequence of a Resolve of Congress investing me with the command of the Southern Department. I beg leave to give you the earliest Notice thereof, and to communicate my wish that a System of future Operation may be forthwith determined upon. To fulfil that Intention, I am to request a Meeting of the General Officers at this place, on Thursday Morning next, and to entreat the favor that you, Genl Rutherford and Genl Harrington will attend. I am happy to acquaint you that the Virginia Militia, with such Continental Corps of Cavalry and Infantry as Congress have allotted to serve in the Southern Army, are in full March, and will speedily join us; and have also the satisfaction to think, that the Measures taking by the Executive Council of Virginia in conjunction with that of this State, will shortly relieve our Distress and put it amply in our Power to push the Enemy from their Advanced Posts. With sentiments of Esteem and Regard,

I am, &c

H[ORATIO] G[ATES]

To Major Genl Caswell

(North Carolina Militia)

P. S. I request the Favor of your immediate Answer by the Bearer, and that you will communicate the Contents of this Letter to Genl Rutherford.

No. 20

Head Quarters 27th July 1780

Sir

Major General Baron de Kalb has acquainted me that he has for some Days expected the Return of Fifteen Waggon, that were sent to Cross Creek about twelve Days ago. They were to load with Rum, Salt, and Corn; I wish to see those waggon or to know the Reason of their Delay. I cannot express the Anxiety I feel for the Want of a proper Supply of Flour—I wish you would exert yourself, and interest every Servant, and every good Whig, and Friend of the Public, to strain every Nerve to supply us.—A Letter I have this moment received from Major Genl Caswell informs me, that the Cry for Bread in his camp is full a loud as mine. I am confident your anxiety to serve your Country will lead you to do all that is possible to supply the Army.

I am &c

H[ORATIO] G[ATES]

To Peter Mallett Esquire
Comy Purchases

No. 21

Camp Kimborough 29th July 1780

Sir

I have the satisfaction to acquaint you that I arrived Here this morning with the Maryland Line &c. General Stevens with the Virginia Militia is about a Days march in my Rear.—This morning I sent an express to Genl Caswell,

and informed him that I should march on Monday Morning at 3 o'clock for Masque's Ferry. The Virginia Militia will follow immediately. I would fain receive yours as well as General Caswell's Opinion upon the circumstances, and State of the Enemy, by the Time I arrive at Masque's Ferry; and I desire Sir, that you will believe with him, that I shall be earnest that our joint and reciprocal Exertions, may be directed against the main body of the Enemy. Such Deserters as arrive from the Enemy's Regular Troops, I desire may be immediately sent to me.

I am, &c

H[ORATIO] G[ATES]

To Brigr Genl Rutherford

No. 22

Camp Kimborough

Saturday 29th July 1780.

Sir

Your favor of the 26th from Moor's Ferry I received the 27th in the evening at Spinks's 12 Miles West of Deep River. —The 28th I march'd to Cottons and this morning from thence here,—I now dispatch the Bearer to know where you and General Rutherford are at present encamped, and if you are at Colston's as I conceive you must be finding from your Letter to General de Kalb dated 23d July last (which however did not receive until the 25th at 4 P. M.) that you were marched from the Cross Roads; I immediately put the Troops in motion from Deep River, resolv'd to support you, and Genl Rutherford so did not waite for nor expect your obeying my summons to come to Cox's Mill.—Yesterday a Deserter from the 71st Reg-

iment arrived in my Camp at Cottons ; he assures me the Enemy evacuated the Cheraws, and all their outposts, quite to Camden, on Sunday Night last.—This is also confirmed by several others.—Whether the movements you have been making toward Peedee ; has occasioned the Enemy's Assembling at Camden, or Intelligence they have received from Sea, is uncertain.—Be that as it may, it is our Business to act as if the former alone was the Cause. I therefore request the Favour you will send me all the Intelligence in your power of Lord Cornwallis' Designs ; and your opinion what in the Circumstance, it is best for us to do. My Horses are so jaded and the Artillery and Baggage so far behind, that it will be impossible for the Maryland Line to march before Monday morning 3 o'clock.—General Stevens and the Virginia militia arrived only yesterday at Deep River. I cannot expect he will be here before Tuesday—he was even then distressed for Flour.

This General, Genl de Kalb has been the means in some Degree of relieving, by a Supply he had taken Measures to procure from the Moravians. This supply is also extended to the Troops here, or I know not how we should have been able to march forward—so clean Genl Rutherfords Troops and yours have swept this part of the Country.—Lord Cornwallis's collecting his Troops in One Body is perhaps a good Reason to us for doing the same ; but this Depends upon the Intelligence we may get, and many Circumstances that it is not necessary to particularize in a Letter.

I am &c H[ORATIO] G[ATES]
To Major General Caswell

No. 23

Circular

Head Quarters differt Dates in
July & Aug 1780

Sir

You will be pleased to forward to the District of the Militia Regiment which you Command (on Peede River in the State of So Carolina) and when you shall arrive there, you will give the fullest assurances in my Name to the Friends of the United States of America, that a Powerful Army is marching to their protection, and that such of them as from the Necessity of protecting their persons and property have been obliged to profess a temporary acquiescence under the British Government, shall be received with Forgiveness and Security provided they have not taken an active Part against the Friends of America, and are willing to testify their Affection to the Cause of Liberty by joining heartily when called upon, in the laudable Design of rescuing themselves and their Country, from the Miseries under which they now labour from the Oppression of the British Government ; but if any should be so lost to a Sense of Honor, and the Duty they owe their Country, as to maintain a different Conduct ; they alone will be to blame for whatever Consequences may ensue.—You will likewise Sir, be pleased to call out as many of your Regiment, as can possibly be spared, and march them immediately, as fully armed and accoutred as Circumstances will admit, to Head Quarters. The proportion to be called out I leave to your discretion, recommending to your consid-

eration that the Time is now arrived, for the State of South Carolina to exert every Nerve; and that we have the fairest prospect that their Efforts will be crowned with Success.

If there should be any Vacancies for Commissioned Officers in the Regiment of Militia which you Command occasioned either by Death, Absence, or Refusal to Act, you are hereby authorized and empowered to fill up such Vacancies, by Brevets Given under Your Hand and Seal, which shall be valid, until proper Commissions can be issued; when your Appointments shall be confirmed.

As it will be necessary to collect a large Quantity of Provisions for the Support of the Army under my Command—You are hereby authorized and empowered to give Certificates for the full value of such Grain and other provisions as you may purchase for this Purpose; which Certificates shall be regularly discharged by my Commissary General of Purchases—and if you shall not be able to purchase a sufficient Quantity, you have my Warrants to impress as much as you may judge necessary, leaving a sufficient Quantity for the Support of each Family, and giving Certificates for what shall be impressed. With Respect to such Persons as refuse to take up Arms under pretense of being on parole—none are to be considered in such Light, but the Prisoners under the Capitulation of Charles Town, and Fort Moultrie, regular officers and such of the Militia as were taken under arms in actual Service.— All others who shall neglect or refuse to obey your Summons, are to be considered as Default-

ers, and a List of their Names regularly transmitted to me, that I may take such Measures against them as may bring them to a Sense of their Duty.

H[ORATIO] G[ATES]

To Colonels Giles, Hicks, }
and Others; Officers of } Circular
Militia South Carolina }

No. 24

Camp Kimborough 30th July 1780

Dear Sir

Captain Paschke acquaints me, has been able to supply you with Flour, upon your Arrival at Coxe's; I am sorry you wanted it, as I was in Hopes that you would have been able to have brought with you from Hillsborough eight Days Allowance, besides what was necessary for the March there, but since it will no better be, I request you will march on with the most convenient Expedition.— The Desert affords Nothing, therefore the sooner we get through it the better.— By Deserters from the Enemy, Prisoners who have escaped from them, and Inhabitants who have come into my Camp, to receive Pardon for their Crimes; and ask protection from the power that prevails; I am informed that the Enemy retreated precipitately from Anson Court House, and the Cheraws, last Sunday Night—in consequence thereof I shall March with all possible Haste, and Endeavor all in my Power to push Lord Cornwallis into Charles Town— Sure of your Support in every Effort to defeat the Enemy I rest &c

H[ORATIO] G[ATES]

To Brigadier Genl Stevens

No. 25

Camp Kimborough 30th July 1780
4 P. M.

Dear Sir

I am honored by the Receipt of yours by Genl Harrington dated Yesterday from Anson Court House, I am happy your Sentiments so perfectly agree with mine; that a speedy Junction of our Whole Force should be directly affected; and it adds to my Satisfaction, that you have ordered General Rutherford immediately to join you at Ancram's Plantation. The Congress, the So States, and Genl Washington do earnestly wish that no more Capital Misfortunes may befall us to the Southward, to prevent that, I shall march by the direct Route to Andersons and hope there to fall in with you and General Rutherford. General Stevens with the Virginia Militia shall have Orders to follow me forthwith, and I desire you will instantly send to Genl Butler (whose Route I am unacquainted with) to march by the shortest Road to Andersons.— General Harrington (with whom I have great Pleasure in being acquainted) is in Sentiment with me in this Determination; and will at my Request relate to you the Conversation we have had upon the Subject.

I am &c

H[ORATIO] G[ATES]

To Major Genl Caswell

No. 26.

Camp Westside Mask's Ferry
2d August 1780

Dear Sir

A prodigious heavy Gust having overtaken us yesterday in crossing the Ferry,

we are detained here this Day, as it will be impossible to cross all the Artillery and Baggage before this Night.

Upon your marching from Masque's Ferry, I desire you will establish a Guard of a Major, Two Captains, Six Subs, Six Sergeants and two Hundred Rank and File, to guard the Ferry. The Major should receive your orders to keep a small Guard upon the Banks of the River on each side, and post his Main Body at some House upon the high ground on the West Side of the River.— You will also direct him to send small Parties up and down the River to collect all the Flats, Boats & Pettiaugers that are not immediately requisite at some particular Ferry upon a Main Road leading from the Eastward.— I impatiently wish to hear from you, and still more to see you and yours— I have not yet received a Line in Answer to the Letters I wrote you.

I am &c

H[ORATIO] G[ATES]

To Brigadier Genl Stevens

P. S. What News have you from the Eastward? I have none since I left Richmond, which astonishes me.

No. 27

The West Side Mask's Ferry
Thursday 3d August 1780

Dr Sir

I should have been glad to have received a Line in Answer to the Letter I wrote you by General Harrington, to have been certain that you would meet me at Anderson's; it would have relieved my Mind from many anxieties;— as it is I suffer every Distress for want of Provisions, and know not if I can

expect any Relief where I am going ; from you— General Rutherford and your Command have gleaned the Country on both Sides of the River ; and the Virginia Militia stick in my Rear, and devour all that comes forward.— This is a Mode of conducting War I am a stranger to— The Whole should support and sustain the Whole, or the Parts will soon go to Decay— General Caswell's Zeal for the Public Service will induce him to consider my Situation, and be explicit in acquainting me how far in my present Distress I can depend upon him. I conclude General Rutherford has obeyed your Order, and that he is now with you.— The heavy Rains since General Harrington left me has delayed us so much that the Artillery Stores & Baggage will only be on this side the Ferry by 9 o'clock this Morning, when I shall instantly march (in the firm expectation of finding you there) to Anderson's— I also earnestly expect from you a supply of Provisions.

I am &c,

H[ORATIO G[ATES].

To Major General Caswell

No. 28

West Side of Peedee near Masque's
Ferry 3d August 1780

Sir

I had the honor to address yr Excellency from Hillsborough the 19th ultimo by General Huger. The Distress this Army has suffered, and still Continues to suffer, for Want of Provisions has perhaps destroyed the finest Opportunity that could be presented of driving in the Enemy's Ad-

vanced Posts, in all likelihood even unto Charles Town. Lord Cornwallis is believed to be gone to Savannah,— has weakened his Main Body at Camden, where Lord Rawdon commands, and withdrawn the Troops from Augusta, Cheraw and Anson Court House.— I am astonished that I have no Intelligence of any Flour coming to me from the Interior part of the State. Your Exy cannot believe this miserable Country (already Ravaged by the Enemy, & gleaned by the Militia under the Generals Caswell and Rutherford) can afford an Handful to me.— I must believe from your Excellency's Letter, in answer to mine from Richmond, that you had thus done all you thought necessary to provide us.— I am anxious that this Letter should find your Excellency and the Executive Council at Hillsborough, exerting all your Authority and Influence to supply your almost famish'd Troops— Flour and Rum are the Articles most in request in this Climate, which bad water contributes to render more unwholesome— Rum is as necessary to the Health of a Soldier as good Food— Without these, full Hospitals and a thin Army will be all that your State or the Congress can depend upon in the Southern Depart—for my own part, I have never lost one Moment in pressing the Army forward from the Instant I join'd it to this Moment ; and when I can do more, more shall be done— Depend not, Sir, upon Commissaries, they will deceive you—depend only upon honest Men of sound Whig Principles—and whose Souls are superior to sordid Gain— General Stevens, with the Virginia Militia, is halted at

Buffalo Ford, Fifty Miles in my Rear, and cannot proceed for Want of Provisions— I march To-morrow at Day-break. I am &c,

H[ORATIO] G[ATES]
To Governor Nash.

P S General Rutherford's Division have Tents— I hope those I wrote for to your Excellency are in a fair Way to be sent forward.

No. 29

Camp Masks' Ferry West side of Peedee
3d August 1780

Sir

I have not received any answer to the Letters I had the Honor to write Your Excellency from Hillsboro. Since I joined the Army upon Deep River, my Distress has been inconceivable, of which the enclosed Copy of a Letter of this Days Date to Governor Nash will Convince your Excellency. I wish I could say the Supplies from Virginia had been a reproval to North Carolina. I am ashamed to say, their Backwardness rather countenances, than disgraces, their Sister State. What can the Executive Councils of both States believe will be the consequences of such unpardonable Neglect. I will yet hope your Excellency is doing all in your Power to supply your half starved Fellow Citizens. Flour, Rum and Drovers of Bullocks should without Delay be forwarded to this *Army*, or the Southern Department will soon want *one* to defend it. It has rained furiously for several Days, and our Militia are still without Tents; therefore I expect Desertions and the Hospital will speedily

leave Genl Stevens without any Command. I wish I could present your Excellency with a more pleasing Account of the Public Affairs this Way, but the Duty I owe to the United States obliges me to represent Things truly as they are. Colonel Harrison of the Artillery has been severely wounded in the Leg by a kick from a Horse, which splintered the Bone; he was left at Buffalo Ford on Deep River, and I am this day informed, is worse than when I parted from him. As the Time of his Recovery is uncertain, I beg the favor of your Excy to acquaint Lt Colo Carrington that it is my orders he forthwith join this Army. I would also request your Excellency to order One Hundred Copies of the enclosed Proclamation to be immediately struck off and sent me by the Return of this Express.

I am, &c

H[ORATIO] G[ATES]
To Governor Jefferson

No. 30

Peedee 3d August 1780

Sir

The Governor will acquaint you with the Reason for my desiring your immediate Attendance in Camp, at the Time of writing to him, I was too much engaged to write to you particularly.

Before you leave Richmond, I desire you will see all the Musket Cartridges prepared and the Flints I mentioned to you sent forward with a Conductor. I hope to see you as soon as possible being with sentiments of Esteem, &c

H[ORATIO] G[ATES]
To Lieut Colonel Carrington of Artillery

will be exerted to obtain success in a Conquest, that must redound so much to your Honor and prove in its Consequences so beneficial to the United States.—I must likewise recommend to your particular Attention the Situation of those unfortunate Men who have been obliged to take the Oath of allegiance to the then prevailing Power of Great Britain—to whom you will be pleased to follow the Line of Conduct laid down in my Letter of Instructions to the officers Commanding Militia Regiments in this State.—In a firm Belief that you will do everything that the best officer can do to obtain success,

I rest &c

H[ORATIO] G[ATES]

To General Harrington

No. 37

Head Quarters near Anderson's Creek
Cross Roads, 7th Augt 1780

Dear Colo

After a rapid March of Forty Miles in two Days, we have arrived within Fourteen Miles of the Enemy's Post at Lynch's Creek, but they have prudently thought proper to decamp last night for Camden. We here form'd a junction with Major Genl Caswell whose numerous Division is well found well arm'd and accoutred and eager for Action.—Upon the Whole we form an army fully sufficient to drive our late insulting Foes to Charles Town, without the considerable Reinforcements which are coming up.—General Gates (who now commands in chief in the Southern Department) desires to be particularly acquainted with your Situation, and any Late Intelligence you may have collected. He would

therefore be glad if you would send him a Confidential Officer, well instructed upon the necessary Points, immediately —If you should not be able to spare an Officer, you will be pleased to write fully, but so as to be calculated for accidents —The State of Provisions in your neighborhood, should be particularly attended to, and Intelligence concerning it, immediately sent. I am &c

By order of Genl Gates,

Pinckney, Major

To Colonel Sumpter.

No. 38

Camp Lynch's Creek

8th August 1780

Sir

You will be pleased to proceed immediately on the Rout which the Enemy have taken, with the Virginia Troops, the Light Infantry of General Caswell's Division, and the Detachment of Cavalry which is ordered to join you, under your Command. Your object will be to hang upon the Enemy's Rear ; to harrass them as much as lies in your Power, and to take every Advantage which Circumstances may offer.—I place so entire a Confidence in your Military Abilities, Prudence and Courage, that I leave the conduct of your operations altogether to your own Discretion, not doubting that you will distress the Enemy as much as lies in your Power ; without hazarding too much the Troops under your Command. I shall order a Body of 600 men to march early in the evening to support your Detachment.—A Deserter who is lately come in, gives Intelligence that the Enemy halted this Morning on an Eminence four miles beyond Little

Lynch's Creek ; where they purpose to remain till the cool of the Evening.

[I am &c]

H[ORATIO] G[ATES]

To Colonel Porterfield

No. 39

Head Quarters 9th August 1780

Sir

The Object to be effected by the Detachment under your Command, is to support Lt Colo Porterfield, who is advanced with a Body of Light Troops, to harrass the Enemy's Rear. You will therefore be pleased to proceed Six Miles, on the Road leading to Camden by Little Lynch's Creek ; where you will take an advantageous Position, and remain till you shall receive further Orders from me, or shall find it necessary to advance in support of Colonel Porterfield. Colonel Senf, Chief Engineer will proceed, with a Party to reconnoitre the Ground and fix an Encampment for the Army ; to which I shall advance as soon as the whole is in a proper situation to march. [I am, &c]

H[ORATIO] G[ATES]

To Colonel Hall

No. 40

Head Quarters American Army

So Dept

9th August, 1780

Sir

The Baron de Kalb has communicated to me a Letter which he had the Honor of receiving from Your Lordship, on the subject of Captain McCallister's Conduct while within your Lines with a Flag of Truce. The Accusation gave me much pain—from which I was happy in being released, by Captain McCallis-

ter's Explanation of his Transactions. The Letter address'd to Mr. Rugely on which the Suspicions were chiefly founded, he assures me was Nothing more than a short Introductory Letter unsealed, from Major Pinckney of South Carolina to Mr. Rugely, recommending Captain McCallister to the Common Offices of Hospitality, from which the Character he was in, certainly did not preclude him—and of which the Want of Public Accommodations upon the Road induced him to make Use of. On Capn McCallister's Arrival at Mr. Rugely's, escorted by one of your officers, he delivered the Letter in Question to a Lady, whom he mistook for Mrs. Rugely, but on being apprized of his mistake, desired her to restore it, with a View of delivering it to Mr. Rugely, if he should meet with him. Major Pinckney, who is now in my Family, likewise assures me that he gave a Letter to Captain McCallister to the above purport, and contained nothing more. With respect to discourses held by this Gentleman with any Person within your Lines, he declares that he spoke with nobody whatever unless by your Lordship's Permission with Doctor Charlton, in presence of a british Officer—and to some Persons on the Road, who came up and address'd him, in presence and within hearing of the Officer who was sent to escort him. I have thought it necessary to be thus particular in the Detail of Circumstances, as well for the Honor of the American Army, as to obviate any Imputation which may be cast on a Young Gentleman of Character, who has received Marks of Favor from Congress, for his distinguished Exertions in the

all possible Despatch hither :—to endeavor to fall upon some Plan, in conjunction with the Legislature of this State, for the Defence of so much thereof as it is yet possible to save from the Enemy—I shall immediately Despatch a Flag to Lord Cornwallis to know the Situation of our wounded—the number of Prisoners and Condition in his Hands—I Send this Letter open to the Governor of Virginia, that he may take proper measures in the present Emergency. He will Seale and forward it immediately by the Bearers Colo Senf and Major Magill my Aid de Camp—who are well acquainted with all the Circumstances of my march, from where I joined General de Kalb, to the unfortunate Hour of the Defeat. The Distresses of the Campaign previous thereto, almost exceed Description. Famine, Want of Tents for the Militia, and of every Comfort necessary for the Troops in this unwholesome Climate, has no doubt, in a Degree, contributed to our Ruin. Had it been practicable to have rallied the Militia at any given Distance from the Field of Battle, and could I have even Collected Ammunition and a Magazine ; there was no making a Post properly defencible ; as I had not any Intrenching Tools—a Want which I so long represented. We lost only Eight Pieces of Cannon in the Action. Baron de Kalb having been obliged to leave the Rest on the East Side of Roanoak, and at Hillsborough, but most assuredly the small arms are gone, for those that the Enemy did not take are carried off by the Militia. I mention this that proper Measures may be taken to supply Arms. It is a considerable Consolation to my

Mind, that I never made any Movement of Importance, or took any considerable measure, without the consent and approbation of all the General officers, and particularly in the Night of the 15th, after the First attack of the Enemy—they gave their unanimous opinions, that there was no retreating with Safety, and that a Battle must be fought at all Events.—Seized with a violent Disorder, occasioned by the Fatigues I have undergone, I must entreat the Indulgence of Congress, for the defects of this Letter, and have therefore sent Colonel Senf Chief Engineer and my Aid de Camp Major Magill to answer any Questions and clear up every Doubt, that can be suggested—to whom I beg leave to refer your Excellency and that Honble Body. With Sentiments of the greatest Regard & Respect &c

H[ORATIO] G[ATES]

To the President of Congress

No. 43

Hillsborough 22d August 1780

Dear Genl

Upon my Arrival at Charlotte the Night of the 16th Instant, I reflected there were neither Army Ammunition or Intrenching Tools, and that to think of maintaining that post without these was risking a Second Loss perhaps greater than the First. I therefore resolved to proceed directly hither, to give Orders for assembling the Continental Troops on the March from Virginia, to direct the Three Corps of Horse at X Creek to cover the stores &c there, and to urge the Resources of Virginia to be drawn forth for our Support. I also have forwarded some Volunteer Horse

towards P. D. and upon other Roads Westward, to succour our People and Waggon retiring from the Enemy. Captain Richmond informed me last night you had halted at Charlotte, and was assembling Militia there. I may be mistaken but with all deference to your opinions I think Salisbury a better Position; as it brings our Force, and that what we hope to collect, more within supporting Distance of each other, and certainly covers the Country more effectually. Now should the Enemy march out with a superior force to Charlotte, wanting the proper Means of Defence, you must be obliged to retire, which I hope you will then be able to do towards Salisbury. I hope Colonel Sumpter is yet on the West Side of the Wateree, as I am confident he gives the Enemy infinitely more jealousy by remaining there, than he can possibly do by joining you, for in that Case they would have only one Object to attend to. My Despatches to Congress, the Governor of Virginia, &c, went off yesterday by Colonel Senf and Major Magill. Governor Nash, the Speaker of Assembly, and part of the Legislature, are assembled here. I have conferred with them, and believe such powers will be immediately lodged in the Executive Council as will be absolute for the Time. Mr. Mallet declines taking any more State Paper, or acting officially as a State Commissary Genl. I shall therefore deposite in His Hand such Draughts, &c as will enable him to carry on the Business upon the Continental Account. Whatever you recommend upon this Head, I will do, and your opinion of the places where pro-

vision and carriages should be collected shall have full Weight with me—for the present I have mentioned Salisbury, Hillsborough and X Creek, and the East Side of Taylor's Ferry, but as the last depends upon Virginia, I have recommended that Measure to the Executive of that State. While I continue in office will exert my utmost to serve the public Interest, but as unfortunate Generals are most commonly recalled, I expect that will be my Case, and some other Continental General of Rank, sent in my Place to Command. When he arrives I shall give him every Advice and Information in my power—in the Mean Time I doubt not Sir, that the Candour and Friendship, that has subsisted between us, will continue, and that you are infinitely superior to the ungenerous Custom of the many who without benefiting themselves constantly hunt down the unfortunate. I shall be happy to hear from you by the First Express—who, you will be careful, is properly escorted.—Every Reinforcement from Virginia and the Eastern Parts of this State shall be collected, and your opinions in the Disposal thereof, shall have due Weight.

I am, &c

H[ORATIO] G[ATES]

To Major General Caswell

No. 44

Hillsborough 24th August 1780

Dear General

Upon my Arrival here, I instantly Despatched Messengers to Congress, to the Governor of Virginia, and to every Post and Person that the Public Service required to be sent to. Upon consult-

ing with the Governor and Executive of this State I am convinced it is highly proper I should immediately determine to make this place the General Rendezvous of the Southern Army, from whence and only from whence we can be provided with what is absolutely necessary, for our Acting offensively or defensively as occasion shall offer. I must therefore request you will March the Maryland Line, and such of the Artillery Officers and Men, as may be with you, by the Rout of Guilford Court House, directly to Hillsborough. I am happy, as my misfortunes will permit me to be, in hearing of yours and Gest's Safety, and so many of my ever Honored Continental Friends have escaped from the Enemy.

I am, &c

H[ORATIO] G[ATES]

To Brigadier Genl Smallwood

No. 45

Hillsborough 27th August 1780

Sir

I have this Moment seen your Letter of the 22d Inst to Govr Nash, and finding from thence, that you are in a condition to make a stand upon the East Side of the Yadkin, near the Ford, I revoke my orders to you in my Letter of the 24th Inst and request you will continue in that Position. I have a Letter dated the 12th of this Month from Governor Jefferson; he writes therein that General Muhlenberg had just equipped 500 Continental Troops who would march in a Day or two to join the Southern Army. I shall send an Express to meet them, and order the Commanding officer to march directly to the

Yadkin. The instant he arrives you will march hither to be equip'd. I have sent Purchasers to every Place, where anything that is proper for Cloathing the Continental Troops can be procured. My respectful Compliments waite on General Gist and the Gentlemen of the Maryland Line.

I am, &c

H[ORATIO] G[ATES]

To Brigadier Genl Smallwood

P. S. 234 of the Continental are come into this place.

No. 46

Hillsborough 28th August 1780

Sir

It was only yesterday that I had the Honor to receive your Excellency's Letter from Philadelphia, dated the 6th July last— I am happy to acknowledge it so immediately— I shall in a few Days write very circumstantially, and particularly upon the Subjects your Excellency wishes to have explained— In the mean Time I must beg you to have reference to my Letters to Congress and General Washington, which President Huntington will Communicate to your Excellency— We have had a severe Rebuke, but our affairs are by no means desperate— Long before the great decisive Strokes are struck at New York and in the West Indies—all will be reinstated in this Quarter— Your Excellency is both a Soldier and a Politician, but it hardly comes within your Experience or your reading to match the Variety of Wants and Difficulties I have met with in this Campaign— The fall of that excellent Officer, the Baron de Kalb—so much to be regretted by

France and the United States, has made my Misfortunes more poignant, but I believe the Day is fast Approaching when our Enemies will have little Reason to rejoice in the Victory they have gained.

Colonel Malmady requests I would make him the Bearer of this Letter—but he has no further Commission from me to your Excellency. With Sentiments of the highest Esteem, &c.,

H[ORATIO] G[ATES].

His Excellency

Le Chevallier La Luzerne.

No. 47

Head Quarters 29th August 1780

Sir.

By this Flag I take the Liberty to request your Lordship will please to permit the Bearer, Doctor Johnson, Physician and Surgeon of the General Hospital of the Army, and Captain Drew, of Lt Colo Porterfield's Corps, to visit and attend the Sick and Wounded Officers and Soldiers that were taken by your Lordship in the Action of the 16th inst, and afterwards from Colonel Sumpter— Both of these Men are of strict honor and probity, and I can be answerable they will not in any the Smallest Instance forfeit the Indulgence you are pleased to grant them— I must further entreat the Favor that your Lordship will please to permit Lieut. Colo Dubuysson, Aid de Camp to the Baron de Kalb, to go to Philadelphia upon Parole, as he has the Baron's Dying Directions with Regard to his private Family Concerns as well in France as America— The Baggage and Papers belonging to the Baron are sent thither,

where they are to remain until Colonel Dubuysson's Arrival— I am to thank your Lordship for the Attention and Tenderness with which Captain Hamilton assures me the Wounded and Prisoners have been treated at Camden— It has been an invariable Rule with me to observe the like Generous Lenity to all that have fallen into my Hands. Of this Fact Doctor Macnamara Hayes is a good Evidence

With Sentiments of high Respect &c,

H[ORATIO] G[ATES],

M Genl & Comr in Chief

Southern Army.

To Lord Cornwallis.

No. 48

Hillsborough 30 August 1780

Sir

I have the Honor to enclose you for the Perusal of Congress my Letter of this Date to General Washington— I beg it may be Sealed and sent with the First Despatch to His Excy.— I have made application to this State and Virginia for each of them to furnish the Articles mentioned in the inclosed List. The Govr and Legislature of this State will meet here this Day— I have the strongest Assurances from Governor Nash that my Requisition will without Hesitation be complied with. I leave the Vote of Men to be raised entirely to the States, thinking they will not in the present Emergency require any Incentive more pressing to prevail upon them to provide sufficiently for the public Service— I must request Congress will make such a Requisition from the State of Maryland as they can most conveniently comply with consistent

with the Damands for the supply of the Main Army and the Fleet of our Allies—as there is a ready Navigation to Petersburg in Virginia from all parts of Chesapeak Bay and River Potowmack— Such Grain and Corn as can be spared for the So Army may at Times be safely sent there— In answer to a Letter from his Excy the Ambassador of France, which I received the Day before yesterday, I have refered him to Yr Excy for the Perusal of my Letter to Congress and Genl Washington, and acquainted the Chevallier that I shall in a few Days endeavor to answer him very particularly, to all and every Part of his Letter to me. This Letter goes with a flying Seal, open to the Governor of Virginia; he will peruse and forward it to Yr Excellency.

I am &c,

H[ORATIO] G[ATES].

To His Excellency
the President of Congress

No. 49

Hillsboro 30th August 1780

Sir

The inclosed Pacquets for Congress and General Washington I send with flying Seals, that you may peruse them; but I must request they may not be delayed, but sent forward with the utmost Despatch to Philadelphia.—Your Excy will please to be careful to put the proper papers to each, in the right cover, and seale only the cover you send them in to Congress. •The Requisition addressed to your State I cannot but believe will as soon as possible be furnished. This State, Governor Nash assures me, will not hesitate an instant in supplying their

Part. General Stevens informs me he has wrote frequently since our unfortunate Defeat to your Exclly—he marched from hence yesterday, with what remained of your Militia (about 400) they are to be stationed for a Time at Guildford Court House. Four Hundred deserted in the last two Days they were here—and the General is apprehensive, he shall very soon be left by many of those that went with him from hence—In your Letter of the 12th Instant you mention 500 Regulars, being just fitted, and ready to march from Petersburg. I wish they were here—but as yet I have no Intelligence of their being upon the march.—I beg Sir, they may be expedited to this Place. I shall do my utmost to procure the best Intelligence of the Motions of the Enemy—of which Sir you may depend upon my giving the earliest Information in my power.

I am &c

H[ORATIO] G[ATES]

To His Excy Governor Jefferson.

No. 50

Hillsborough 30th August 1780

Sir

My public Letter to Congress has surely been transmitted to yr Exclly— Since then, I have been able to collect authentic Returns of the killed wounded and missing of the Officers of the Maryland Line, Artillerist and those of the Legion under Colo Armand. They are inclosed. The Militia broke early in the Day, and Scattered in so many Directions upon their Retreat, that very few have fallen into the Hands of the Enemy. —By the Firmness and Bravery of the Continental Troops the victory is far

from Bloodless on the part of the Foe ; —they having upward of 500 men with officers in proportion killed and wounded. I do not think Lord Cornwallis will be able to reap any advantage of consequence from his Victory ;—as this State seems animated to re-instate and support the Army. Virginia I am confident, will not be less patriotic—and by the joint Exertions of the two States, there is good Reason to hope, that should the Events of the Campaign be prosperous to your Excellency ; all South Carolina might be again recovered. Lord Cornwallis remained with his Army at Camden, when I received the last accounts from thence ;—I am cantoning ours at Salisbury, Guilford, Hillsborough and Cross Creek. The Marylanders and Artillerists, with the General Hospital, will be here. The Cavalry near Cross Creek and the Militia to the westward. This is absolutely necessary, as we have no Magazines of Provisions, and are only supplied from Hand to Mouth—Two Days after the Action of the 16th ulto—Fortune seems determined to continue to distress us—for Colonel Sumpter, having marched near Forty Miles up the River Wateree, halted with the Waggons and Prisoners he had taken the 15th. By some Indiscretion the men were surprised cut off from their arms—the whole routed, and the Waggons and Prisoners retaken.

What encouragement the numerous Disaffected in this State may give Lord Cornwallis to advance further into the Country ; I cannot yet say. Colonel Sumpter since his Surprise and Defeat upon the West Side of the Wateree, has reinstated and increased his Corps to

upward of 1000 men. I have directed him to continue to harass the Enemy upon that Side. Lord Cornwallis will therefore be cautious how he makes any considerable movement to the Eastward, while this Corps remains upon his Left Flank—and the Main Army is in a manner cantoned on his Front. Anxious for the Public Good I shall continue my unwearied Endeavors to stop the Progress of the Enemy—to reinstate our affairs—to recommence an Offensive War, and recover all our Losses in the Southern States. But if being unfortunate is solely a Reason sufficient for removing me from Command I shall most cheerfully submit to the Orders of Congress ; and resign an office few Generals would be anxious to possess—and where the utmost skill and Fortitude is so subject to be baffled by the difficulties which must for a Time, surround, the Chief in Command here.

That your Excellency may meet with no such Difficulties—that your Road to Fame and Fortune may be smooth and easy is the Sincere wish of &c &c

H[ORATIO] G[ATES]

To His Excellency Genl Washington.

P. S. Your command in respect to the Virginia Line shall be obeyed.

No. 51

Hillsborough 31 August 1780

Sir

I had the Honor to receive your Letter of 1st Inst., with that from His Excellency Genl Washington inclosed, dated 18th July. I am glad you opened the General's Letter, as it gave you the earlier his directions for the Re-establishment of the Virginia Line—lest

there should be any Mistake, I now return you His Excellency's Letter, and request that you will with the nicest Exactness obey his Orders. The Governor acquainted me in his Letter of the 12th Instant that 500 Continentals, under Colonel Gibson, would be ready to march in a few Days to join this Army— I desire, Sir, no Time may be lost in pushing forward this Reinforcement, as we are in great Want of them. I pray you to repeat your Orders to Colonel Gibson upon this Head — and shall be much obliged to you to inform me from Time to Time the progress you make in collecting the New Levies.

With sentiments &c,
H[ORATIO] G[ATES].
To General Muhlenberg

II

ORDERS ISSUED BY MAJOR GENL GATES
WHILE COMMANDING THE SOUTH-
ERN ARMY, JULY 26TH TO
AUGUST 31ST

1780

Communicated by Thomas Addis Emmet, M. D.

HEAD QUARTERS BUFFALO FORD

July 26th 1780

Parole, The United States. *Countersign*,
Bourbon.

Of the Day Tomorrow, . . Colonel HALL.

The standing orders of Major General de Kalb to be obeyed. The Troops to hold themselves in readiness to march at an Hour's warning.

The Army may be satisfied that such Measures are taken, and have for some time past been taking by Congress and

the Executive Authority of all the Southern States from Delaware inclusive, that plenty will soon succeed the late unavoidable Scarcity— Provisions, Rum, Salt, and every Requisite will flow into Camp, which shall then with a liberal Hand be distributed to the Army.

The General thanks the Troops for the Patience and perseverance with which they have endured the wants and hardships of the preceding part of the Campaign, and is satisfied that the future will add still more Lustre to the Renown they have acquired, and give Glory and Triumph to the American Arms.

The General congratulates the Army upon the amazing Efforts making by our High Allies in the West Indies and Europe, and in Conjunction with His Excellency Genl Washington's Army against New York, everywhere superior in Ships and Men, there is every Reason to Hope that this Campaign will decide the War, and give peace and Freedom to the United States.

As great Bodies of Militia are in full March from all Quarters to join the Army, the General earnestly recommends it to every Officer and Soldier in the Continental Service, to show the utmost Cordiality and Brotherly affection to them. Citizens, who not only contribute to every Expence of War, but do also upon every pressing Emergency fly to Arms in defence of their invaded Country, deserve every Kindness, and will doubtless meet with every Friendly Indulgence from disciplined Troops.

All Parties detached from the Army are to be called in immediately.

The First Maryland Brigade furnishes the Captain's Picquett tomorrow.

Each Brigade of the Maryland Division will form a Camp Guard of a Subaltern's Command.

The Second Maryland Brigade will furnish a Subaltern's Guard for the Commander in Chief Tomorrow.

AFTER ORDERS

July 26th 1780.

The Troops will strike their Tents tomorrow at half an hour after 3 o'clock when the Baggage is to be loaded and the Whole to march by the Right, cross the Ford near to the present Encampment and proceed on the Road leading to Spinks's.—The Artillery and Baggage will march in the Rear of the Infantry.

Capn Marburg D Q M G1 will march in Advance of the Infantry with the Quarter Masters, Pioneers, and Camp Colour Men escorted by Colo Armand's Corps to Spinks's, where he will lay out the Encampment, and prepare for the arrival of the troops— Colo Armand upon his arrival at Spinks's will reconnoitre the Roads and passes leading from thence to Cottons as well as westwardly and Northwardly from Spinks's. He will post Guards and Videtts, in proper places, in advance of the Camp, taking himself the most advantageous Position for the Encampment of his own Corps. Col Marian, with the Volunteers Horse of So Carolina, will march with and attend the General.—When the Baggage arrives at Spinks's the Tents are to be pitched, but previous thereto the Guards and Pickets are to be posted by the Deputy Adjutant General, who will receive the Generals orders for that purpose.

The Troops are this evening to receive Flour to serve them to the 28th inclusive.

Such Stores, Forage &c as cannot be remov'd from the present Encampment must be left under a proper Guard, and remain until further orders.

The Prisoners to be march'd as usual under the Camp Guards.

Colonel Senf Chief Engineer will attend the General— Major Genl the Baron de Kalb, will please to lead the Line of March, and in all respects command and direct his Division, as heretofore in the Grand Army.

As the Troops are advancing towards the Enemy, the General requests the Baron de Kalb will direct the Brigadiers General to command every Officer and Soldier to keep his Platoon, Post, and Station, with the nicest exactness.

HEAD QUARTERS SPINKS'S

July 27th 1780.

Parole, Congress. Countersign, Washington.

Of the Day to-morrow, . . Lt Colo Comt
ADAMS.

The Second Maryland Brigade furnishes the Picquett Guard Tomorrow.

The Quartermaster of Colo Armand's Corps will present his Returns for Provisions to the issuing Commander of the First Maryland Brigade, who is directed to issue thereon as soon as the Flour and other provisions arrive.

The Army marches by the Left Tomorrow Morning at 3 o'clock. The Artillery in the Rear of the Infantry, and the Baggage will follow in like order. The D Q M Genl with the Qur

Masrs Pioneers &c, will precede the army by the nearest Rout to Cottons. Colonel Armand will march in front as usual.

H Q COTTONS
July 28th 1780

Parole, France. Countersign, Spain.

Of the Day To-morrow, . . . Lt Colo
Comt WOODFORD.

The Troops to march To-morrow Morning by the Right, at the same Hour and in the same Order as they march'd from Deep River.

The near approach to South Carolina will incline the officers to be particularly attentive in preserving an exact and regular Line of March— As the Late and present Scarcity of Flour has been unavoidable, the General is happy to declare that he has reason to believe the ensuing Plenty will enable him to afford a generous supply to the Army.

The First Maryland Brigade furnishes the Picquett to-morrow.

H. Q. KIMBOROUGH'S
29th July 1780

Parole, Guichen. Countersign, Jamaica.

Of the Day To-morrow, . . . Lt Colonel
FORD.

The Troops will refresh and clean themselves to-morrow at the present Encampment. The officers commanding Regiments and Companies will make a Minute Inspection into the State of the Arms and Accoutrements, Ammunition Flints &c have them put into the best order, and see that all Deficiencies are immediately supplied by Returns to the Conductor of Military Stores.

H. Q. KIMBOROUGH'S,
30th July 1780.

Parole, D'Estaing. Countersign, New York.

Of the Day To-morrow, . . . Lt Colo
VAUGHAN.

The General is much dissatisfied to see almost every good Regulation in the order of March continually violated, by Arms and Accoutrements being frequently thrown into the Waggon, and this by some of the Baggage Guard, and even by the Sentinels— Women frequently permitted to ride in the Waggon—sometimes two in one Waggon— This exclusive of the Delay it occasions to the Line of March is an Incumbrance to the teams, and much fatigues the Horses—It is positively forbid in Future — None but very sick Men should at any Time have this Indulgence. The order and Compactness of the Line of March is shamefully broken by the Waggoners being Sometimes suffered to halt for frivolous Reasons— This throws out the weak Teams which cannot for the Whole Day afterwards recover their Distance. The Waggon Masters are to be answerable that this does not happen again— Their Neglect of Duty is the main Cause of most of the Irregularities and Breaches in the Line of March— they must reform or be dismissed the Service. The General wishes the Commanding Officer of Artillery would so conduct his March as to Keep the Guns and their Trains close in the Rear of the Infantry, very bad Consequences may happen from their falling so far behind.

The General requests the Brigadiers Genl the Field officers and every other Officer commanding a Platoon or Divi-

sion, to be exact in reforming every abuse, that has crept in, to the prejudice of Good Order and Discipline a greater Disgrace cannot fall upon Regular Troops, than to be found by their Enemies in Disorder. The General trusts those under his Command will not be so dishonored.

Lieut William Pendergast of the Fifth Maryd Regt, is appointed Commissary General of Issues to the Southern Army—He is to be respected and obeyed as such. The Troops to march To-morrow Morning at three o'clock by the Left. The Depy Q M Genl Captain Marburg will see that the Pioneers are not suffered to be negligent in the Execution of their Duty—that they repair all bad Places in the Road and do their Utmost to expedite the March of the Artillery and Waggons. The Commanding Officer of Artillery and Colo Armand will each of them furnish the D Q M Genl with two Empty Waggons with the Drivers and teams belonging to them, they are to be delivered to the Commanding Officers of such Corps whose Baggage yesterday by the failure of their Teams unavoidably left by the Way.

H. Q. KIMBOROUGH'S

July 31st 1780

Parole, Caswell. Countersign, Rutherford.

Of the Day To-morrow, . . . Major
WINDER.

The Violence of the Storm obliging the Troops to be halted to-day. They are to be prepared to march in the order and at the same Hour to-morrow Morning as was directed in yesterday's Orders.

CAMP AT MASK'S FERRY,

Peedee River 1st August 1780.

Parole, Maryland. Countersign, Annapolis.

Of the Day Tomorrow, . . . Major AN-
DERSON.

The Second Maryland Brigade will cross the Ferry this afternoon. The First Brigade, with the Artillery will encamp on the East Side of Peedee.

H. Q. MASQUE'S FERRY P. D

2d August 1780

Parole, Jersey. Countersign, Philadelphia.

Of the Day Tomorrow, . . Major DEANE

The General feels most sensibly the Scarcity the Troops are at present obliged to suffer which is entirely occasioned by the violent Rains having stop'd the Supplies coming from the Eastward, but this Grievance as it is entirely accidental the troops will bear with that manly Fortitude which has always distinguished the Maryland Line— No Distress or Wants in the Generals Power to remedy shall ever be known to them.

When the First Brigade and all the Artillery and Baggage have pass'd the Ferry, they are to halt and encamp— The weather being fair the whole will march To-morrow Morning at five o'clock to De Luis, 10 Miles—

Colonel Porterfield's Regiment will march as soon as it clears away to De Luis.

When the General beats Colo Armand, with his Corps, will march in Front of the Line.— The General views with anxiety the amazing Loads of Baggage that is dragg'd after the troops; he requests that the Brigadiers General will digest a plan for lessening it immedi-

be occasionally appointed by D A Genl and posted by him or the officers of the Day.

Camp Guards, consisting of a Subalterns Guard to each Brigade to be immediately established, and proper Centinels posted in Front and Rear of each Regiment.

The Guards are to have the Parole and C Signs, and to be visited by the Officers of the Day.

All Waggon's of the Army are to be uniformly drawn up in the Rear of the respective Brigades to which they belong, and a Sergeant's Guard appointed to each.

One Brigadier General, one Field Officer, and one Brigade Major of the Day to be appointed in future.—The Grand Parade will be occasionally appointed in Orders, where the officers of the Day will attend and see the Guards properly relieved.

Whenever the Troops are to march, the New picket Guard will join and Form the Vanguard of the Army. The Old Picquette in like Manner are to form the Rear Gud.

The Brigade Camp Guards will march immediately in the Rear of their respective Brigades, and will be employed occasionally as Flankers. All other Guards whatever (except the Commissary's Bullock Guards), are to join the Corps to which they belong at beating of the General; and all Officers are strictly enjoined to pay the most exact Obedience to this order.

Every Guard in the Army is to be relieved at Troop beating Daily, or once in two Days at farthest.

As the pursuit after the Enemy will

be rapid, and should be facilitated with the least possible Obstruction, the General desires the Maryland Division will prepare to send off all heavy and superfluous Baggage to Charlotte.

All the Sick and Convalescent Officers and Soldiers are to go to the Town of Charlotte, where a General Hospital will be forthwith established.—General Caswell will please to give the like Orders in his Division, with this only Difference, that the place to which he chooses to send his Superfluous Baggage and Invalids, is left to his option.

Colonel Armand with his Legion, Col Porterfield's Infantry, and the Light Infantry of Major Genl Caswell's Division, will immediately proceed to Lynch's Creek. And the Army will march by the Left To-morrow Morning. The General will be at 3 o'clock. The Assembly at half an Hour after, and the March as soon as the Troops are paraded.

HEAD QUARTERS
CAMP LYNCH'S CREEK

8 August 1780

Parole, Saratoga. Countersigns, West Point, Stony Point.

Of the Day To-morrow . . . Brig Genl
SMALLWOOD, Col ADAMS, B. M.

DAVIDSON.

A Detachment of the Army will assemble this afternoon at Sunset in the Main Road by Head Quarters, to be commanded by Colonel Hall, who will wait on the Commander in Chief for Instructions.

The Troops are to receive One and an half pound of Beef per Ration till further Orders.

As much may depend upon the Compactness and Regularity in which the Army encamps, the Troops will constantly march to the Ground mark'd for their Encampments; they will there draw up and remain under arms; and the officers will remain with their respective commands until the Regiments and Guards are posted. The General requests the General Officers commanding Divisions and Brigades will be exact in occupying the Ground only which is marked out for their Encampments.

HEAD QUARTERS CAMP LYNCH'S
CREEK 9th August 1780

Parole, York. *Countersigns*, Newport, Fairfield.
Of the Day To-morrow, B. Genl GIST,
Col. WOOLFORD, B. M. BRICE.

The Detachment under Colonel Hall will march this Morning. Major Deane will take charge of the Sick and heavy Baggage of the Maryland Division, and conduct the whole to Charlotte.— The Sick to be attended to by Doctor Warfield, who is appointed to Superintend the Hospital at Charlotte till further Orders— All Persons bringing Flour, Meale, Cattle, Rum or Salt are immediately to report the Quantity and Quality to the Commissary Genl of Issues, Wm. Pendergast, Esqr, that a fair and equal Distribution may be made of the Same to all Officers and Soldiers, without any preference or partiality to particular Corps— Every General Officer and Officer Commanding must see the Justice and Propriety of this Order; the General has not therefore the least suspicion that any Person whatever will endeavor to counteract it—

The Troops are to be prepared to march at the Shortest Notice— They will march by the Right, General Smallwood's Brigade in Front.

AFTER ORDERS.

The Troops are to March To-morrow Morning at 4 o'clock— The General will beat at half an Hour after 3 o'clock. Major McGill is appointed an Extra Aid de Camp to the Commander in Chief, and is to be obeyed as such— The Troops will this Evening receive an equal Proportion of Meal or Flour, according to the Quantity arrived in Camp.

HEAD QUARTERS LYNCH'S HEIGHTS

10th August 1780

Parole, Ireland. *Countersigns*, Dublin, Limerick.
Of the Day To-morrow, B. Genl RUTHERFORD, Colo. FORD, B. M. LEWIS.

The Commanding Officer of Artillery will order a six pounder to be fired at Sunset, when all the Drums of the Different Regiments are to beat the Retreat in the Front of their respective Encampments.

The General does in a particular Manner direct all Officers Commanding Regiments to be exact in examining their Arms and Ammunition, and expects they will carefully report all Deficiencies.

At five o'clock this Evening the Arms that have been loaden, and cannot be drawn, are to be discharged in a Volley at the Front of each Division—and no person is to presume to fire but in that Order, or by command of his Officer.

AFTER GENERAL ORDERS

The Sick the Extra Artillery Stores, the heavy Baggage and such Quarter Masters Stores as are not immediately wanted to march this Evening under Guard for Waxhaws, to this order, the General requests the Brigadiers General to see those under their command pay the most exact and Scrupulous Obedience.

Lieut Colonel Edmonds, with the remaining Guns of the Park, will take post and March with the Virginia Brigade under General Stevens. He will direct, as any Deficiency happens in the Artillery affixed to the other Brigades, to supply it immediately— His Military Staff and a proportion of his Officers with Forty of his men, are to attend him and await his Orders.

The Troops will be ready to march precisely at 10 o'clock in the following order—viz. Colonel Armands Cavalry commanded by Colonel Armand—Colonel Porterfield's Lt Infry upon the Right Flank of Colonel Armand in Indian File, Two Hundred Yards from the Road—Major Armstrong's Light Infantry in the Same Order of Colonel Porterfield's upon the left Flank of the Legion. Advance Guard of Fort composed of the advanced Picquets—First Brigade of Maryland—Second Brigade of Maryland—Division of North Carolina—Virginia Division—Rear Guard—Volunteer Cavalry upon the Flanks of the Baggage equally divided. In this Order the Troops will proceed and thus March this night. In case you attack the Enemy's Cavalry in Front, the Light Infantry upon each Flank, will instantly march up, and give and Continue the most galling Fire upon the Enemy's Horse—this will enable Colonel Armand not only to support the

Shock of the Enemy's Charge, but finally to rout them— The Colonel will therefore consider the Order to stand the Attack of the Enemy's Cavalry be their Numbers what they may, as positive.— General Stevens will immediately order, one Captain, two Lieutenants, one Ensign, three Sergeants, one Drum and sixty Rank and File to join Colo Porterfields Infantry. These men are to be taken from the most experienced woodsmen every way fitted for the Service. General Caswell will likewise Compleat Major Armstrong's Lt Infantry to their Original Number. These must be immediately marched to the advance Post of the army. The Troops will observe the profoundest Silence upon the March, and any Soldier who offers to fire without the Command of his officer must be instantly put to Death—When the ground will admit of it, and the near approach of the Enemy may render it necessary—the army will, when ordered, March in Columns—The Artillery at the Head of their respective Brigades, and the Baggage in the Rear—the Guard of Heavy Baggage will be composed of the remaining Officers and Soldiers of the Artillery one Captain two Subalterns, four Sergeants, one Drum and sixty Rank and File. And no person whatever is to presume to send any other Soldiers upon that Service. All Batmen waiters &c who are Soldiers taken from the Line are forthwith to join their Regiments and act with their Masters while they are upon Duty. The Tents of the whole Army to be struck at Tattoo.

(Here follows a blank page in the Order Book.)

HEAD QUARTERS HILLSBOROUGH

31 August 1780

Parole, Arch. Countersign, Attention.





PITALESHARU, HEAD CHIEF OF THE PAWNEES

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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THE PAWNEE INDIANS

THEIR HABITS AND CUSTOMS

THE following paper has been prepared as an attempt to preserve some of the more noteworthy features of the ordinary life of this remarkable tribe. The facts given have been carefully arranged with a double view; to specify such traits and usages as best mark them as a tribe, and also to afford data for comparing them as to their characteristic usages with other of the prominent Indian families of the country. This course, next to the study of their language, affords the best means for determining their remoter affiliations, and the matter might have been amplified indefinitely had space permitted. The sketch is of necessity brief, but I trust not unimportant. Taken with a paper published in a previous number of this Magazine [IV., 241], it presents the fullest statement that has yet appeared in relation to the Pawnees. It is a peculiar fact concerning them, that they seem destined to pass away, and leave no special impress. The large and valuable territory so long held by them now affords evidence of their former presence and history in scarcely a single name that they have given to any object or locality in it. Literally 'their place knows them no more.' In this respect their fate is singularly unlike the fate of the old tribes of the east, who in passing away have left innumerable mementos of themselves behind. This evanescence, however, in the case of the Pawnees must not be attributed to any lack of character or power in them, for both they possessed in an eminent degree. It is due rather to the nature of the country, to the peaceful attitude they have ever maintained, which has tended to withdraw them from general notice, and especially to the unappreciative indifference of those who have so readily and entirely usurped their place.

§ 1. *Trade.* This was never very extensive. Their implacable warring with neighboring tribes necessarily precluded any general com-



mercial intercourse. Their trade was confined, therefore, to the few tribes with whom they were on terms of amity, *i. e.*, the Arikaras, the Mandans and Wichitas. From the latter they obtained horses and *bois d'arc*; from the two former eagles' feathers, a commodity in great demand among the Pawnees, and red pipe stone. The articles given in exchange to the Arikaras and Mandans were horses, salt from the plains of the upper Arkansas, and to the latter sometimes corn. To the Wichitas they bartered pipe stone, and to some extent eagles' feathers.

With the whites also their trade was limited, never having been sufficient to induce the establishing of a permanent trading post among them. The nearest stated establishment of this kind was at Bellevue on the Missouri, and here their dealings were comparatively light. Perhaps there is no instance of another tribe equally large whose trade in all directions was so restricted. The isolated condition in which they lived, shut in on all sides by unforgiving foes, seems in a considerable measure to have disused them to the thought of any such relations, and taught them to rely only or chiefly upon themselves.

§ 2. *Food.* The proverb, *ca'-st-ri ūs'-ak-t, he tu'-ra-he cik'-tīt lūk'-u wa-wa*, "even the dogs, it is well (for them) to eat in peace," seems to indicate that to the Pawnee eating was an act which claimed something of deferential respect. Without inquiring whether the apparent spirit of this maxim was always observed, it may at least be truly said that the question of what he should eat was perhaps as potent as any other that influenced him during life. It demanded ever his serious thought, provoked his ingenuity, taxed his energy, and largely controlled his movements during the entire year. When traveling they had but one meal a day, at the close of the day's march; but when at home they cooked and ate as often as hunger prompted. The ability and readiness to eat whenever occasion offered was in their estimation an exponent of health, and if an invalid failed to take food at all, hope of recovery was immediately relinquished.

Their food was in the main coarse, but wholesome. The staple article of daily fare was buffalo meat and corn. The flesh of smaller game, and when on the hunting grounds that of the buffalo also, was eaten fresh; but for the greater part of the year they had only the dried flesh of the latter. Dried meat was frequently eaten raw, a mouthful of lean and of fat alternately to facilitate mastication and deglutition; and in case of exigency fresh meat was so taken; but usually both were cooked. The more common way of preparing was by boiling. Hence one of the most important articles of household furni-

ture was a large vessel for this purpose. Prior to coming in contact with the whites they used rude pottery of their own manufacture. Such ware was in use in cooking with the poorer portion of the tribe till quite recently. Their favorite method was to boil the meat alone, or with corn and beans, till the whole was reduced to a pulpy mass, and eat it as a thick soup with spoons. If time or appetite did not permit this, it was simply boiled. Fresh meat, and sometimes dried meat if sufficient fat adhered, was also broiled by being held in suitable pieces over coals. Another usual way of preparing the former was to cover large pieces in a bed of coals till sufficiently cooked. This method was in high repute, as it preserved most of the native juices in the meat and rendered it especially palatable.

With regard to meats in general, there was a current saying among them, that the flesh of the carnivorous animals and rapacious birds should not be eaten. The food of the most of these animals was believed to render them unclean. This dictum, however, must not be interpreted too strictly; for the flesh of some of them, as the bear, otter and skunk, was in high esteem. A fatted dog also constituted a most delicious repast. Formerly a dog dance accompanied by a dog feast was a frequent occurrence; now it is become rare, and is observed quietly, apparently that it may not attract the attention of the whites. Till recently, since the government has undertaken to subsist the tribe, they were very rigid in refusing to touch pork in any form, but this scruple has now entirely disappeared.

Dried corn was boiled alone, or with beans, forming a sort of succotash; when thus prepared buffalo tallow was put in freely to season it. Matured corn was sometimes boiled as hominy, but more frequently was ground in a mortar and boiled as mush, or made into cakes and baked in the ashes or on hot stones. The corn was sometimes parched before tritulating, and by this means the flavor of the food was much improved. Beans and pumpkins, green or dry, were prepared by simple boiling.

There were a number of wild plants, the root or fruits of which afforded a partial subsistence at certain seasons. The poorer people were sometimes obliged to live almost entirely upon food of this kind. Among the edible roots were the wild potato (*Ipomoea Pandurata*), wild turnip (*Arisaema Triphyllum*), pomme blanche (*Psoralea Esculenta*), ground bean (*Apios Tuberosa*), cucumber root (*Medeola Virginica*), a sort of artichoke (*Helianthus Doronicoides*), and some others that I was never able to determine. A species of mushroom growing freely in some localities

on the prairies was sometimes gathered in considerable quantities. The umbels of the large milkweed (*Asclepias Cornuti*) were cut when in bloom with the tender extremities of the stalks and boiled as a relish. When traveling in the summer they often picked and ate as a preventive against thirst the fruit of the ground plum (*Astragalus Caryocarpus*). Various wild fruits, as strawberries, plums, cherries (especially the sand cherry) and grapes were gathered in their season and eaten fresh, or dried for preservation. In the latter state they were much used in flavoring other dishes.

§ 3. *Feasts.* During their stay in the villages or encampments, if food was plenty, much of the time of the men was spent in feasting. Any one was at liberty to make a feast as he had the means. These entertainments were usually had in the early part of the day; still they might occur at any hour. It was not infrequent that guests were called from sleep in the dead of night to attend a feast, and seemed to participate with unimpaired zest. When a man had resolved to give a feast, he ordered his wife to hang the kettle over the fire and fill it with corn and beans, or meat, and water sufficient for boiling. This was done in the evening. If several courses were to be served, the viands were all set to cook in different kettles. Early the following morning he called in two acquaintances, who were to serve on the occasion. After smoking with them, he bade one to go and invite the first chief of the band, or, in his absence, the second. The chief was expected to bring his pipe and a supply of tobacco. After all had smoked, the host communicated his intention to the chief, who thereupon directed the two apparitors to go about the village and invite such persons as he named. The kettle (or kettles) was now taken from the fire and placed in readiness near the entrance of the lodge. All women and children were dismissed, not to return till the guests were all departed. When the apparitors returned, after smoking together again, they were sent out to borrow dishes, if the host had not sufficient of his own. These dishes were usually calabashes made from large gourds, and each containing a gallon or more. As the guests arrived each remained standing just inside the entrance till his place was assigned by the chief, who acted as master of the feast. If numerous, they were seated in two circles one immediately about the fire and the other nearer the wall of the lodge. Sometimes, if those invited already proved not enough, more were called in. After these preliminaries the master designated those who should make speeches, a number of which were expected on every such occasion. Frequently two or three old men were allowed to be

present, with the understanding that they should do most of the haranguing. One of them began by making a speech in commendation of the entertainer, the chief and other guests, and if there was any business to be transacted, he closed by stating it, and expressing his views concerning it. He was followed by the master of the feast, and after him by any distinguished person who chose to speak. After the laudation was finished and the business dismissed, an old man made a prayer, and the talking was ended. The company was then counted to determine into how many portions the food should be divided, and some one appointed to distribute the contents of the kettle equally in the dishes. One dish filled was dispatched as a present to some one of the medicine men. Another was placed before the master of the feast, who carefully raising a spoonful, drained it and returned the spoon to the person making the distribution. He refilled the spoon from the kettle, covered it with one hand, reverentially raised it toward the entrance or east, stepped across to the opposite side directly in front of the master, and poured the contents in two places on the ground, in one place three-fourths, in the other the remainder; the larger portion an offering to the buffalo, the smaller to *Ti'-ra-wa*. From the time of assembling thus far the pipe and tobacco of the master were kept busily circulating. The dishes, all filled from the kettle, were now distributed to the guests, one to each, or one to every two, as proved most convenient. The contents were soon devoured, and the distribution repeated till the courses were all served. The dishes were then collected by the apparitors, and such as were borrowed returned at once to their owners. The company expressed their compliments to the entertainer and withdrew. Not infrequently it was arranged that two or more feasts should succeed each other, the guests passing from one directly to another. Several series of such feasts might also be going on at the same time under the conduct of different chiefs.

It was a usage that a guest should eat or carry away all that was set before him. The latter alternative, however, rarely occurred, as a Pawnee's digestive capacity was quite equal to any such requirement; or an accommodating friend seated near, of greater powers, would kindly devour whatever a guest might for any reason be compelled to leave uneaten. Once in a while, when going through a series of feasts, a guest might be seen sedulously endeavoring to settle the contents of his already overloaded stomach by placing his clenched left hand closely against the lower part of the breast, and striking heavily upon it with the right, shifting the position of the left hand during the pro-



cess from side to side across the gastric region. By means of this pounding it was imagined that room might be secured for further indulgence. Such was an ordinary social feast. The routine could be varied somewhat, according to circumstances or the choice of the master; but the general features remained identical. The religious and ceremonial feasts had each a character peculiarly its own. One or two may be sketched briefly as illustrations.

A young man devoted the first buffalo that he killed to *Ti'-ra-wa*. The entire animal was carried to the lodge of some prominent person, who thereby became master of the feast. He invited in a dozen or more old men to feast with him, and assist in the observances of the occasion, and other special guests. They began at sunset. The meat was cut in small pieces and set over the fire to boil, except the heart and tongue, which were carried without the lodge and burned as a sacrifice. While the meat was boiling, and the sacrifice was burning, the medicine bundle (*ut-i'-ra*) was taken from its place, opened, its contents inspected and placed out in due order. Various ceremonies were performed over them, puffing smoke upon them, stroking them with the hand, talking or praying to them, etc., by the members of the company. Speeches were then made by certain of the old men, the burden of whose remarks was laudation of the slayer of the buffalo, the master of the feast, etc., and finally a prayer was offered. The meat, having thoroughly cooked meanwhile, was now apportioned among all present, each of whom had opportunity to gorge himself to the utmost. After the eating the sacred things were gathered together, replaced in the bundle, and suspended again in place.

One of the most important and generally observed feasts was held annually, immediately after returning to the villages from the winter hunt. The aim of it was to secure a healthful season, good crops and success in all enterprises. Both old and young men participated in this feast, and its celebration was usually observed in several lodges in each village at the same time. From ten to thirty men were assembled in each lodge early in the day. Several of them were sent through the village by the master of the feast to collect dried buffalo hearts and tongues, and from thirty to sixty of each were brought in. The sacred bundle was taken down, its contents inspected and placed out in order. In its proper place with them was set the skull of an old buffalo bull. Some red paint was prepared in a dish with tallow by some one appointed for the purpose, and handed to the master, who proceeded to paint his face, breast, arms and legs. He then divided the paint in

two dishes, passing one to his neighbor on the right, the other to the neighbor on the left. They decorated themselves in like manner, and passed the paint to those next, and so on till all were painted. Some one was then designated to paint the bull's skull. The person named to this office took his place behind the skull, passed his hand smeared with the pigment three times from its nose back over the central part of the forehead. One hand was then passed on either side from the corner of the mouth back to the base of the horn, and thence to its tip. Five rods about a yard long were now whittled out and painted. To the end of each was attached a fragment of the scalp of an enemy as large as a quarter of a dollar piece. Four of the rods were taken out and set in the ground outside of the lodge, one toward each cardinal point of the compass, with the bit of scalp at the top. The fifth was set up inside directly in front of the painted skull. Next came the ceremony of smoking the sacred pipe. The smoke from it was puffed up toward the sky, down toward the earth, to the four points of the compass, upon the sacred things, upon the bull's pate, etc., by the master and all others present consecutively. Two persons were then named to offer a sacrifice. One of them took up a buffalo tongue and heart and passed out, bearing also the sacred pipe; the other followed with a bundle of faggots. They went to one of the rods before set up, arranged the faggots in a pile before it, and after placing upon them the heart and tongue, set the pile on fire. The same rite was repeated at each other rod. The man bearing the pipe then returned to the interior, while the other continued without till the piles were entirely consumed. During these services several speeches were delivered by different persons within, and a prayer offered. The proceedings thus far would occupy till noon. To preserve interest meantime the contents of two large kettles of boiled corn, or corn and meat, were at convenient stages distributed among the guests. A portion was also each time set before the bull's skull. When the corn was at last all eaten, the hearts and tongues were cut up, boiled and dealt out, being about as much to each as a man should eat in two days. After feasting thus gluttonously, the sacred things were packed up and put in place, and the company dispersed. The proceedings lasted commonly till late in the afternoon.

§ 4. *Hunting.* The Pawnees made yearly a summer and winter hunt; the former from the last of June till the first of September, the latter from the last of October till early in April. The general direction of the hunting expeditions was to the southwest into western Kansas, but sometimes the summer hunt was confined to western

Nebraska. The entire distance traveled on an expedition varied greatly, from 400 to 900 miles, according as the game proved plenty or scarce. The exact time of departure from home was generally fixed by a tribal council. Prior to starting all goods that they did not choose to take along were carefully cached, and every man and beast called in. When the day for setting out arrived all articles not previously disposed of were packed upon horses, each family as it was ready fell into line, and the bustling villages were left utterly desolate. They traveled in Indian file, and of necessity the line was often several miles in length. The men rode in advance and upon the flanks, keeping a diligent lookout over the country through which they were passing. The women and children walked in the trail, each leading one or more pack animals. Children too small to walk were carried by their mothers, or bestowed upon some convenient horse. It occasionally happened that an animal became frightened or restive, broke away from its leader, kicked about till it had freed itself completely from its load, and galloped away at full speed. The unfortunate woman who had it in charge must then follow it till caught, bring it back, gather together the scattered load, replace it upon the horse, and regain her place in the line, if indeed it was not already in camp. All the recompense she had for the fatiguing exertion was quite probably a severe chiding from her husband, who perhaps had witnessed the whole occurrence and made sport of it.

The aged and infirm were obliged to travel with the line and worry along as best they might. Such persons were accustomed to start earlier than the main body, so that they might arrive in camp in good season. Old age and decrepitude with the Indians was the dark day of life. While at home they were tolerably cared for, but on these hunts they endured extreme hardship and privation. Instances have been known where persons, who felt unable to accompany their bands, chose to remain or were left behind in the villages. A supply of provisions was given them, which in summer they might easily supplement by gathering wild fruit and various edible roots. Those in this condition, however, were almost sure to fall victims to prowling Dakotas, who regularly, during the absence of the tribe, visited the villages to perpetrate whatever maliciousness they could see their way to.

In winter the daily march did not ordinarily begin early, but in warmer weather they set out at dawn or sooner, and advanced till from eleven to four o'clock, as circumstances dictated. The distance daily traversed was from eight to twenty miles. For two or more hours after the



advance had halted the line would continue to pour into the camp, which was fixed where wood, water and forage were plenty. As soon as a family arrived the women unpacked the horses and turned them loose to graze, while they themselves pitched the lodge (a work in which they were so expert that but few minutes were required for its performance), brought wood and water, and prepared the daily meal. Sometimes they traveled all day, reaching the place selected for camp just at night-fall. On such occasions the scene which transpired beggars description. The horses were unruly, the children hungry and petulant, the women vexed and weary, the men ill-natured and imperious. Horses whinnied and pranced, dogs yelped and snarled, children teased and cried, women scolded and men threatened; no one heeded and everything went wrong. Tongue and ears at such a time were of little avail.

As soon as they arrived on the buffalo grounds the greatest circumspection was exercised in their daily progress. Men regularly appointed, known as *la-ri-pük'-us* (soldiers), were kept constantly on the watch, and when a herd was discovered all its movements were cautiously watched. After the camp had been moved as near as might be from the lee side without alarming the game, a council was called to determine whether all indications were favorable to an instant hunt. In these councils the *ku'-ra-u* (doctors or medicine men) played a prominent part, and sometimes postponed action for several days with no further reason than the bare assertion that *it was not good*. If, however, the result of the deliberation was favorable, the proclamation of a hunt was duly made by a herald. All who wished to participate in the sport caught their fleetest horses and equipped. A number of the soldiers were assigned, whose business it was, in conjunction with the chiefs, to have charge of all the preliminaries, as also of the final chase. Two of them, curiously painted and wearing a variety of fantastic accoutrements, rode out, bearing the soldiers' escutcheon and took position, with about a dozen armed attendants, upon some convenient eminence till the body of the hunters had assembled. They then moved forward, and the hunters followed. Two old men with rattles and medicine bags ran on foot in front, singing and shaking the rattles. A person, who should have the temerity now to dash ahead of the soldiers, would scarcely escape with life. He would at least secure to himself a most merciless flogging, even rank not availing to avert the penalty. This regulation was so strict that it would not screen from summary punishment a person who should go out and kill a buffalo, and alarm the herd before the regular hunt, were he even to plead in extenuation that

it was done to save his family from starving. This was a wise usage, though it may seem uselessly severe. In this manner the troop proceeded till they were come as near as possible without startling the herd. The hardly repressed excitement at this moment was intense. Halting, the hunters were quietly drawn up in line, facing the game, so that all might have an equal chance. The word was given, and with a loud cry they sped away, each urging his trained steed to the utmost that he might first overtake and secure a victim. The horses in these charges were guided by the knees of the rider, his hands being busied with bow and arrows. In a few minutes each hunter might be seen nearing the animal that he had selected. (Till the buffaloes were two and a half years old there was little choice between the sexes. After that age the flesh of bulls became distasteful, and was rarely taken, unless in a time of great scarcity. It was owing to this fact that bulls were in excess in many herds.) Just before coming abreast of it he discharged an arrow, endeavoring to strike it high in the flank between the projecting hip and ribs, so that the shaft should take a course obliquely forward toward the vitals. A single arrow sent with skill and force in this direction, even if not immediately fatal, caused such distress as to soon bring the buffalo to a standstill. If one did not suffice, others were used. As soon as the animal ceased running, the hunter passed on to another, and sometimes a third, fourth, and even a fifth was brought to by one man in the course of half an hour. The entire number slaughtered in a single chase frequently exceeded three hundred. The Pawnees seldom resorted to a surround, attacking from all sides at once. This method was more tedious and dangerous, and was regarded as less huntsmanlike. When the chase ended the hunter returned upon his track, and despatched the wounded buffalo that he had left on the way, if indeed they were not already dead from loss of blood. If still alive they were usually found lying down, but on being approached would instantly rise and show fight. The carcasses were now skinned, cut up, packed on spare horses that had been brought up meantime by the women, and conveyed to camp. There a scene of the greatest activity ensued. The hides were stretched upon the ground with pegs to dry. The meat was carefully cut in thin strips or sheets suitable for drying, and laid upon a framework of poles over a slow fire. When the exposed side became dry enough to cause the meat to begin to roll or crumple, it was placed upon the ground and trampled or beaten with billets of wood till completely flattened out. The other side was then exposed, and the process repeated till the meat

was dry. The design of the trampling or beating was to preserve the meat in the best form for packing in bales for transportation. Sometimes it was dried in the sun alone, but was not then so good. Several days were usually required for drying the meat of one slaughtering. No salt was used in either case, but with proper care the meat could be preserved without apparent deterioration for years.

Almost every part of the buffalo was utilized. The skin answered many purposes. The horns were made into spoons. The flesh, vitals, and even the intestines, all had their place in the Pawnee cuisine. The small entrails were carefully separated, freed from their contents by being passed rapidly between the fingers, then braided together and dried with the adhering fat, forming in this condition a favorite relish. The integument of the paunch was preserved and eaten. The liver was frequently eaten raw while retaining its natural warmth, and was deemed a delicacy. The larger bones, after the flesh was removed, were roasted, split open, and the marrow extracted. If a buffalo or any game animal was killed during gestation the foetus was carefully saved, boiled in the accompanying amniotic fluid, and eaten as a choice dainty. The tongue and heart were dried and preserved for special purposes (*cf.* § 3). The tongue and heart of certain of the buffalo killed were set apart as *ti-wa'-rüks-ii* (sacred), and taken in charge by the doctors. Sometimes they laid claim to the whole of the first cow killed, and all its flesh was dried and preserved by them. It was not altogether improbable, however, that this meat was reserved under a sacred name for profane use, *i. e.*, as a provident supply against any day of want that might befall them.

The Pawnees were excellent horsemen, and in the buffalo hunt their consummate equestrianism was displayed to the finest advantage. Without hesitation they would rush at full speed over the roughest ground, into the midst of masses of buffalo which were surging along in the wildest confusion, single out and separate their victims, and repeat the manoeuvre at pleasure. But sometimes accidents of the most distressing nature happened. In an unguarded moment a hunter might be overtaken by a charging buffalo; or a horse going at full gallop might step into the burrow of some animal, and with its rider be hurled headlong. In many places on the prairie the ground is so cut up by the burrows of the prairie dog (*Cynomys Ludovicianus*) that a person cannot ride over it at an ordinary pace without great care, while at a rapid gait necessary precaution is impossible. Mishaps from one of these sources, not infrequently resulting in death, were almost inevitable in every chase.

The weapons employed in this hunting, as already stated, were the bow and arrow. The facility with which they could be managed on horseback, and their much greater efficiency in the work of destruction, were unanswerable recommendations. A buffalo wounded with a ball in a vital part might run a great distance. On the other hand, a single well-directed arrow, securely lodged, so sickened and distressed the animal as to bring it soon to a stand. An arrow could be sent with such force as to pass entirely through a buffalo, in case it did not encounter a bone, and stick in the ground on the other side; but the aim was rather to lodge it firmly in the body, as its effect was then more marked, and also the presence of the shaft would serve to indicate to whom the carcass rightfully belonged.

In the winter hunt they killed what meat they needed as soon as might be after arriving on the hunting ground, before the buffalo became poor. They went into winter quarters in some place where water, wood and unburnt grass in abundance for the horses were to be had. Here they remained till forage became scarce, when another place was sought. If grass could not be found in sufficient quantity, they cut cotton-wood trees, and subsisted the horses on the bark and tender twigs. The return to the villages did not take place till young grass was started in the spring. In the summer hunt they remained away no longer than was necessary to procure the requisite supply of meat. By the time this was accomplished their corn was ready for drying, and required immediate attention. As their calendar was not very exact, they were sometimes in doubt as to just when was the proper time to return home. In such cases they were accustomed to examine the seed in the pods of the large milkweed. A certain maturity in these was thought to mark roasting-ear time.

They also hunted other game, as elk, deer and antelope. While the buffalo was hunted mainly as an indispensable means of subsistence, these smaller animals were sought rather for their skins. Though their flesh was eaten, that of the buffalo was preferred; but for the manufacture of articles of clothing, as moccasins, leggings and shirts, buck, elk or antelope skin was far superior. They were taken by still-hunting or stalking with bow or firearms. As they had opportunity and inclination, beaver and otter were sought for their pelts, which were used in making fancy articles of clothing. Bears, when to be found, were eagerly hunted for their skins, flesh and claws. Panthers were also in constant request. A bow-case and quiver of panther skin was a coveted possession. Skunks were esteemed for their flesh and skins. The

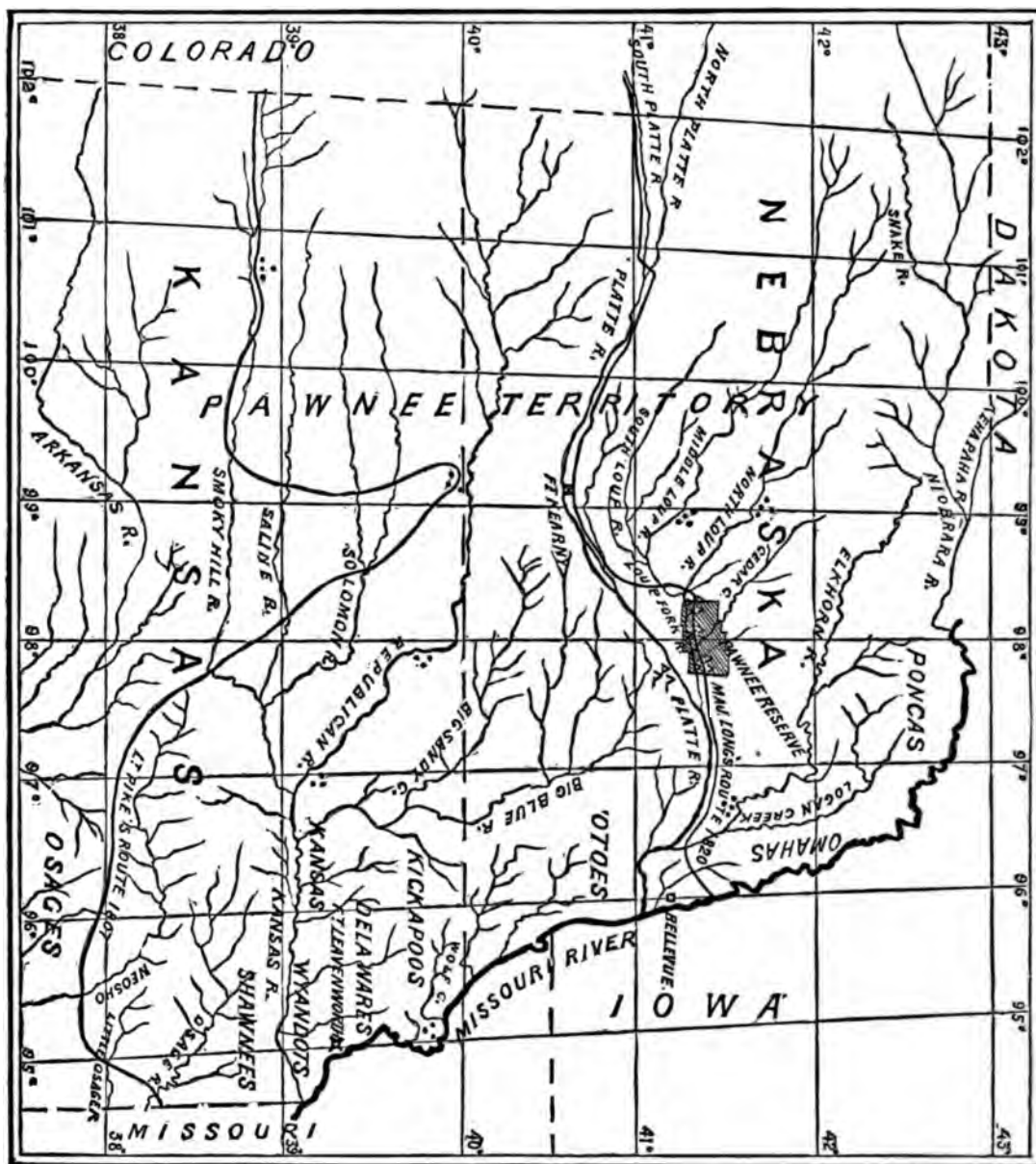


CHART OF THE PAWNEE TERRITORY.

latter, after being taken off as nearly entire as possible, was buried in loose earth for two or three days to divest it of the native odor. It was then dressed and used as a tobacco pouch or medicine bag, the mouth of the animal serving as the opening. The boys were very expert in capturing prairie chickens and quails. When one of these was started up on the prairie, the exact spot of its lighting was noted. Armed with a withe five feet long, a boy cautiously crept up to within a few feet of the crouching bird, and then darting forward, struck it down with a well-directed blow as it attempted to rise on the wing.

§ 5. *War.* Notwithstanding many assertions to the contrary, the Pawnees were in instinct and in history thoroughly warlike. Not only did war furnish an inexhaustible theme of tradition, oratory and song but the proud ambition to gain distinction as a warrior, next to the securing of a living, was with them the most potent active principle of life. To be sure, in obedience to the supposed restrictions of the treaty of 1833, for several years thereafter they refrained from any aggressive hostilities, and to a considerable degree even remitted defensive measures; still this was an obvious divergence from the ordinary tenor of their life. The original conquest of their late domain, and the maintenance of their prestige and position in the midst of jealous and ever active enemies, afford an unimpeachable evidence of their martial eminence. With not one of the powerful tribes about them were they ever on terms of continued friendship. All, the Dakotas, Cheyennes, Arapahos, Crows, Comanches, and Osages, were avowed foes, and were repeatedly made to feel the weight of the Pawnee arm. On no other ground may we so reasonably explain the insatiable hatred of these tribes toward them; and what was their opinion of Pawnee prowess may be sufficiently evidenced by the fact that never in a single instance have any of them ventured an attack upon Pawnee warriors, unless with overwhelming advantage in numbers. Alone or in troops the Pawnee was to them an irrepressible *bête noir*. Such was their reputation as fighters, that for over half a century the Omahas, Otoes and Poncas, the latter famous as warriors, preferred to live under an acknowledged Pawnee protectorate against their own kinsmen, the Dakotas.

In common with all Indians, the Pawnees were afraid of death to an extreme degree, and, therefore, personal exposure or peril was most anxiously avoided as long as possible. Hence much of their warfare partook in some measure of cheap bravado, to the partial suppression of earnest purpose to win victory by sheer courage. Still their achieve-

ments fully equal, if not surpass the deeds of the most noted Indians in the West, and instances are by no means few in which individuals and parties have displayed a genuine heroism, which should evoke unqualified admiration wherever known. One peculiarity of their military enterprises was, that whatever was done should be done quickly. They rarely hung around to worry an enemy. After one resolute effort, successful or otherwise, they immediately withdrew.

Unlike most Indians of the plains, the Pawnee war parties usually made their forays, even when they extended to a great distance, on foot. Dakota, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico and Northern Texas not infrequently acknowledged their presence and work. Tradition states that they had penetrated as far as the frontiers of Mexico. Whether any such expeditions were ever made or not, their knowledge of the prominent geographical features of the country in that direction was remarkably accurate.¹ Just what was their reason for making their excursions on foot may not be definitely ascertainable; but we may be sure that there was some weighty consideration, else we can scarcely conceive that such fond equestrians should have foregone their wonted privilege. They sometimes explained their conduct on the ground that their movements on foot, though not so swift for a sudden dash, could be kept more secret and unerring. Besides they claimed that, in case of a hard struggle, there were certain advantages in being dismounted; they could not then be so easily stampeded, and all developments could be kept better in hand. But however this may be, it was a noteworthy fact that these parties almost invariably returned home mounted, and frequently with not a few horses to spare, securing thereby to themselves a far-reaching and well-deserved name as a tribe of inveterate horse stealers.

Parties of this kind were always under command of some chief of recognized ability and bravery, who controlled every movement at will. Much time was often spent before setting out in performing various evolutions, as fighting imaginary battles, deploying, reassembling, etc., all at the beck of the chief, who occupied some elevation, from which every signal given by him was easily discernible by all. The precision and apparent ease acquired in these exercises was almost marvelous. When at last the party was completely organized and trained, a war dance was held, in which a special sacrifice was offered for the safety and success of the expedition. The Pawnee war cry was shriller than that of many of the other tribes, consisting of a series of short, broken ejaculations.



Many of the most daring adventures were made by braves, who, unaccompanied, penetrated the enemy's country, and watched opportunity to inflict some signal stroke by surprise. This was a favorite mode of warfare, and sometimes several scalps were brought back as the trophies of one such exploit, and secured for the adventurer a life-long notoriety. Trips of this character might be extended hundreds of miles, and require weeks of absence in their accomplishment.

The return of a successful war party was an occasion of most extravagant demonstration. Men, women and children united in welcoming the victorious braves. The following night a scalp dance was celebrated, in which each one had opportunity to magnify his exploits. Prisoners, unless women and children, were rarely taken, and hence scenes of fiendish delight in inflicting exquisite torture were unusual. If, on the contrary, the party had been unfortunate and suffered loss, its return was quiet, and gave rise to dejection and unrestrained lamentation on the part of the friends of the lost.

The armor of a fully equipped warrior comprised the bow and arrows, tomahawk, spear, and shield,—the latter circular, and about two feet in diameter. It consists of a tough piece of heavy rawhide, from the neck of an old bull, sometimes double, stretched tightly over a hoop. Against any ordinary missile it was a sufficient protection. Of late years these weapons have all been discarded, except the tomahawk, for fire arms.

§ 6. *Medicine*.—All knowledge of the art of healing was believed to be vested in the guild of Doctors (*Ku'-ra-u-rük-ar'-u*), a secret order. To become a recognized member of the fraternity, a certain period of probation was required. A person might assume the dignity of doctor without submitting to the prescribed routine; but unless he could achieve some remarkable success, he was generally regarded as a pretender and discountenanced. The duration of the pupilage varied according to the candidate's aptitude in mastering the mysteries of the craft. A considerable initiatory fee was demanded, and an additional fee at certain stages of the course. The convocations of the fraternity, or members of it, were shrouded in the most impressive secrecy, and so strictly was this secrecy maintained that I never knew of one not a member being admitted. The principal business of these conclaves seemed to be the concocting of drugs, comparing and discussing certain curatives, interspersed with sundry ceremonial performances. Their great ordinance was the medicine dance, celebrated with the utmost formality at certain seasons, and continuing from one to four days. So

far as may be judged by appearances, the great object of this dance, with its numerous ritual details, was to reassure themselves and awe the people. Candidates who had passed the requisite preparation, were formally admitted to the body on these occasions.

The distinctive mark of a doctor was the wearing of the robe with the hair side out, and the ever-present medicine bag, curiously wrought and ornamented. In it were carried his nostrums, and it was often claimed to be possessed of healing properties which might be imparted by touch. Doctors were quite numerous in the different bands, and as a matter of course most of them were arrant knaves. So far as concerned any insight into the real nature of disease, they knew nothing. The general theory was that sickness was caused by malign spiritual influences. Occasionally after pretending to discover the location of the disturbing spirit in the body of the patient, the only remedial agency employed consisted in incantations for exorcising it. The following is a correct account of the treatment administered to a man who had been badly burned :

The sufferer was brought home in the evening and a doctor summoned at once. For some reason he delayed answering the call till the ensuing morning,—quite possibly to add something of impressive importance to his coming. He was accompanied by another doctor. On entering the lodge they did not deign to notice any one, and sat down in silence, and remained motionless till a pipe was filled and handed to them. The elder received it, held it up at arm's length over his head for a moment, muttered some unintelligible sounds, lowered it, carefully took from the bowl with his thumb and forefinger a small portion of the tobacco and placed it on the edge of the hearth before him. One of the family then held a brand from the fire to the pipe till it was lighted. The doctor slowly puffed the smoke two or three times upward, downward, and toward each of the cardinal points, and taking the pipe by the bowl passed it to his companion, who went through the same form; and this was repeated till the contents were consumed. The pipe was then handed to the one who had lighted it. He emptied the ashes upon the hearth so that they should entirely cover the particles of tobacco before taken from it and deposited there. He then touched the tips of his fingers to the ashes and passed his hands in succession over the pipe from the bowl to the end of the stem, and returned it to the owner, who did the same. The doctors now proceeded to inspect the patient's injuries, and after the examination was completed, began their practices. One of them took a mouthful of water from a calabash placed beside



him, groaned, beat his breast, crept backward and forward on his hand, and feet, took up some dust from the ground, rubbed it in his hands made various intricate gestures, and then pretended to vomit the water, which all the while had been in his mouth, upon the hearth. Again he filled his mouth, and after going through an even more elaborate rôle, parted the hair upon the head of the patient, blew the water in small quantities upon the scalp, breast and other parts of his body. This was repeated several times. He then applied his mouth, previously filled with water, to the sick man's head, and with groans seemed to be endeavoring with all his might to suck something from it. When this had continued some minutes, all at once he started back, and approaching the hearth, squirted the mouthful of water upon it as if drawn from the invalid's head. The same operation was repeated on several parts of his body. He then took up some of the ashes emptied from the pipe, rubbed them in his hands, and blew them upon the patient's head, breast, and wherever the suction had been tried. After all this operose detail he took a minute quantity of dark powder from his medicine bag, sprinkled it on the burns, and departed. During all this performance the other doctor was busily shaking his rattle, parading his medicine bag, and dancing with great violence over the sufferer, the occupants of the lodge looking on in profound attention and awe. These absurdities were repeated twice a day so long as the unfortunate man lived. The night he died, four days after receiving the injuries, when he was actually *in articulo mortis*, the doctors were sent for, and with redoubled fury began their elaborate parade of juggling, and by the noise and confusion to all appearance expedited dissolution.

This will serve as a fair specimen of their therapeutic treatment. Though the producing cause of the ailment was not directly recognized as spiritual, the appliances were essentially the same. In case of ordinary disease suction, and whatever other applications were made, was directed to the part of the patient's body in which the disturbing spirit was claimed to be located—usually where the most pain was felt. The doctor would often after long sucking expectorate a pebble, a fragment of bone, or even an arrow-head, which he pretended to have drawn from the spot. Sometimes violent friction, pressure, or a sort of kneading of the ailing parts was tried. At other times they attempted to frighten away the disturbing spirit by noises, as muttering, yelling, barking or growling; or by strange posturing as of a wolf, a buffalo, or bear; or by angry demonstrations, as brandishing a war-club or a tomahawk, and threatening to strike the affected part.

This system of jugglery may well enough be called senseless; but to the mass of the Indians it was otherwise. The mere physical effort on the part of the doctors was often so intense as to provoke in themselves profuse perspiration, and so protracted as to induce complete exhaustion. The uninitiated regarded all their ceremonies with the most deferential awe; and so strong was this feeling that it sufficed to invest the persons of those who had performed any (pretended) remarkable cure with a sort of glamor which enabled them to assume an almost unlimited authority in the general affairs of their bands. It was believed that some of them could, if they chose, exercise powers of witchcraft over any who had incurred their displeasure. They could negative a contemplated war party; and when on a hunt, though thousands of buffalo might be immediately about the camp, they could delay a chase indefinitely, assigning no other reason than that *it was not good*.

It has been asserted that remedies were never administered internally. It may be true to a large extent; but as an absolute statement it is certainly a mistake. Just what the simples were I never learned, as the doctors were very chary of saying aught concerning the secrets of the profession, unless they were liberally paid. Of external treatments, other than that already described, a few means may be specified. Cauterising was not infrequent. It was done by inserting a bit of the stalk of the *achillea millefolium*, about an inch long, in the skin and setting fire to the exposed end, and allowing it to burn down into the flesh. Sometimes several pieces were inserted near each other at once. Blistering was produced by rubbing the skin with the bruised leaves of an acrid plant, the name of which I never knew. Blood-letting was accomplished by applying the lips directly and sucking the blood through the skin; or the skin was scarified with a knife, and the blood drawn by means of a horn prepared for that purpose.

In treating wounds, contusions and sprains, such as are of frequent occurrence, some of the doctors were quite skillful. The same ceremonies as already described were of course had, but the subsequent treatment seemed to be more intelligent. Amputation was unknown; in fact, there was a deep-seated, superstitious prejudice against maiming of any kind. Broken bones were sometimes well set. Probing and the extraction of foreign bodies from wounds were not much practiced. Major North, who commanded for several years the Pawnee scouts in the service of the Government, and is in all respects well qualified to pronounce an opinion, while expressing unbounded contempt for their general clinical practice, stated to me that he would prefer the treat-

ment of a good Pawnee doctor for a wound to the care of an ordinary surgeon. Among others he related the following remarkable cures effected by one of these doctors:

In July, 1867, the horse of one of his Indian scouts fell while running a race near Fort Sedgwick, on the upper Platte. The rider was thrown violently, his thigh broken and hip dislocated. He was at once sent to the military hospital and kept under treatment for several weeks. The dislocation could not be restored, nor was the fracture healed, and the case was given over as hopeless. The thigh was then swollen to enormous size and badly inflamed. At the invalid's urgent request Major North sent him by railroad home to the Pawnee reserve, to die—as he supposed. But in the ensuing December the man returned to the command and resumed his duties, with no mark of his injuries except a slight shortening of the leg. In June, 1869, while serving in General Carr's command on the Republican, the hand and fore arm of another scout were badly shattered by the accidental discharge of a carbine. The wound was cared for by a surgeon, who advised amputation. To this the Indian would not consent. In the hardships of active service the hurt could not be properly treated; in a short time the patient began to decline and the wound filled with maggots. This man also was sent home, in an army wagon to Fort McPherson, and thence by railroad, to all appearance to die. The following November, however, he had recovered with the practical loss of the use of three fingers. Both these men were restored by Pawnee doctors after the cases were pronounced hopeless. One further instance will illustrate the usual surgical quackery prevalent among the doctors: In 1874, *Pit'-a-le-shar-u*, head chief of the tribe, was wounded in the thigh by a revolver. The physician at the agency did not consider the hurt dangerous, and under his care the chief was progressing favorably. But unfortunately, one of the doctors advised that the treatment must be changed. The chief consented, and he at once proceeded to plaster over the affected part with a heavy coating of moist clay. This of course stopped suppuration and brought on a fever, from the effects of which the chief soon died. Examples of such malpractice were only too common.

The materia medica of the doctors was nominally quite extensive. Considerable time was apparently spent in searching for and preparing their drugs. Fossil bones of certain kinds were carefully sought and preserved. The *Artemisia Ludoviciana*, *Acorus Calamus*, *Monarda Fistulosa* and *Punctata*, *Mentha Canadensis*, and many other herbs and roots were esteemed for their real or fancied virtues. Some herbs were gen-

erally known and used outside of the profession as specifics. *Artemisia* and *Monarda* were in general use as disinfectants and cosmetics. In the latter use they were bruised or macerated and rubbed over the person, Decoctions of the *Artemisia* were also drunk by women at certain periods. The sedative property of the *Argemone Mexicana* was known, and they were also familiar with the cathartic qualities of some plants.

The charges made for treatment, if not previously stipulated, depended somewhat upon the issue. If successful, and the head of the convalescent's family was able, the charges were sometimes quite exorbitant, amounting in the aggregate to several ponies. If unsuccessful, they were moderate, and sometimes nothing at all was received. Doctors occasionally became very wealthy by their practice. This fact was no doubt a provocation to some to endeavor to enter the profession as an easy method of securing a living.

One hygienic usage the Pawnees (as also many other tribes) had, that no doubt did much to counteract the prejudicial influences of their uncleanly mode of life. In slight indisposition, and frequently in health, the vapor bath was resorted to. A small framework of withes, about six feet in diameter and four in height, was built. Several of these might at any time be seen in different directions in a village. Whenever any one wished to enjoy a bath, several large heated stones were placed in one of these frames, and the framework covered heavily with blankets or skins. The person then crept within, taking along a vessel full of water. By sprinkling this slowly upon the stones, the interior was soon filled with dense steam, which might be enjoyed as long as desired. The frequent use of these sudatories produced most beneficial results in maintaining and stimulating the activity of the secretory system.

Women spared no effort in caring for their husbands and children during sickness. Each morning and evening in pleasant weather they would carry them out of the lodge to enjoy the sunlight, assist them in changing positions, endeavor to gratify every momentary caprice, and prepare any delicacy they could to tempt their appetite. There is no doubt that this last often aggravated sickness. Children, particularly when ailing, were kept alternately stuffing and vomiting to their manifest detriment. As long as an invalid could eat, there was supposed to be hope, and so there was a natural tendency to keep offering, and even urging food. Women, as a rule, did not when sick receive as solicitous attention, though instances were by no means wanting of men showing



tender attention to invalid wives. It has been charged that men have been known to drag away sick wives when helpless, and leave them in out of the way places to languish unattended ; but this, if true, is only of recent occurrence. Aside from this consideration of affection, there was some reason for a husband receiving more care in sickness than a wife ; for to a wife the death of her husband might entail the temporary loss of home, while the husband might expect easily to replace a deceased wife.

Some of the foregoing details, as their proneness to indulgences of the appetite, and the extreme facility with which they suffered themselves to be duped by the shallow trickery of the merest charlatans, are not attractive traits in Pawnee character. They are, however, not peculiar to the Pawnees alone, but are common to all forms of Indian life ; and the only wonder is that when controlled to such extent as they were by these practices, they should have succeeded in developing and retaining the many nobler traits that they possessed. At a future day some further facts may be presented in another paper, and with it this series, so far as relates directly to Pawnee manners and history, will be closed.

JOHN B. DUNBAR

¹ A friend, who has had much experience with the Indians of the Southwest, informed me that he is inclined to believe that the Lipans of Mexico are of Pawnee stock. They have, in times past, exchanged frequent hospitalities with the Wichitas, or Pawnee Picts, and the two understand each others' dialect readily. The name Lipans he explains as *li'-pa-ni's*, i. e., *the Pawnees*. This derivation is interesting, and so far as a single word can afford evidence, is very satisfactory. The clue at least deserves careful investigation, and may lead to important results in determining the remoter ethnological relations of the Pawnees. Unfortunately I have not been able after repeated efforts to obtain any vocabulary of the Lipan language by which the worth of the conjecture might be finally judged. If such kinship does really exist, though the Pawnees themselves make no such claim, it would suffice to explain the fact of their apparent familiarity with the geography of the country toward Mexico.

PITALESHARU—CHIEF OF THE PAWNEES

The family of Pitalesharu has long been eminent in the Cau'-i band of the Pawnee tribe. As nearly as can be ascertained, Pitalesharu, the subject of this sketch, was born in 1823, and throughout his entire life he was a fine example of the true Indian. His father, of the same name, gained a wide notoriety in his day for the heroism and energy he displayed in endeavoring to suppress the custom of human sacrifices in the Ski'-di band of the tribe. From him the son inherited a character marked by great earnestness and honesty, and singularly devoid of aught that savored of pretension. In early life he was naturally ambitious of position and influence, but sought them by the only legitimate means, personal prowess. Frequent stories have been rife in the tribe illustrative of his youthful intrepidity. The exact truth of many of these is now unattainable, and some are no doubt apocryphal. The reality of the following, however, is reasonably certain, as it is current among the Ski'-di themselves. After the resolute measures of Pitalesharu's father the offering of human sacrifices by this band to the morning star (*ho-pir'-i-kuts*), as a public ceremonial, was discontinued; but on a few occasions the inhuman rite was repeated unbeknown to the remainder of the tribe. Being informed of this, Pitalesharu immediately headed a movement for its entire abolition, and persisted in his effort till successful, though thereby he incurred the violent resentment of the whole Ski'-di band. Once he thwarted a contemplated immolation after the preliminaries were already begun by direct personal interference. Amid an angry throng of Ski'-di braves, whose bows were drawn and guns actually raised, he commanded a cessation of further proceedings, and secured it.

So generally were his merits recognized that on the death of the first chief of the tribe in 1852, Pitalesharu, by a sort of compromise between the son of the deceased, the rightful heir to the head chieftaincy, and the second chief who also aspired to the position, was chosen first chief. From that time, relinquishing all other aims, he made the promoting of the welfare of the whole tribe the one purpose of his life. Rightly discerning that the whites were the great power he continued the policy of his predecessor and sought by a consistent, honorable course in all relations with them to conciliate their friendship and interest in his people. *Ca''-riks-ta-ka tūt-ā-ru-rūk-ta'-pi-dī-hu-ru*, "The white people I love," was a frequent expression with him. He was the most prominent of the tribe in negotiating the treaty of 1858, and accompanied by several chiefs, visited Washington in connection



with its ratification. The honorable treatment he received while there was a source of great satisfaction to him ever afterwards. In his later days he was much pained that when chiefs from other tribes, whose only claim to notice was their hostility, were permitted to visit the seat of the Government, he was no longer invited. On one such occasion he remarked, "If I were only to perpetrate some outrage, as he (Spotted Tail) has done, I should be asked to go; but now, because a friend, I am neglected." Unfortunately the keen sarcasm of the observation was too true. It was mainly through his advice and cooperation that the companies of Pawnee scouts were enlisted and maintained several years in the service of the United States for the protection of the line of the Pacific Railroad, and for other operations against the hostile Dakotas.

When the proposal was made for the removal of the tribe from their reserve in Nebraska to the Indian Territory in 1872, he first spoke unfavorably of it, believing that they had already made sufficient concessions in giving up their vast domain under former treaties. Still he seemed to realize fully that it was becoming extremely difficult for the tribe to continue where they were, and at times was much dejected in view of it. "Aha," he once said to a friend, "every way I turn I see the white man crowding upon me." Accordingly, he sent his son, *Lar-ru'-cūk-ā-le-shar-u* (Sun Chief), to examine the proposed locality, and after hearing his report he seemed more favorably inclined, but still hesitated. The agitators who advised the removal, fearing that his influence would finally be cast against them and defeat the scheme, are charged with having procured his death. In the summer of 1874, while on his way early one morning from the agency to the village, he was wounded in the thigh by a pistol shot. The common report makes the shot purely accidental from his own pistol; but it is quite confidently asserted, also, that the shot was from another hand and with malicious intent. The wound was not considered dangerous, but, under the perverse treatment of a medicine man, gangrene set in and death ensued. Immediately after the tribe was hurried away to the Territory.

In person Pitalesharu was well developed, standing slightly over six feet. Though not compactly built, his presence was fine, and he possessed great physical powers. His face was deeply pitted by small-pox, from which he suffered in 1838, and his features were large and very expressive. The accompanying engraving affords an excellent likeness of him as he appeared during his later years when in full dress. When young he was extremely vain of his personal appearance, and spent much in elaborate costumes. This fondness for dress he retained in some degree through life.

The engraving represents him in his most finished toilet. The headdress and trail of eagle's feathers, as has been stated elsewhere, is a tribal mark, and as such he took special pride in it. The other parts of his costume are very finely wrought, but by no means so gaudy as might often be seen.

In character he was throughout a most noteworthy man. His elevation to the dignity of first chief at the age of twenty-nine years seems to have contributed much toward maturing and giving final stamp to his subsequent career. Endowed by nature with great abilities, he thence-forward employed them steadfastly in advancing the best interests of his people. So entirely did he identify himself with them that he always spoke of their common interests in the first person. His name, which had been assumed when quite young, he wished should be understood as indicating somewhat of the position he aimed to occupy among them, i. e., *pit'-ă-le-shar-u*, a chief of men. (It will be observed that philologically this name is the exact equivalent of the choice Homeric epithet, *αρχὴ ἀνδρῶν*). Though in some special relations one or two other chiefs wielded greater influence, yet they uniformly deferred to him as the chief. To those not well acquainted with the tribe, his quiet and imperturbable demeanor sometimes carried the impression that he was deficient in force and decision. Wisely he preferred to influence his tribe usually by suggestion and persuasion, and so skillful was he in the appliance of these means that he oftentimes controled without his presence or desires being felt; but when occasion required he could easily assume imperial attitude and authority. As an orator he excelled. In speaking he was deliberate; his manner was dignified and graceful, and his words commanded fixed attention. When advocating a cause in which he was specially enlisted, he could become passionately earnest and impressive. His disposition, as already intimated, was eminently humane, and his conciliatory manners made his chieftaincy a period of general quiet and friendliness in tribal affairs. The government agents always found in him a discreet and generous counsellor, and an active co-worker in all measures of reform in the administration of their official duties. In personal intercourse he was dignified, but affable. When with intimates he was often humorous and jovial, and many anecdotes and bon-mots attributed to him are still in circulation in the tribe.

Pit'-ă-le-shar-u tuks-te'-sa-kit-au-i tu'-ra kit'-u a we'-tuks-ta-ri-kuts;
 "Pitalesharu ruled all the bands, and was (confessedly) a great man,"
 was his brief but expressive encomium from the lips of a *Ski'-di* brave.

JOHN B. DUNBAR

CENTRES OF PRIMITIVE MANUFACTURE IN GEORGIA

In the selection of sites for the manufacture of objects and implements for domestic use, war, hunting and fishing, the primitive peoples of this region were mainly influenced by the inherent advantages of localities. Facile access to the raw material and to food and water, and opportunity for disposing of the manufactured articles, entered largely into the calculations of the aboriginal artificers, and determined their particular fields of operation.

While it is true that the Indians generally were capable of fabricating such implements, utensils and ornaments of stone, clay, bone, shell, wood and copper as were in common use among them, it is equally certain that in each community or tribe there were individuals possessing unusual skill and experience, who in a great degree monopolized the manufacture of given objects, and were regarded in the light of special workmen and traders in their particular products. By them were large stocks of manufactured articles frequently accumulated, and lodged for safe-keeping in the ground in localities known only to the fabricators, whence they could be taken and offered for barter as occasion required. Sometimes the spade or the plough-share even now uncovers these neglected hoards. When the demand at home proved insufficient for the consumption of them, long journeys were undertaken by these artificers that they might distribute their merchandise to distant peoples, and in exchange bring back articles desired by the members of the communities to which they belonged. The avocation of the primitive manufacturer and the aboriginal merchantman was thus often united in the same individual. His occupation at home was recognized as useful and honorable, and when abroad upon his commercial expeditions the knowledge of his mission, and a desire to procure his manufactured articles, secured for him a welcome among and hospitable treatment by the tribes visited. To him was free passage accorded through the territory of strange peoples. Such recognition of the importance and services of the primitive workman and trader is worthy of note. By means of streams and well-defined trails trade relations were established with distant peoples, and the products of special localities widely disseminated. Rivers at that remote period, being not only the great sources whence supplies for subsistence were obtained, but also the

marked highways for inter-tribal and commercial communication, we are not surprised at the manifest tokens of former life and labor still existent at various points in their vicinity.

As an illustration of the establishment and maintenance for centuries of factories for the manufacture of objects requisite for successful hunting and fishing, we refer to the traces of numerous and extensive open-air workshops along both banks of the Savannah river, where it laves the counties of Richmond, Columbia, Lincoln and Elbert in Georgia, and the opposite counties in South Carolina. Here milky-quartz, chert, jasper, green-stone and soap-stone abound. The materials from which certain objects were to be fashioned were at hand, and the supply was practically inexhaustible. The Savannah river and its numerous tributaries were filled with fishes. Its islands and margins, adjacent forests and dependent swamps afforded ample cover for game of various sorts. At that early period the woods and waters of this region were far more replete with animal life than they are at present. Then the Savannah was a limpid stream. At appointed seasons the shad and sturgeon ascended and descended in countless numbers, while all the year perch, bream, catfish, trout, suckers, garfish, sunfish, eels and other varieties of fishes dwelt in abundance. These waters teemed also with turtles and mussels, which constituted favorite articles of food among the primitive peoples of this region. The buffalo, the black bear, the deer, the raccoon, the opossum, the wild cat, the wolf, the mink, the otter, the beaver, the squirrel, the rabbit, and other wild animals, the wild turkey, the eagle, the fish-hawk, the owl and various birds had here their habitats. Reptiles—some sorts of which were eaten—swam in the waters and crawled beneath the shadows of the forests. The mulberry, plum, haw, crab-apple and other native fruits and berries yielded their annual tribute, while from the nuts of the walnut and hickory trees were obtained generous supplies of oil.

It was a region quite attractive to man in a state of nature. The soil, too, was fertile, and maize could be successfully cultivated. Here under temperate skies the battle for life was not severe. Intermediate the mountain ranges of Cherokee, Georgia, on the one hand, and the sterile, pine-barren belt, running parallel with the coast, on the other, this territory was well suited for the convenient abode of primitive peoples. Many are the indications that it was occupied for a very long time by an aboriginal population by no means insignificant.

That the native tribes of the interior resorted to the banks of the Savannah and its tributaries to hunt and fish, is attested by frequent



and large refuse piles, and by the statements of the early white settlers. With a view, therefore, to easy subsistence, companionship and a ready manufacture and sale of articles and implements at their very doors, it must be admitted that the primitive workers in stone were wise in here locating their open-air workshops. Surrounded by multitudes, both friends and strangers, engaged in the capture of birds, animals and fishes, the demand for arrow and spear points and sinkers was necessarily continuous and extensive. The loss and destruction of such objects must have been constant and great. Hence active manufacture was requisite, especially during the seasons set apart for hunting and fishing, to supply the waste thus occasioned. Then, too, upon their departure, the dwellers in districts devoid of stone were anxious to procure and carry to their homes a convenient store of these barbs.

Thus year by year were numbers engaged in this labor acquiring a degree of skill and a rapidity in manufacture born of an accurate knowledge of material and constant practice. The precise localities where they chipped the quartz, chert and jasper, and perforated and notched the soap-stone sinkers are still apparent, covered with fragments, chips and wasters. And when the products of manufacture accumulated beyond present and local demands, then arose the necessity for long journeys among neighboring nations.

While along the coast may occasionally be seen nuclei or parent blocks of jasper, transported from a distance and kept to be manufactured into implements, and while at occasional points, even amid the depths of the swamps in Southern Georgia, may still be noticed traces of small open-air workshops, it appears highly probable that the Indians inhabiting the lower Savannah and the sea islands and adjacent territory were largely supplied with stone objects, brought by traders from the open-air workshops we have mentioned. As a general rule, the arrow and spear points, celts and grooved axes found in the coast region are of fine material and excellent manufacture. This suggests and encourages the belief that these primitive merchantmen brought with them upon their trading expeditions articles well selected, attractive to the eye, and calculated to command the best price by way of exchange. From the dwellers near the salt water were obtained beautiful shells of the ocean, large drinking cups made from conchs, beads, gorgets, shell ornaments and shell money. This interchange of commodities was extensive and obtained from a remote antiquity. By means of long rivers, traversing vast regions and emptying into the sea, were these trade relations most easily conducted.

Geographically considered, the location of primitive factories in the region we have indicated was very judicious. The territory permeated by the Savannah was very considerable. The tributaries of that river, capable of navigation by canoes from single trees, were neither insignificant nor infrequent. The population cormorant along the banks was considerable, and when the mouth of the river was reached the network of inlets afforded ample opportunity for communicating by water with communities widely separated. The outer islands guarding the coasts of Georgia and South Carolina, and the headlands where this primitive population delighted to congregate, were thus rendered accessible to the aboriginal traders. In the light of well-authenticated observations, it appears improper to assign bounds to the peregrinations, by land and water, of these merchant manufacturers of the olden time. We have taken from one grave a copper implement, evidently from the Lake Superior region; beads and drinking cups made from shells native to the Gulf of Mexico, and stone implements, the materials of which must have been transported from great distances.

Presuming upon an experience by no means limited, and after frequent and careful examinations, we are persuaded that we can in many instances designate with confidence the locality where, on the middle and upper Savannah, many forms of chipped and polished relics were manufactured, which have been found on the sea-islands and in the territory of Southern Georgia adjacent to the mouth of that river. Despite a similarity in form, a unity of design, and an approved choice of material for the fabrication of objects of a particular class, to the practiced eye, and to one critically conversant with the archæological products of particular localities, there appear certain ear-marks or indicia, which proclaim quite emphatically not only the home of the material, but the habitat and the touch of the artificer. It is curious and interesting to trace and recognize the positive proofs of these trade relations among these primitive peoples, and to observe with what confidence the origin of the bartered article—alien in the locality where found—may often be conjectured.

We regard these open-air workshops along the line of the Savannah river as the places where were manufactured, and that for centuries, very many of the barbs, celts and grooved axes used not only by the peoples who dwelt in that region, and who resorted thither for supplies of fishes and game, but also by the tribes of southern and south-eastern Georgia and southern Carolina. With regard to the manufacture of sinkers, both perforated and notched, made of soap-stone, these primitive workmen seem to have enjoyed quite a monopoly. During periods



when these riparian abodes were thronged by multitudes from a distance, busily engaged in capturing and preparing for transportation to their homes supplies of fishes, did these artificers reap their richest harvests.

What we have affirmed with regard to the open-air workshops on the Savannah, as centres of manufacture and distribution, may be repeated with equal truth in regard to similar points of fabrication on the Oconee and Ocmulgee rivers. Hence were procured manufactured articles of like character, which answered the needs of those inhabiting the banks of those streams, and of the Alatamaha river and the sea islands adjacent to its mouth. Very marked are the traces of open-air workshops along the line of the Flint, the southern Chattahoochee and the Appalachian rivers. Here was opened up a new field for demand and supply, reaching down as far as the Gulf coast. Most attractive are the manufactured products of this region. Nothing can excel in beauty and brilliancy the chipped objects of variegated and striped jaspers.

About two miles northeast of Forrest Station, on the Macon and Western Railway, a ledge of soap-stone crops out, and here was an extensive pre-historic factory of vessels from this material. From the quantities of broken utensils still littering the locality, it is manifest that the manufacture must have been long continued and great, far exceeding any possible local demand.

While to the women was generally committed the fabrication of fictile ware, while the abundance of clay in almost every habitable locality afforded ample opportunity for fashioning vessels of this material, and while their manufacture was very general among the Georgia tribes, we nevertheless find sites, assuring us of the fact that the potter's trade was there carried on to an extent far beyond the requirements of the neighborhood. Clay of special fineness and tenacity, and a ready supply of small gravel and of mussel shells, to be pounded and kneaded into the paste, favored the liberal practice of the ceramic art, and encouraged a trade in such articles as were fashioned thereby.

We might extend these remarks, but enough, we think, has been said to justify the suggestion that among these primitive peoples there were centres of manufacture, and that the fabrication of implements and utensils was not always limited to the immediate wants of the individual or of the community, but was frequently prosecuted as an independent avocation, and utilized largely in the interest of trade and for private gain.

CHARLES C. JONES, JR.

BATTLE OF KING'S MOUNTAIN

OCTOBER 7, 1780

Reprinted from a rare Tract in the possession of the Shelby Family of Kentucky.

Communicated by J. Warren S. Dey of New York City.

TO THE PUBLIC

During the last year, W. M. C. Preston, a grandson of the late Col. Wm. Campbell, made a publication in the newspapers, under his signature, and headed, "Colonel Campbell and Governor Shelby." The professed object of this address was to claim for his ancestor, as commander of the American forces at the battle of King's Mountain, the chief honours of that victory, and to controvert some statements relative to that subject, made in some of my private letters, to the late Governor Sevier, of Tennessee, which letters came to the knowledge of the world and of Mr. Preston, by the inadvertent publication of them by the son of Governor Sevier after the death of his father. In the course of his address, Mr. Preston has thought proper to question my veracity—to deny the statements made in those letters, and to impute to me the most dishonorable motives and purposes.

I paused and hesitated long as to the course I ought to pursue. Conscious of my integrity, I felt a proud confidence that my reputation could not be affected by the proofs and animadversions of Mr. Preston—that it was placed above the reach of calumny and all attempts to dishonor it. But the labored efforts that have been used to give the most extensive circulation and the most permanent effect to the publication of Mr. Preston, have determined me to reply to it, lest

by my silence I might be considered as acquiescing in the justice of his assertions and imputations.

It is with the most sincere and heartfelt regret that I undertake the task, because in the course of my defence it will be necessary for me to speak of circumstances, which I had rather have seen consigned to oblivion—circumstances calculated in some degree to affect the fame of Col. Campbell, and perhaps to wound the feelings of many of his numerous and most respectable relatives and connections. But the unexpected publications of my private letters to an old friend, and the attack consequently made on me by Mr. Preston, compel me to defend myself; and painful and invidious as the task may be, I owe it to myself, to my posterity, and my country to perform it. I could have wished most earnestly to have been spared this development, but circumstances seem not to permit it.

If in the course of this investigation facts should be disclosed injurious to the fame of Col. Campbell, let it be remembered that I have been forced into it by imperious necessity. Sacred as the memory of Col. Campbell may be, it will be recollected that I also have a character and reputation which are dear to me, and which it is one of my highest duties to maintain and defend. The history of my life has never before been stained by an imputation of falsehood and dishonour. I am now in my seventy-third year, and almost the only object of worldly ambition that remains between me and the grave is that my memory may descend untarnished to my posterity and to my country—that country which

has appreciated my services, perhaps too highly, and with a bountiful and generous hand heaped upon me rewards and honours far beyond my poor deserving. But how must she blush at my name and the recollections of those honours which her mistaken gratitude has conferred upon me, if I am guilty of the falsehood and defamation with which Mr. Preston has charged me ! I am not guilty, my countrymen, and before any other tribunal than yours I would have scorned to reply to the unworthy accusations with which I am assailed.

To render the subject more intelligible and clear, and to show the grounds upon which I have made the statements contained in my private letters, I shall attempt to give some account of the battle of King's Mountain and the circumstances which led to it.

Upon the defeat of Gen. Gates and the American army at the battle of Camden, on the 16th of August, 1780, the Southern States were almost entirely abandoned to the enemy. The intelligence of that disastrous affair, and the defeat of Gen. Sumpter which soon followed, spread universal consternation and alarm. All the bodies of militia that were in arms through the country were compelled to fly before the enemy. Some of these detachments (part of which I commanded) fled towards the mountains, and were hotly pursued by Maj. Fergusson of the British army with a strong force. Failing in his attempt to intercept their retreat, he took post at Gilbert Town. At that place he paroled a prisoner (one Samuel Philips, a distant connection of mine), and instructed him to inform the officers on the Western

waters that if they did not desist from their opposition to the British arms, and take protection under his standard, he would march his army over the mountains, hang their leaders, and lay their country waste with fire and sword. Philips lived near to my residence, and came directly to me with this intelligence. I then commanded the militia of Sullivan county, North Carolina. In a few days I went 50 or 60 miles to see Col. Sevier, who was the efficient commander of Washington county, N. Carolina, to inform him of the message I had received, and to concert with him measures for our defence. After some consultation, we determined to march with all the men we could raise and attempt to surprise Fergusson by attacking him in his camp, or at any rate, before he was prepared for us. We accordingly appointed a time and place of rendezvous. It was known to us that some two or three hundred of the militia, who had been under the command of Col. McDowell, and were driven by the success of the enemy from the lower country, were then on the Western waters, and mostly in the county of Washington, N. C. We saw some of their officers before we parted ; Col. Sevier engaged to give notice to these refugees, and to bring them into our measure. On my part, I undertook to procure the aid and co-operation of Col. Wm. Campbell, of Washington county, Virginia, and the men of that county, if practicable.

Having made the arrangements with Sevier, I returned home immediately, and devoted myself to all the necessary preparations for our intended enterprise. I wrote to Col. Campbell, informing him

what Sevier and I had agreed on, and urged him to join us with all the men he could raise. This letter I sent express to him at his own house, forty miles distant, by my brother, Moses Shelby. Col. Campbell wrote me for answer that he had determined to raise what men he could, and march down by Flower Gap to the Southern borders of Virginia, to oppose Lord Cornwallis when he approached that State;—that he still preferred this course to the one proposed by Sevier and myself, and therefore declined agreeing to meet us. Of this I notified Col. Sevier by an express on the next day, and immediately issued an order calling upon all the militia of the county to hold themselves in readiness to march at the time appointed. I felt, however, some disappointment at the reply of Col. Campbell. The Cherokee towns were not more than 80 or 100 miles from the frontiers of my county, and we had received information that these Indians were preparing for a formidable attack upon us in the course of a few weeks; I was therefore unwilling that we should take away the whole disposable force of our counties at such a time; and without the aid of the militia under Col. Campbell's command, I feared that we could not otherwise have a sufficient force to meet Fergusson. I therefore wrote a second letter to Col. Campbell, and sent the same messenger back with it immediately, to whom I communicated at large our views and intentions, and directed him to urge them on Col. Campbell. This letter and messenger produced the desired effect, and Campbell wrote me that he would meet us at the time and place appointed. If

Mr. Preston and his relations have been as careful of these letters as they have been of some others, and will publish them, they will prove the correctness of this statement.

It surely cannot detract from the merits of Col. Campbell that this expedition was not set on foot by him but by others. He lived in Virginia, in a state of comparative security, and was preparing to aid his own State when she should be invaded. We lived in North Carolina, a great part of which State was prostrate before the British arms. We were nearer to the enemy, and we were threatened. We therefore determined to anticipate the invasion and vengeance meditated against us, and to strike the first blow. To do this effectually, we asked for and received the aid of the nearest county in a neighboring State. This was surely the natural and ordinary course of things. The 25th day of September, 1780, at Wataga, were the time and place appointed for our rendezvous. Col. Sevier had succeeded in engaging in our enterprise Col. Charles McDowell and many of the refugees before mentioned, and when assembled, our forces were as follows: "Col. Wm. Campbell, with 400 men from Washington county, Virginia;" Colonel John Sevier with 240 men from Washington county, North Carolina; Col. Charles McDowell with 160 men from the counties of Burke and Rutherford, who had fled before the enemy to the Western waters; and 240 men from Sullivan county, North Carolina under my command. On the next day (26th of the month) we began our march, crossed the mountains, and on the 30th were joined by Col. Benjamin

Cleaveland with 350 men from the counties of Wilkes and Surry, North Carolina. The little disorders and irregularities which began to prevail among our undisciplined troops, created much uneasiness in the commanding officers, the Colonels commanding regiments. We met in the evening and consulted about our future operations. It was resolved to send to headquarters for a general officer to command us, and that in the meantime we would meet in council every day to determine on the measures to be pursued and appoint one of our own body to put them in execution. I was not satisfied with this course, as I thought it calculated to produce delay, when expedition and dispatch were all important to us. We were then in 16 or 18 miles of Gilbert Town, where we supposed Fergusson to be. I suggested these things to the council, and then observed to the officers that we were all North Carolinians except Col. Campbell, who was from Virginia; that I knew him to be a man of good sense and warmly attached to the cause of his country; that he commanded the largest regiment, and that if they concurred with me we would, until a general officer arrived from headquarters, appoint *him* to command us and march immediately against the enemy. To this proposition some one or two said, "Agreed." No written minute or record was made of it. I made the proposition to silence the expectations of Col. McDowell to command us, he being the commanding officer of the district we were then in, and had commanded the armies of militia assembled in that quarter all the summer before against the same enemy.

He was a brave and patriotic man, but we considered him too far advanced in life and too inactive for the command of such an enterprise as we were then engaged in. I was sure he would not serve under a younger officer from his own State, and hoped that his feelings would in some degree be saved by the appointment of Col. Campbell. In this way, and upon my suggestion, was Col. Campbell raised to the command, and not on account of any superior talents or experience he was supposed to possess. He had no previous acquaintance with any of the colonels except myself; nor had he at that time acquired any experience or distinction in war, that we knew of. Col. McDowell, who had the good of his country more at heart than any title of command, submitted to what was done but observed that, as he could not be permitted to command, he would be the messenger to go to headquarters for the general officer. He accordingly started immediately, leaving his men under his brother, Maj. Joseph McDowell, and Colonel Campbell assumed the chief command. He was, however, to be regulated and directed by the determinations of the colonels, who were to meet in council every day.

On the morning after the appointment of Col. Campbell, we proceeded towards Gilbert Town, but found that Fergusson, apprised of our approach, had left there a few days before. On the next night, it was determined, in the council of officers, to pursue him unremittingly with as many of our troops as could be well armed and well mounted, leaving the weak horses and footmen to follow on as fast as they could. We accord-

ingly started about light next morning with 910 men thus selected. Continuing diligently our pursuit all that day, we were joined at the Cow-pens on the 6th by Col. John Williams of S. C. and several field officers, with about 400 men. Learning from him the situation and distance of the enemy, we traveled all that night and next day through heavy rains, and came up with them about three o'clock in the afternoon of the 7th of October. They were encamped on an eminence called King's Mountain, extending from east to west, which on its summit was about 500 or 600 yards long, and 60 or 70 broad. Our men were formed for battle as stated in the report of the action, made out and signed by some of the officers, and lately published by Mr. Preston. This report, however, omits to mention that the men who had belonged to Col. McDowell's command, which had been considerably augmented during the march, formed a part of the right wing under Sevier. Col. Campbell's regiment and my own composed the centre—his on the right and mine on the left. The right wing or column was led by Col. Sevier and Major Winston, the left by Colonels Cleaveland and Williams, and each of these wings was about as strong as Campbell's regiment and mine united. Our plan was to surround the mountain and attack the enemy on all sides. In this order and with this view, we marched immediately to the assault. The attack was commenced by the two centre columns, which attempted to ascend at the eastern end of the mountain. The battle here became furious and bloody, and many that belonged to Sevier's column were drawn

into the action at this point, to sustain their comrades. In the course of the battle we were repeatedly repulsed by the enemy and driven down the mountain. In this succession of repulses and attacks, and in giving succour to the points hardest pressed, much disorder took place in our ranks; the men of my column, of Campbell's column, and great part of Sevier's, were mingled together in the confusion of the battle. Toward the latter part of the action the enemy made a fierce and gallant charge upon us from the eastern summit of the mountain, and drove us near to the foot of it. The retreat was so rapid that there was great danger of its becoming a rout. While I was attempting to rally the men at a distance of about 200 yards from where the scene of action had been, I looked down the mountain and saw Col. Campbell sitting on his bald face black horse, about 200 yards further off, apparently looking right at me. He was in the same trim (with his coat off) that he had put himself in to fight the battle. I stopped my horse and raised myself up in my stirrups, to show him that I saw him. He did not move while I looked at him. Our men were soon rallied and turned back upon the enemy, who in a few minutes after we again came into close action with them, gave way. We gained the eastern summit of the mountain, and drove those who had been opposed to us along the top of it, until they were forced down the western end, about 100 yards, in a crowd, to where the other part of their line had been contending with Cleaveland and Williams, who were maintaining their ground below them. It was here that



Fergusson, the British commander, was killed, and a white flag was soon after hoisted by the enemy in token of surrender. They were ordered to throw down their arms, which they did, and surrendered themselves prisoners at discretion. It was some time before a complete cessation of the firing on our part could be effected. Our men, who had been scattered in the battle, were continually coming up, and continued to fire, without comprehending, in the heat of the moment, what had happened; and some, who had heard that at Buford's defeat the British had refused quarters to many who asked it, were willing to follow that bad example. Owing to these causes, the ignorance of some and the disposition of others to retaliate, it required some time and some exertion on the part of the officers to put an entire stop to the firing. After the surrender of the enemy, our men gave spontaneously three loud and long shouts.

It was not until 15 or 20 minutes after the enemy hoisted the flag of surrender, nor until some minutes after the shouts of our men had announced the victory, that I saw Col. Campbell on the west point of the mountain with his light-colored coat buttoned around him, coming down on foot with three others (all of whom I knew) to where the prisoners were. He came directly to me and stood by my side, and after a short space ordered the prisoners to sit down. He then proposed a second cheer, which, though joined in by many, was neither so general nor so loud as the first.

Before Col. Campbell came up, the

flag of the enemy and the sword of their commanding officer, Dupoister, had been received, not by me, but by my brother, Major Evan Shelby.

About ten o'clock on the day after the battle, I was standing alone, about 40 yards south of the spot where Col. Campbell came to me after the surrender, enjoying the warmth of the sun (for I had been very wet the day before, and was exposed to the cold dew of the mountain all night), when I saw Col. C. leave the line of guards that surrounded the prisoners, and walk slowly towards me, with his sword under his arm, till he came near touching me. He then, in a lower tone of voice than usual, and with a slight smile on his countenance, made the following expression: "Sir, I cannot account for my conduct in the latter part of the action."

An enterprise so daring and a victory so complete were supposed to entitle the officers who had conducted and achieved them, to some testimonials of their country's approbation. The legislature of Virginia voted to Col. Campbell a horse, sword and pistols; and the legislature of North Carolina, at their next session, were pleased to distinguish the services of Col. Sevier, myself and others, by voting to each of us a sword.

Such is the history of the battle of King's Mountain, and of the incidents connected with it, so far as they relate to the present controversy. Of those circumstances which relate to Col. Campbell personally, and which might have a tendency to diminish his reputation, I have seldom spoken, except in confidence, or to those who were previously acquainted with them. I am sure that

I may say, with perfect truth, that I have never spoken of them in a spirit of detraction.

I had long ceased to be a citizen of North Carolina. The sword voted by her had never yet been presented, although years had passed away. Of the one which was voted to me, I had for a long time rarely thought, until about the year 1810, when the prospect of approaching hostilities with G. Britain naturally roused in me ancient feelings, and recollections of our revolutionary war; and when also I learned from a relation of Mr. Preston, that the State of Virginia had given to him, as the representative of Col. Campbell, the elegant sword which had been voted to the latter, for his services at the battle of King's Mountain. These circumstances, and the reflections to which they gave rise, did produce some feelings of emulation and solicitude, and a sense that equal justice had not been done to all who had participated in that memorable achievement.

In this state of mind, my letters bearing date in 1810, were addressed to my old friend and fellow soldier, Col. Sevier. The object of them was to concert with him the means of reminding North Carolina of her ancient promise, and of obtaining those swords which thirty years before had been voted to us as the honorable memorials of our good conduct, and our country's approbation. In the course of this correspondence, after mentioning the unanimous example which Virginia had given to Carolina, by the honours conferred on the memory of Col. Campbell, I ventured to make some comparison of

the services of Sevier and myself with those of Col. Campbell. I stated in substance that the enterprise which resulted in the battle of King's Mountain, was not set on foot by Col. Campbell but by Sevier and myself, and that some address was necessary to induce him to unite with us. That the greater part of the men who crossed the mountains on that occasion may be fairly said to have been embodied by Sevier and myself; that Col. Campbell was not present in the latter part of the action, or when the enemy surrendered, nor for some minutes after, and that on the next day he apologized to me for his conduct.

These statements are all true within my own knowledge. They are more particularly explained and illustrated in the narrative which I have given above of the battle and the circumstances which led to it. But Mr. Preston has denied them—has impeached my veracity, and imputed to me the vilest and most dishonorable motives. It is yet in my power to establish the truth of these statements by the most respectable and unquestionable testimony. They are verified by the letters of Col. Sevier, written in reply to mine; by the statements of General Thomas Kennedy, Col. John Sawyers, James Cooper, Henry Blevins, John Long, Major William Delaney, Col. Matthew Willoughby, Col. John Sharp, William King, Esq., George Morrison, Jacob Isely, Jacob Bealer, Joseph Bealer, John Peters, Maj. Christopher Taylor, Rev. Felix Earnest, William Willoughby, Robert Elder, the affidavit of Col. Moses Shelby, and a multitude of others that might be added. All of whom either participated in the

battle of King's Mountain or speak from long tradition, and the information of those who did, and who are no more.

In Col. Sevier's letter to me of the 17th of January, 1810, he says: "It is true that Col. Campbell was not within one-quarter of a mile when the enemy surrendered to yourself and me." In another letter of the 27th of August, 1812, when speaking of the battle of King's Mountain, he says: "It is well known you were in the heat of the action. I frequently saw you animating your men to victory; at the surrender you were the first field officer I recollect to have seen. I have no doubt you must recollect Col. Campbell was some considerable distance from that place at that time, and that you and myself spoke on that subject the same evening. I perfectly recollect on my seeing you at the close of the action; that I swore by G—d they had burnt off your hair, for it was much burnt on one side. It is well known by some hundreds in Tennessee that you were Col. on that campaign, and that we were the only persons set on foot the expedition, and had considerable trouble to get Campbell to join us."

Gen. Kennedy (who belonged on that day to Sevier's column) states that he was a captain in the battle of King's Mountain, and fought on the eastwardly quarter of it, where Campbell's regiment was engaged; that he saw me frequently, but does "not recollect to have seen Col. Campbell during the action," etc. In his statement he further says, "I was within sixty or seventy yards of the enemy when they raised the flag, and was close in with them in a minute or

two afterwards, and I well recollect to have seen Col. Shelby there, one of the first men I met with. I remember to have heard several persons enquire for Col. Campbell before he came up, which was, I think, about fifteen minutes after the surrender. I also recollect to have heard it talked of in the army after the action, and for many years after when in conversation with men who were in that battle, that Col. Campbell was not at the surrender for some time after the enemy had laid down their arms."

Col. John Sawyers, than whom there is no man more entitled to credit, as certified by the most respectable and distinguished gentlemen of Tennessee, states that "Isaac Shelby, late Governor of Kentucky, held the command of colonel at the battle of King's Mountain; that I was a captain in his regiment, and know that he first planned the expedition with John Sevier," etc. "He (Shelby) was also among the first at the surrender. I saw him and Col. Sevier when the enemy laid down their arms, but did not see Col. Campbell for some time afterwards. I also state that Maj. Evan Shelby, brother of Isaac, and not Isaac Shelby, Sevier or Campbell, as I have heard that some now state, received the flag and sword. I also state that from this circumstance I was led to think of Col. Campbell at the time, looked for him among the officers, and do believe that if he had been there I would have seen him, and that he did not come up for 15 or 20 minutes after the enemy had laid down their arms and been placed under guard. I also know that it was the general talk at the time, and I have frequently since heard it

spoken of by men who were in the action, as an indisputable fact that he was not in the latter part of the action or at the surrender. I also recollect distinctly to have heard it said amongst the officers before we left the mountain, as well as on the way home and since, that Campbell himself admitted it, and in a private conversation with Col. Shelby on the mountain, had said that he could not account for it. I remember to have intended to ask Col. Shelby if this was so, but it has so happened that I have never mentioned this subject to him or him to me."

Maj. William Delaney states that "I was an orderly sergeant in the action of King's Mountain; that I was with Col. Shelby, and rode with him while placing a guard round the enemy after the surrender; that I did not see Col. Campbell in the latter part of the action or at the surrender for some minutes afterward, and that I heard this spoken of at the time as well as since. It is also my belief, from what I understood at the time (although I did not see it myself), that it was Major Evan Shelby, and neither of the four colonels, that received the sword from the British officer in command."

Colonel Moses Shelby states, upon oath, that he was twice wounded in the action on King's Mountain; that he was assisted down to a branch some small distance from the foot of the mountain on the east end, and that he saw Col. Campbell there, sitting on his black horse, this was about the middle of the action, and he knows "Col. Campbell did not leave that place until the battle was over, or until the firing had ceased."

Jacob Bealer states, that he was in Captain Pemberton's company in the battle of King's Mountain, "and amongst the very first at the place of surrender." "The commander asked for our General and gave his sword first to Maj. Evan Shelby, who kept it until Col. Campbell came up which was twenty minutes, and I think longer, afterwards. From the discourse which I heard between Col. Shelby and the British officers, I know that Campbell was not there, and that it was that length of time before he came up."

Joseph Bealer certifies that "I was at the surrender with my brother (Jacob Bealer) at his side, and saw and heard what he had stated in the above certificate, and know them to be true, and have always spoken of them and heard them spoken of by those who were there in this way."

John Peters also states that he "was in Capt. Pemberton's company with Jacob and Joseph Bealer, and amongst the first at the surrender. That I know of my own knowledge that what Jacob Bealer has stated in his certificate, is true—that the enemy surrendered and there was a ring made round them 15 or 20 minutes before I looked up and saw Col. Campbell coming with two or three others down the mountain—this is what I have always heard and never heard it contradicted."

The statements of the other individuals who are above named tend to confirm the same facts. They are subjoined.

With respect to the certificates published by Mr. Preston, I shall leave the public to compare them with the facts I

have stated and form their own judgment. I will only observe, however, that John McCulloch is the only one of those whose statements have been published, that I have had any opportunity of communicating with, and he has certified that he never signed the certificate published as his. The statement which he there makes, "that he saw Col. Campbell at the enemy's markee," etc., is very unimportant and proves nothing. That "markee" was at the east end of the mountain, and 500 or 600 yards from where the enemy surrendered.

The testimonials which I have now exhibited will satisfy the world that the statements contained in my letters are true. I deeply and sincerely regret the necessity that has been cast upon me of discussing in defence of my own character, a subject so delicate and so invidious. It is a controversy that I have not sought—it is one that I would have avoided, if any alternative had been left me. My letters to Col. Sevier were written in all the confidence of a private correspondence with an old friend. I question not the motives that influenced his son to publish them after the death of his father, but certainly it was an event altogether unexpected by me. The circumstances under which those letters were written, the person to whom addressed, and their private and confidential character must convince the world that I did not write them for the purpose of defaming the memory of Col. Campbell, or with any design of giving an invidious publicity to the unpleasant truths which they contain. And if to have spoken the truth require an apology

—if one be due either to the living or the dead, the circumstances of this case amply furnish it; and ought to have mitigated the violence and injustice with which Mr. Preston has assailed me. I do not say this to deprecate the wrath or censure of anyone; for I am conscious of no impropriety and I fear no consequences. Mr. Preston states that I have charged Col. Campbell with cowardice. I have made no such charge. I have stated facts only and cowardice is the inference or construction which he chooses to make. The facts stated, I know to be true, but yet I do not believe that Col. Campbell was a coward. I believe that in the commencement and first part of the action he acted bravely, and that his subsequent conduct was the effect of some unaccountable panic, to which the bravest men are subject. Such at least are the sentiments which I have indulged and cherished; and these combined with my regard for Col. Campbell and his relatives and connections, will not only furnish a ready answer to the question so exultingly asked by Mr. Preston, why I did not long ago denounce his ancestor to the world as a coward and a poltroon?—but will also account for my long and habitual silence on the subject. They will account, too, when taken in conjunction with Col. Campbell's good conduct during a part of the action, for the expressions which Mr. Preston has quoted as used by me in the autograph letter to which he alludes. I can only say that I have no recollection of that letter. I pretend not, however, to doubt its existence since it is affirmed by Mr. Preston and

it having ever been my wish to shield the memory of Col. Campbell's from reproach.

As to the document of curious "character" (the report of the battle, etc., signed by the officers), to which Mr. Preston so triumphantly refers as furnishing contradictions to the statements contained in my letters, it may be remarked that it was not drawn up on King's Mountain, nor until some days after we had left it—that it is nothing more than a brief and hurried account in general terms of the expedition and the battle, drawn up to authenticate the intelligence of our victory and to give tone to public report. This document, inaccurate and indefinite as it is in some particulars, furnishes none of those contradictions, which Mr. Preston has supposed to exist.

To make out one of those supposed contradictions, he quotes that part of it which states, "That the troops upon the right having gained the summit of the eminence, obliged the enemy to retreat along the top of the ridge to where Col. Cleaveland commanded, and were there stopt by his brave men;—a flag was hoisted," etc. Having interpolated, in parenthesis, after the word "right," in the above quotation, the words "Col. Campbell's division," Mr. Preston exclaims, "thus it is given under Col. Shelby's own hand in 1780, that the enemy was routed by the division commanded by Col. Campbell in person." The document authorizes no such conclusion, and it is only rendered plausible from the interpolation which he has made. The truth is, as I have before stated it, that a great part of the column

commanded by Sevier, owing to the heavy fire in front of the two central columns, was drawn into the action on the East end of the mountain, and became mingled and blended with them during the remainder of the action. This fact is proved by the certificates of Messrs. Kennedy, Taylor and Earnest, who belonged to Sevier's column on that day.

"This venerable memoir" is also supposed by Mr. Preston to furnish "a contradiction in terms" to that part of one of my letters to Col. Sevier, where I state "that it may be fairly said, that the great body of men who crossed the mountains on that expedition were raised and embodied by your and my own united exertions." There is, in reality, no contradiction. It is true, as stated in that "memoir," that Col. Campbell brought with him 400 men from Washington County, Va., and that Sevier's regiment and mine consisted of only 240 men each. But when it shall be recollected, as I have before related, how this expedition was set on foot, how by the exertions of Sevier and myself, the refugees were assembled and brought to unite with us, and how the co-operation of Col. Campbell was obtained, I think that I am fully justified in having stated to Sevier "that it may be fairly said that most of the men who crossed the mountains," etc., were embodied by our exertions, or at least that I shall be relieved from that direct contradiction which Mr. Preston supposes must entirely destroy my credibility.

As to the propriety of Mr. Preston's remarks in relation to the newspaper publication in 1812, in which I am repre-

for the universe detract from the merits of a brother officer long since in the silent tomb, for whose memory I have ever felt a high respect and esteem, and sincerely regret the appearance of that unguarded production, and would say everything consistent with truth to remove the unpleasant sensations it may have occasioned. Perhaps you attach more importance to that anonymous publication than it deserves. If however you should choose to make any comments upon it, unless they go to impeach my veracity or honour, they shall pass without my notice. But I shall regret it extremely, if you should so notice that unauthorised production, as to compel me to express the foregoing sentiments, or exhibit a document in my hands respecting that delicate subject. I should be glad of an interview with you. Will anything lead you to Frankfort? If it should, be so good as to drop me a line.

With great respect, I am, Sir,
your ob't Serv't,
ISAAC SHELBY.

[*Note.* In addition to the foregoing, it may not now be improper to state, that I also requested the editor of the Reporter to publish nothing further relative to Col. Campbell—that if any of Col. C.'s friends wished to publish in reply, first to refer them to me, and I would endeavour to satisfy them. Also that Col. J. B. C. did call on me at Frankfort in pursuance to the request in my letter, when we conversed fully on the subject of the battle of King's Mountain and the conduct of his relative. He expressed his satisfaction, remarked that it was a delicate subject, etc., that it was best to say nothing about it.]

(No. 3)

Extract from Col. Sevier's letter, dated 17th January, 1810, in answer to mine of the 1st of January, 1810, as published.

"It is true that Col. Campbell was not within one quarter of a mile when the enemy surrendered to yourself and me. Without detracting from the merits of Col. Campbell, there were other officers in the battle of King's Mountain, that merited as much notice from their country as himself."

(No. 4)

Extract from a second letter, dated 27th August, 1812.

Speaking of the action of King's Mountain, Col. Sevier says:—"It is well known, you were in the heat of the action. I frequently saw you animating your men to victory. At the surrender you were the first field officer I recollect to have seen. I have no doubt you must recollect Col. Campbell was some considerable distance from that place at that time, and that you and myself spoke on that subject the same evening. I perfectly recollect on my seeing you at the close of the action that I swore by—they had burnt off your hair, for it was much burnt on one side. It is well known by some hundreds in Tennessee, that you were Colonel on that Campaign, and that we were the only persons set on foot the expedition, and had considerable trouble to get Campbell to join us."

(No. 5)

Gen. Thomas Kennedy's Certificate.

I, Thomas Kennedy, of Garrard county in the state of Kentucky, do hereby certify—That I commanded a company of volunteers in the battle of King's Mountain on the 7th of October, 1780, and that I fought in Major McDowell's battalion on the eastwardly quarter of the mountain. I do not recollect to have seen Col. Campbell during the action; he might have been engaged too far off from me. But I well recollect to have seen and heard Col. Shelby at different times, animating and encouraging the men, before we were compelled to retreat, and when the enemy charged and drove us rapidly down to the foot of the mountain, I saw Col. Shelby using great exertions to rally the men, and I believe it was owing to his efforts principally, that they were rallied and turned back upon the enemy; when the firing again commenced most furiously for about ten minutes. The enemy then began to give way in their turn, but continued a scattering fire upon us, until they retreated near to the west end of the mountain (which was from four to six hundred yards), where they surrendered. I was within sixty or seventy yards of the enemy when they raised the flag, and was close in with them in a minute

or two afterwards; and well recollect to have seen Colonel Shelby there, one of the first men I met with. I remember to have heard several persons enquire for Col. Campbell before he came up, which was I think, about fifteen minutes after the surrender. I also recollect to have heard it talked of in the army after the action, and for many years after when in conversation with men who were in that battle, that Colonel Campbell was not at the surrender, for some time after the enemy had laid down their arms. Given under my hand this 25th day Nov., 1822.

THOMAS KENNEDY.

(No. 6)

Colonel John Sawyers' Certificate.

I, John Sawyers, of the County of Knox, and State of Tennessee, do certify, that Isaac Shelby, late Governor of Kentucky, held the command of Colonel at the battle of King's Mountain—that I was a captain in his regiment, and know that he first planned the expedition with John Sevier, who then held a similar commission—that said Shelby went courageously into the action—was the commander who rallied the Sullivan troops when broken—that I saw him and received directions from him frequently on the mountain in the heat of the action, and heard him animating his men to victory. He was also among the first at the surrender. I saw him and Col. Sevier when the enemy laid down their arms but did not see Colonel Campbell for some minutes afterwards. I also state, that Major Evan Shelby, brother of Isaac and not Isaac Shelby, Sevier or Campbell, as I have heard that some now state, received the flag and sword. I also state that from this circumstance I was led to think of Campbell at the time, looked for him amongst the other officers, and do believe that if he had been there, I should have seen him; and that he did not come up for fifteen or twenty minutes after the enemy had laid down their arms and been placed under guard. I also know that it was the general talk at the time, and that I have frequently since heard it spoken of by men who were in the action, as an indisputable fact, that he was not in the latter part of the action or at the surrender. I also recollect distinctly to have heard it said amongst the officers

before we left the mountain, as well as on the way home and since, that Campbell himself admitted it, and in a private conversation with Colonel Shelby on the mountain had said that he could not account for it. I remember to have intended to have asked Shelby if this was so, but it so happened that I have never since named this subject to him or him to me. Given under my hand, 16th Feby., 1823.

JOHN SAWYERS.

We the undersigned have been long acquainted with the person and character of Col. John Sawyers of County of Knox and State of Tennessee, and we declare that in our opinion there is no man more entitled to credit upon his word or upon his oath. Given under our hands at Knoxville, this 22nd Feby., 1823.

P. M. MILLER.

W. G. BLOUNT.

W. C. MYNATT.

W. E. ANDERSON.

[One other name not legible.]

(No. 7)

James Cooper's Certificate.

I, James Cooper, of the County of Hawkins and State of Tennessee, do certify, that in the section of country in which I live, I have heard it generally spoken of by the soldiers who were in the battle of King's Mountain, that Col. Campbell did not act as bravely on that occasion as he did on some others, that it was a well-known fact that he did not make his appearance at the place of surrender until after the enemy had been taken from their arms and placed under guard—that this is the way in which I have always heard my neighbours, James Campbell, John Long, and several others, speak of this matter. Given under my hand this 18th day of February, 1823.

JAMES COOPER.

(No. 8)

The Statement of Col. Moses Shelby, made upon oath.

I, Moses Shelby, do state that I was in the battle against the British and Tories upon King's Mountain on the 7th day of October 1780, in Col. Isaac Shelby's regiment. That I received two wounds in that action; by the last wound through my thigh near my body, I was rendered

unable to walk, or to stand without help, and was assisted down to a branch, some small distance from the foot of the mountain, at the east end—at which place I saw Colonel William Campbell, (our commander) sitting on his black horse. I knew him perfectly as I was well acquainted with him. This was about the middle of the action, and I do know that Colonel Campbell did not leave that place until the battle was over, or until the firing had ceased. All this is true, and within my own knowledge. Given under my hand at New Madrid, this 2nd day of November, A.D. 1822. MOSES SHELBY.

(No. 9)

Henry Blevins' Certificate.

I, Henry Blevins, of Hawkins County, East Tennessee, do certify that I was a private in Captain Elliot's company in Shelby's regiment at King's Mountain; I was not in the action, but in the rear guard with the baggage; I know, however, that it was the general talk in the army on the next day, that Col. Campbell was not in the action, after they were first beaten back down the mountain, and that he himself admitted it, and said that he could not tell how it happened. I recollect to have heard him told of it once, by General Sevier. The way in which this took place was this: there were about thirty Tories condemned to be hanged, nine only were executed. They were executed three at a time, near to Sevier's tent; while it was going on, Campbell came up and demanded in an angry manner, why they did not hang all these damned rascals at once? Sevier laughed and replied, "Why, Colonel, if we had all been as much in earnest in the action, I think we should have killed more and had fewer of them to hang." I also heard it thrown up to him by two men who were wounded, William Cox and Moses Shelby. I heard Sevier say, at different times afterwards, that if he had acted as Campbell did in the action, he would not have blamed his men to have killed him. It has been the general talk amongst those who I have heard speak on this subject at different times, that Campbell did not act with his usual bravery on that occasion.

Given under my hand this 18th day of February, 1823. HENRY BLEVINS.

I, Richard Mitchell, of Hawkins County, do certify that the above and foregoing statement of Henry Blevins was a voluntary statement made by him in my presence.

RICHARD MITCHELL.

(No. 10)

John Long's Certificate.

I, John Long, of the County of Hawkins, and State of Tennessee, do certify, that I was a soldier in Shelby's regiment at the battle of King's Mountain; that I know that Colonel Shelby went bravely into the action, and that it was his influence that rallied our troops when broken; that I saw him at the surrender, and know that he first stopped the firing on the enemy, declaring that as they had surrendered they ought not to be fired upon, which some were disposed to do, who were crying out "Buford's play," wishing to retaliate for their conduct on a former occasion. I also state, that I did not see Colonel Campbell either in the latter part of the action or at the surrender, and that it was the common talk in the army, and among the men coming home, and frequently since, that he was in neither. I also recollect to have heard it laughed about afterwards, that Colonel Sevier had told Campbell that if we had all been as brave in the action as about the hanging of the Tories, that we should not have had so many of them to hang. I have heard it said ever since by those who were in the action, that Campbell was not in the latter part of the action, and had not acted as bravely on that day as it is said he had done on other occasions.

Given under my hand this, the 19th day of February, 1823.

JOHN LONG.

Certificate of John Cawood, Esq.

I, John Cawood, of Sullivan County and State of Tennessee, do certify, that I have been acquainted with John Long, who lives at present in Hawkins County, for more than forty years, and that from all that I have known and heard of him, I should be as much disposed to believe any statement which he would make, and esteem it entitled to implicit confidence, as that of any other man in the state; and he has throughout all that period,

been regarded by all who knew him, (so far as I know and believe) as a man of strictest integrity and maintained a highly respectable character.

Given under my hand this 22nd February, 1823.

JOHN CAWOOD.

(No. 11)

Major William Delaney's Certificate.

I, William Delaney, of the County of Sullivan and State of Tennessee, do certify, that I was an orderly sergeant in the action of King's Mountain; that I know that Isaac Shelby distinguished himself on that occasion, and that it was generally said by those who I heard speak of it at the time, that he was entitled to more credit than any other officer at the mountain, that I was with him and rode with him while placing a guard round the enemy after the surrender; that I did not see Col. Campbell in the latter part of the action, or at the surrender for some minutes afterwards, and that I heard this spoken of at the time as well as since. It is also my belief from what I understood at the time (though I did not see it myself) that it was Major Evan Shelby and neither of the four colonels that received the sword from the British officer in command.

* * * * *

Given under my hand this 21st February, 1823.

WILLIAM DELANEY.

(No. 12)

Colonel John Sharp's Certificate.

I, John Sharp, of the County of Sullivan and State of Tennessee, do certify, that I was an Ensign in Capt. Pemberton's company, in the battle of King's Mountain, and that I was in the front line when the enemy surrendered; that Colonel Shelby was the first man I heard order the enemy to lay down their arms; after they began to cry for quarters he damned them, if they wanted quarters, why did they not lay down their arms. I also state, that I did not see Col. Campbell until some minutes afterwards, though I never heard him charged with cowardice on that account and do not pretend to say that he did not do his duty. All I can say is, that I did not see him at that time. Given under my hand this 21st day Feb., 1823.

JOHN SHARP.

(No. 12)

Certificate of William King, Esq.

I, William King, of Sullivan County and State of Tennessee do certify, that I have been a resident in this county for about forty years past; that though I was not in the battle of King's Mountain, yet I have very often in early times heard our men who were there, converse on this subject, and state, that Colonel Campbell was not in the latter part of the action, or at the surrender to receive the sword from the British Commandant. I also declare that I never heard it either from Colonel Shelby or from any of his family connections.

Given under my hand this 21st day of February, 1823.

WILLIAM KING.

(No. 13)

George Morrison's Certificate.

I, George Morrison, of the County of Sullivan and State of Tennessee, do certify, that I have often heard my father, Peter Morrison, and my father-in-law, Jonathan Wood, who were both in the battle of King's Mountain, but since dead, state that Colonel Campbell was not in the latter part of the action, or at the surrender for some time after the enemy had laid down their arms.

Given under my hand this 20th day of February, 1823.

GEORGE MORRISON.

(No. 14)

Jacob Isely's Certificate.

I, Jacob Isely, of the County of Sullivan and State of Tennessee, do certify, that though I was not in the action of King's Mountain, I have ever since lived in the neighbourhood of a number of men who were there, and have always heard it said by them, that Colonel Campbell was not in the latter part of the battle—that he went bravely into this action, but after the men were beaten back, had staid down at a branch with the wounded men, until the firing had ceased. I also state that I have often heard old Martin Roler, who was in the action, laugh about what Sevier had said to Campbell, when Campbell wanted all the tories hung, that if we had all been as brave in the action, there would have been fewer to hang. Moses Shelby and John Fagon, two of the men who were

wounded, often stated after their return in my presence and that of many others, that they saw Colonel Campbell at the branch, from the middle of the action, until after the surrender. I have also heard Thomas Elliott and Martin Roler both say often that Moses Shelby had stated it to his face. Given under my hand 19th February, 1823.

JACOB ISELY.

(No. 15)

Jacob Bealer's Certificate.

I, Jacob Bealer, of the County of Sullivan, do state that I was in the battle of King's Mountain in Captain Pemberton's company, and was amongst the very first at the place of surrender—that when the enemy cried out for quarters I heard Colonel Shelby curse them and ask if they wanted quarters why did they not lay down their arms. The commander asked for our General, and gave his sword first to Major Evan Shelby, who kept it until Colonel Campbell came up, which was twenty minutes and I think longer afterwards. From the discourse which I heard between Colonel Shelby and the British officer, I know that Campbell was not there, and that it was that length of time before he came up. Given under my hand this 23rd February, 1823.

JACOB BEALER.

(No. 16)

Joseph Bealer's Certificate.

I, Joseph Bealer, do certify ; that I was at the surrender with my brother (Jacob Bealer), at his side, and saw and heard what he has stated in the above certificate and know them to be true, and have always spoken of them and heard them spoken of by those who were there, in this way.

Given under my hand this 23rd February, 1823.

JOSEPH BEALER.

(No. 17)

John Peters' Certificate.

I, John Peters, of the County of Sullivan, do certify : that I was also in Captain Pemberton's company with Jacob and Joseph Bealer, and amongst the first at the surrender—that I know of my own knowledge that what Jacob Bealer

has stated in his certificate, is true ;—that the enemy surrendered and there was a ring made round them fifteen or twenty minutes before I looked up and saw Colonel Campbell coming, with two or three others down the mountain—this is what I have always heard, and never heard it contradicted.

Given under my hand, 23rd February, 1823.

JOHN PETERS.

(No. 18)

Major Christopher Taylor's Certificate.

I, Christopher Taylor, of Washington County and State of Tennessee, do certify : that I was a captain in the battle of King's Mountain, and saw Colonel Campbell twice in the heat of action, before we were last beaten down the mountain—but that I did not see him in the latter part of the action, or at the surrender for some minutes afterwards. — After the enemy were placed in a ring and a guard four men deep placed around them, I saw him come up, close to the place where I stood, and an opening made for him to go amongst them—before this one of the Shelby's, and I think Evan, had received the flag, the first one having been shot down, and I saw him ride round or nearly round the enemy, telling our men that they had given up, and endeavour in that way to stop the firing. I have always believed that Colonels Shelby and Sevier acted with distinguished bravery on that occasion.

Given under my hand this 25th February, 1823.

CHRISTOPHER TAYLOR.

(No. 19)

Rev. Felix Earnest's Certificate.

February 28th, 1823.

I, Felix Earnest, of the County of Green and State of Tennessee, do certify ; that I was in Sevier's regiment, Capt. Williams' company, at the battle of King's Mountain—that I was at the surrender and saw the enemy stacking their arms and a guard placed round them, but that I did not see Col. Campbell at the place of surrender for some minutes after.

Given under my hand the day and date above written.

FELIX EARNEST.

(No. 20)

William Willoughby's Certificate.

I, William Willoughby, of Lincoln County, and State of Kentucky, do hereby certify—that I was a Lieutenant in Capt. Beattie's company and Col. Campbell's regiment in the battle of King's Mountain. It has always been my opinion that Col. Isaac Shelby and Col. John Sevier deserved as much honor from their country on that occasion as any other officers on the mountain—that I saw Col. Shelby often animating our men during the action. I did not see Colonel Campbell after the commencement of the action nor at the surrender until the enemy were in the act of stacking their arms. I have always understood that Col. Shelby received the sword from the British Commander, and I also state (although I don't know it of my own knowledge) that it was a report, thirty or forty years ago, that Col. Campbell was not present at the surrender to receive the sword from the British Commander.

Given under my hand, this 17th day of March, 1823.

WILLIAM WILLOUGHBY.

(No. 21)

Robert Elder's Certificate.

I, Robert Elder, do hereby certify, that I was a volunteer of the regiment commanded by Colonel William Campbell, in the action fought upon King's Mountain, on the 7th day of October, in the year 1780, and do hereby declare, that I never saw Col. Campbell on the field of battle after the first onset of the action, until the surrender of the enemy. I also declare, that I often saw Colonel Isaac Shelby endeavouring to animate our men, and particularly at the time of the battle when the enemy charged our lines and drove us down the mountain, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred yards, or upwards. I both saw and heard Colonel Shelby make great exertions to rally our men, which he finally effected, and turned them back upon the enemy, and drove them in their turn until they surrendered.

Given under my hand, this 2d day of April, 1823.

ROBERT ELDER.

(No. 22)

John McCulloch's Certificate.

I, John McCulloch, of the County of Washington and State of Virginia, do state: that though I was applied to by the friends of the late Col. Campbell, to know what I could state in relation to the battle of King's Mountain, I never did subscribe to the certificate which I am told has been published in my name; or have I ever seen it, either in writing or in print, and cannot therefore say whether it states the truth or not. I saw Colonel Campbell at the enemy's markee; how far it was from there to the place of surrender, or whether the enemy or some of them might not then be surrendering, I cannot state.

JOHN MCCULLOCH.

(No. 23)

General James Winchester, of Tennessee, in a letter to Thomas Smith, Esq., dated in February last, says, in relation to Mr. Preston's publication:

"I perfectly recollect in the year 1785, when I first came to this country, that a number of respectable men, among whom were the Bledsoes, well acquainted with the affair of King's Mountain, did not hesitate to say, that Sevier and Shelby had a fair claim to the honours of that day; that Campbell was some distance from the place of action, etc."

NOTES

A FRIENDLY PRESENT.—*Philadelphia, September 7, 1732.* A Treaty has been lately made with the Ambassadors of the Six Nations of Indians who have been here for some time, in order to renew the ancient Chain of Friendship between them and us; and on Thursday last several presents were made them, particularly, our Proprietor presented them with Six Guns curiously wrought, and the Stocks inlaid with Gold, the finest that has ever been seen here, to

be delivered as a mark of his Affection. one to the King of each Nation; and on Saturday they had their Audience of Leave in order to return Home.

W. K.

TALES OF THE REVOLUTION.—The following capital illustration of the authenticity of war news as furnished by the newspapers, was printed in the Public Advertiser, at London, in 1777. It seems worthy of reproduction and preservation in a journal of American History :

PETERSFIELD.

HISTORY OF THE WAR IN AMERICA.

Iliacos intra muros peccatur et extra.—Virg.

BRITISH ACCOUNTS.

AMERICAN RELATIONS.

¹
The Rebel Troops are now reduced to a very small number; they are all the vilest Ragamuffins imaginable, lousy and ill clothed, having scarce anything to cover their nakedness.

¹
Our Troops are in high spirits; they are well paid and well fed; we have Abundance of Arms, Ammunition and good clothing. In a very short time we shall have a gallant Army of 75,000 Men complete.

²
In all the late Skirmishes in the Jerseys with the Rebels, the King's Troops have come off victorious.

²
Ever since the affair of Trenton, the Continental Troops have constantly defeated the British and Hessian Forces.

³
Gen. Lee is in a desponding condition; he endeavors to recruit his spirits by liquor. It is an undoubted Truth, that he is just now sent to England on board one of his Majesty's Ships of War.

³
Gen. Howe has endeavored in vain to open a Treaty with the Congress by the good offices of Gen. Lee, who is still at Brunswick, and in good Spirits.

⁴
Mr. Dickenson, Author of the Farmer's Letters, is so offended at the unjust and cruel conduct of the Congress, that he has raised an Army of 5,000 Men, with which he has totally defeated a large Body of the Rebels on the Banks of the Delaware.

⁴
Mr. Dickenson, on account of his advanced age, has retired to his estate at Dover, near Philadelphia. He entirely approves of the American Cause, and his two Sons are Officers in the Provincial Army.

⁵
The Congress is greatly diminished, owing to their continual dissensions, several of them are escaped to New York, and are under the protection of Gen. Howe. One of the members of this despotical assembly lately hanged himself in a fit of despair.

⁶
The Rebels are worse than Savages; they behave with their utmost cruelty to their prisoners; some they kill in cold Blood; they strip the slain and offer all manner of indignity to the dead bodies.

⁵
The Congress were never so unanimous as at present. They are returned to Philadelphia in Triumph.

⁶
Nothing has more united all the Colonies in a strict Bond of Union than the brutal cruelties of the British Troops and their bloody Mercenaries; besides the practice of killing in cold Blood several hundreds who laid down their arms, they rob and plunder wherever they go; they make no distinction between friends & foes. They ravish virgins before the eyes of their parents; nay, they break open the tombs of the dead, and expose the bodies of those who have been buried for some time.

⁷
The Colony of Georgia has revolted entirely from the Congress, and taken the Oaths to his Majesty. Great Numbers are coming from all quarters to accept the terms of the Proclamation.

⁷
The Colony of Georgia continues faithful to its engagements to the Congress. Col. Mackintosh, the commanding officer, vows he will drub Gov. Tonym, and his Florida Troops, if they offer to invade his Province any more. Not a single hamlet or family have submitted voluntari'y to Howe

⁸
Washington is certainly dead of a Putrid fever.

⁸
We can assure the Public, from good authority, that Gen. Washington is in Perfect Health.

The above, Mr. Printer, are pretty faithful transcripts from the different narratives of the two contending parties. Which am I to believe? The several articles on each side are vouched to be authentic intelligence. Like two witnesses in a cause, who swear to the truth of different and contradictory facts, they prove at least that one side is perjured and dishonest. For my own part, I incline to the sentiment inculcated in my motto—that the Ministerialists and the Friends of the Colonists are both guilty of Falsehood and Misrepresentation. SCALE.

PUNISHMENT IN THE AMERICAN ARMY.
 —Their discipline is very severe; the power of the officers over the soldiers very extensive; they whip for slight faults; I was by accident together with some French officers a witness of this severe punishment. The culprit is attached to the wheel of a cannon carriage, the shoulders bare, the arms extended forward so as to give more tension to the muscles; each soldier of his company strikes him in turn with a thick stick; he is soon bathed in blood. What astonished us and caused us to remain the longer spectators of this painful scene was that two of the unfortunate fellows whom we saw suffer the same punishment did not utter a single complaint, not even a sigh, nor tremble in the least— Is this courage? or is physical sensitiveness less in a people whose fibres the forest air, the use of tea and milk have prodigiously softened?—
From the Abbé Robin's Nouveau Voyage dans l'Amérique Septentrionale.

EDITOR.

FIRST CHANDLERY FACTORY IN AMERICA.—This extensive and lucrative branch of business in Newport was introduced here by the Jews who immigrated here from Portugal somewhere about the year 1745 to 50. They possessed the art of preparing the sperm for candles, which they kept as a great secret for a number of years, by which some of them became rich. The Jewish population of Newport were respectable and respected by their neighbours. One of the first merchants for wealth, enterprise, and commercial intelligence then in the colonies was Aaron Lopez of New-

port, a native of Portugal and a Jew,
 —*Rhode Island Republican, May 12. 1860.*

Of the sixteen persons engaged in this business before the revolution, three, Riveria, Aaron Lopez and Seixas, were Jews.

Newport.

J. E. M.

THE FIRST DUEL IN THE UNITED STATES.—The first duel in the United States was fought at Plymouth, Massachusetts, on the 18th of June, 1621, between Edward Doty and Edward Leicester, two servants, both of whom were wounded. For this outrage they were sentenced to the punishment of having their heads and feet tied together, and of lying thus twenty-four hours without food or drink. After suffering, however, in that painful posture an hour, at their masters' intercession and their own humble request, with the promise of amendment, they were released by the Governor. — *Portland (Me.) Press, 1880.*

NEWPORT TRADE IN 1723.—The trade to Africa, in New England Rum, was first found out by the merchants of Newport in the year 1723, where it soon rivaled the French trade to that country in Brandy; and the merchants of Newport having first introduced the article there, continued to reap a good profit, which increased the business of distilling until the distilleries in the Colony amounted to 30 or over—twenty-two of which were in the town of Newport.—
Rhode Island Republican, Nov. 22, 1857.

J. E. M.

Newport.

FOUNDING OF PORT KENT, ESSEX CO., N. Y.—A company has been recently formed at Chesterfield, N. Y., nearly opposite Burlington, Vt., for the purpose of building a wharf and a village. The site selected is a little north of Trembleau Point, named at a recent meeting of the proprietors, Port Kent. The wharf and quay are more than two thirds completed. A spacious road has been laid out over a level surface to Keesville, about three and a half miles, which will add much to the importance of the place. "The facility of communication with the interior," says a letter from that place, "will doubtless accelerate the progress of iron manufactories, and call into action the dormant energies of the county, which must in its effect benefit the entire community, and yet in no manner withdraw from Plattsburg that portion of country which has been accustomed to trade there."—*N. Y. Gazette*, Sept. 24, 1823.

W. K.

THE NEW YORK CINCINNATI.—We are informed on excellent authority that after the passage of their rule of 1852, admitting to membership all male descendants, though not in a direct line from the original, provided for in the aristocratic constitution of the Society there were admitted quite a number of descendants of Nicholas Fish and Samuel B. Webb, both original founders. Their number led a witty member of the kindred institution of New Jersey to remark that it was fast becoming an aquatic society, Fishy and Webb-footed.

CINCINNATUS.

CANADIAN TEMPERATURE.—Mercury froze in the bulb of a thermometer at Montreal on the 28th January, 1823. Observed by Dr. Alexander Shakel, who called the attention of three of his teachers to the fact, broke the tube, handled the solid mercury, and suffered it to roll away on the floor like a marble. The temperature at the time by the spirit thermometer was 42° below zero.

Mercury froze almost throughout Lower Canada January 10, 1859. At Lenoxville, 44° below zero; at Island Pond, beyond the Canadian boundary line, 49° below zero was reported.—*One Hundred Questions in Canadian History*, Montreal, 1880.

EDITOR.

QUERIES

BATTLE OF THE BRANDYWINE.—Where can I find any pamphlets or printed documents relating to the Battle of the Brandywine? I wish to see some more detailed account of that engagement than appears in the general histories.

Brazil, Indiana.

T. M. R.

THE RANDAL MAPS.—Some years ago the widow of John Randal, Jr., who served as deputy surveyor to the Commissioners who laid out the city of New York north of the present Houston street, offered for sale his original field books and partly finished maps. They were reputed to be of great value in settling disputed boundary lines. Can any of your readers give information as to their present whereabouts?

REAL ESTATE.

THE FIRST STEAM ENGINE IN AMERICA.—I read in the newspapers a short time ago an interview with the Hon. Abram S. Hewitt on political affairs. in which that gentleman stated that his father was the first person to erect a steam engine in this country. This must be an error, as I have found references to steam engines in use at the old Schuyler copper mine in New Jersey, at the water works in New York City, before the Revolution, and quite early in Philadelphia. What was the date of the first engine, and where was Mr. Hewitt's located?

THOS. ARMSTRONG.

THE BOWNE HOUSE AT FLUSHING, L. I.—Occasional references appear in the local papers of Long Island in regard to an ancient house at Flushing, L. I., known as the "Bowne House." It is to be supposed that it has an interesting history to warrant such frequent notice. Mention is made also of a collection of relics gathered there. Information is requested as to any authentic account of this memorial of the olden time.

Bowery Bay.

G. T. S.

FOX HALL MANOR.—I have seen repeated allusions to this estate, which lay somewhere on the Hudson River. Can any of your readers give its precise location, and define its limits?

A. H.

A WASHINGTON PORTRAIT. — In a letter, dated Philadelphia, March 11, 1795, from Charlotte Chambers, daughter of Gen. James Chambers of Pennsylvania, afterwards Mrs. Israel Ludlow

of Cincinnati, to her mother in Franklin county, speaking of a visit made her by Mrs. Washington, she thus writes:

"On taking leave she observed a portrait of the President hanging over the mantel piece, and said she 'never had seen a correct likeness of Gen. Washington. The only merit the numerous portraits of him possessed was their resemblance to each other.'"

The writer of this letter was the guest of "Mrs. Cadwalader," presumably Mrs. General Cadwalader. Where is the portrait which is spoken of?

Harrisburg.

A. B. H.

THE EPISCOPAL ESTABLISHMENT IN NEW YORK.—Was there ever any Establishment of the Episcopal Church in the New York Province? It is so claimed by American ecclesiastical authorities, but I have been unable to find any record of it.

CAREY.

DESCENDANTS OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON.—Sir William Johnson, in his will, dated 1774, made shortly before his death, after requesting that the remains of his deceased wife Catharine be placed near his own, leaves bequests to his children, Sir John, (who married Mary Watts); Ann, wife of Col. Daniel Claus; and Mary, wife of Colonel Guy Johnson; and also bequests to Mary Brant, whom he terms his "present housekeeper," and provides for eight natural children whom she bore him, whom he names in the following order: Peter, Elizabeth, Magdalene, Margaret, George, Mary, Susannah and Ann.

Of the Catharine mentioned as his

deceased wife, and who from the context it may be presumed was the mother of John, Ann and Mary, although this is not so stated, very little is known. The industrious biographer of Sir William Johnson, William L. Stone, [1, 66] believed that he married young, probably about 1740, and that the object of his choice was supposed to have been a young German by the name of Catharine Weisenberg, "a plain country girl of no social position." Nor was he able to ascertain the date of her decease with any more precision, but presumed it to have been in the summer of 1745.

The same uncertainty exists with regard to the age of his housekeeper, Mary, who is familiarly known as Molly Brandt. Mr. Stone says that their relations first begun in 1748, and that the tradition of the Mohawk valley fixed her age at about sixteen. He also states that she was a *sister* of Thayendanege or Joseph Brant, whose birth is given as 1742.

Strange to say, this same Joseph Brant is supposed by Col. William L. Stone (senior), in his life of Thayendanege, by Drake in his Book of the Indians, who quotes Jared Sparks as his authority, and by numerous writers in repetition, to have been the *son* of Sir William Johnson.

The will of Sir William introduces still another element of uncertainty in this strange genealogy—in his liberal provision for two Mohawk lads, young Brant, alias Kegneghtaga, and William, alias Tageheunto, both of Canajoharie; the family name of the second not being mentioned. From the liberality

of the bequest, it is a natural inference that William at least was a natural son of the baronet by another Indian mother.

Will some of your readers kindly unravel this tangled skein, and give in the Magazine a correct list of the marriages and births of the children of Sir William?

UTICA.

PITTSBURG DISEASES IN 1803.—T. M. Harris, in his "Journal of a Tour into the Territory Northwest of the Alleghany Mountains, 1803," says, p. 46:

"We observed several people near Pittsburg (Pa.) affected with a tumour on the throat like a wen. Inquiring into the cause of it, we were informed that they imputed it to some effect of the climate under the brows of the high mountains where they reside, and added that even dogs and some other animals were subject to it. Indeed we saw a couple of goats who had this uncomfortable appendage to their necks." As there are no high mountains near Pittsburg, and the goitre is not a disease peculiar to that locality, the author must have been imposed upon by a wag. Can any one tell to what disease he refers?

H. E. H.

Wilkes Barre, Pa.

DEATH OF BRADDOCK.—In a paper on Blennerhassett, reprinted from McMillan's Magazine in the August Eclectic, the writer, alluding to Braddock's defeat, uses these words:

"* * * while the ill-fated Braddock, their leader, mad with rage and shame, and trying to form his panic-stricken and pipe-clayed red coats, as if

they were in the open plains of Flanders, *was shot dead by an exasperated Virginia militiaman!*"

Whence the authority for such a statement? O. W. SHAW.

GREENE'S LETTER CONCERNING GATES.

—Can any one give information concerning the letter of General Greene dated High Hills of Santee, 8 August, 1781, quoted by Gordon as addressed to "a friend in Philadelphia" (Gordon IV., 98) and from Gordon in the Magazine (V., 272)?

Professor Greene writes from his home, Windmill Cottage, Sept. 9, 1880:

"I find thus far no traces of the letter. The extract from Gordon is in the tone taken by Greene in speaking of Gates after the battle of Camden. When he first received tidings of that event, he said, 'Let us wait and see.' When he was appointed to succeed Gates he appears to have made it a rule to speak of him with great respect and sympathy. Williams speaks of their meeting in the presence of the army as an 'elegant lesson of propriety, exhibited on a most delicate and interesting occasion.'"

Greene, on numerous occasions and in many ways, gave testimony to his appreciation of Gates' services, and it was by his influence that the unfortunate General was restored to command.

EDITOR.

A LOST MISSIONARY TRAIL.—In 1540 Coronado was sent by the Spanish authorities from Cinaloor into (as is supposed) what is now Kansas. In 1806 Pike journeyed westward, and discovered the peak which bears his name. History is almost silent as to the presence of white men in the Arkansas valley in nearly all the intervening years,

but I have heard of a traditionary trail, used by French and Spanish missionaries, probably between Kaskaskia, in Illinois, and Santa Fe. Can any light be thrown on this most interesting subject?

A. A. HAYES, JR.

N. Y., Aug. 1880.

BILLY CALDWELL, THE SAUGANASH.—

This chief of the Pottawatomies, is said to have had many papers and documents relating to Tecumseh and his connection with the war of 1812. Can anyone put me on the track of said papers? Any information concerning the chief, Caldwell, either before, during, or after his residence in Chicago, and any information as to his parentage, would be thankfully received by

W. E. F.

Chicago.

MAJOR CUTLER OF SCHOOLCRAFT'S EPIGRAM.—In a MS journal kept by Henry R. Schoolcraft during his tour to the Northwest in 1825, occurs the following:

"We passed a precipitous range of hills near Pine Creek, on one of which is a cave, called by our boatmen 'Le diable au port,' or, 'the devil's door.' The superstition of peopling dens and other dark places on earth with the 'arch fiend' is common. If the 'ould spent' has given any proof to the French boatmen of his residence here, I shall only hope that he will confine himself to this river and not go about troubling quiet folks in the land of the lakes. By the way, the devil has shown great partiality for military gentlemen, at least if we may judge of his activity at the Sault. If all the lies and mischief he has engendered



there were capable of being gathered into a pile, it would reach to the clouds.

Oh Satan, hell's omnipotent butler,
Thou art there and Major Cutler."

Is this epigram original with Schoolcraft? If not, who is the author, and who was Major Cutler?

Wilkes Barre, Pa. H. E. H.

KISSAM BOOK-PLATE.—I have before me a book-plate of Benjamin Kissam, designed by H. Dawkins. Can any of the readers of the Magazine give any information concerning the engraver?

Newport, R. I. J. E. M.

AN AUTHOR WANTED.—Who is the author of a volume of 228 pages published by S. G. Goodrich, Boston, 1827, and entitled, "Poems, by the Author of Moral Pieces in Prose and Verse"? The first poem in the book is "The Grave of the Mother of Washington."

Wilkes Barre, Pa. H. E. H.

HEREDITARY GOOSE-QUILLS. — Watson, in his Historic Tales of the Olden Time, says: "I have noticed a singular custom among Dutch families; a father gives a bundle of goose-quills to his son, telling him to give one to each of his posterity. I saw one in the possession of James Bogert, which had a scroll appended, saying: "This quill, given by Petrus Byvanck to James Bogert, was a present in 1689 from his grandfather in Holland."

Is anything known of this custom?

C.

JOHN BROWN, LIEUT.-COLONEL OF THE MASSACHUSETTS LINE.—A great

deal of interesting matter concerning this excellent partizan officer, who fell at Stone Arabia on the 19th October, 1780, may be found in Smith's history of Pittsfield, but no mention is made of any portrait of him. Is any known to exist? Information is earnestly requested by the

EDITOR.

THE GIBBS HOUSE BY THE POND AT NEWPORT.—This venerable structure, which for a long time was known as the Perry House, and the best of the boarding houses in the days before hotels existed in this city by the sea, is now occupied as a cottage. There is a tradition that Washington slept in one of its rooms.

Surely this can be established or the tradition disposed of. How is it?

Newport. E.

THE WOODRUFF HOUSE AT PERTH AMBOY.—There is one tradition, perhaps there may be a second, that this old home was once visited by Washington. An account of this visit would be an interesting addition to the very full list of the houses thus distinguished which has appeared in the Magazine. Will some reader supply the information?

IULUS.

DAVID GRIM.—Can any reader give me some particulars of the life of Mr. Grim? He gave to the New York Historical Society, in 1834, an account of the great fire in New York in 1776. Sabine, in the appendix to the second volume of the American Loyalists, speaks of him as "the antiquarian tavern-keeper." "David Grim," says Watson in his

Historic Tales of the Olden Time, "told Mr. Lydig that he had seen the river water flowing over Chatham and Pearl Streets, and he remembered when the only lamp in the city was at the corner of Wall and William Streets." C.

tween France and the United States on the 6th February, 1778, on the part of the most Christian King, and that he is there described as Conrad Alexander Gerard, royal Syndick of the City of Strasbourg and Secretary of his Majesty's Council of State. IULUS.

REPLIES

GATES AT CAMDEN—A CORRECTION.—(V., 274.) By an error in proof reading, Washington's words are misprinted. Instead of "not in the power of human foresight and *precedence* to command," the phrase should read "and *prudence* to command." The entire letter may be found in the August, 1880, number of the Magazine (IV., 122). EDITOR

BRITISH SALUTES.—(V., 108, 222.) I do not know what a salute of seventeen guns signified one hundred years ago. Now—all over the world—twenty-one guns is the recognized national salute, and all personal salutes are graded down from that. The Chinese have the sensible salute of *three guns*. Western nations might take example from them and burn less gunpowder—and it will come to that as far as naval salutes are concerned, since the rule is large guns and few of them—*one* gun burning today as much powder as twenty-one did one hundred years ago. Like slavery, salutes are a relic of barbarism.

G. H. P.

GERARD, THE FRENCH PLENIPOTENTIARY.—(III., 760.) While unable to give all the information requested by Arma, I simply note that it was Gerard who signed the Treaty of Alliance be-

THE BOSTON BEACON.—(V., 222.) Drake, in his history of Boston, reciting the proceedings of the citizens in September, 1768, on the arrival of the British officer from Halifax, whose mission was judged to be to make arrangements for quartering troops in the town, says that his arrival was about the beginning of September, and immediately after a tar-barrel was discovered in the skillet of the Beacon on Beacon Hill.

In a note Drake adds: "Governor Bernard says it was an empty turpentine barrel, and 'was put up upon the poll (pole) of the Beacon (which had lately been erected anew in a great hurry by the Selectmen without consulting him), which gave great alarm.'" He also quotes from a letter of Governor Bernard on the Town Records, Sept. 12: "A Vote of the Honorable Board respecting a tar-barrel, which was the other night placed in the Skillet on Beacon Hill by persons unknown, was committed to the town, but not acted upon."

From this it appears that the beacon was a temporary expedient, not a permanent structure. D. C.

THE WEBB HOUSE, WETHERSFIELD.—(IV., 439.) Among the old houses in Wethersfield is what is known in history as the Webb House, the place where

Washington held a conference with certain French officers, and where the plans were matured which resulted in the brilliant victory at Yorktown, and the close of the American war for Independence. The conference which made this house historical was held in May, 1781, and was participated in by Washington, Generals Knox and Du Portail, Count de Rochambeau and Chevalier Chastellux. It was here the subject of attacking New York was debated and resolved upon. The owners of the house take a pardonable pride in their fine old mansion on account of its associations, and there is one room in it which is considered more sacred even than the room in which the conference was held; and this is the chamber where Washington slept. While other parts of the house have, from time to time, given way to improvement, this one room has hardly been disturbed. The same paper is on the walls that was there one hundred years ago, when Washington for one night occupied the room. The paper is thick and velvet-like, of a dark maroon color, with huge leaves scattered over its surface. It was desired to change a doorway in this room some years ago, and rather than have the paper disturbed the wall for the new doorway was cut out and bodily removed—lath, plaster, paper and all—and fitted into the aperture of the old door.—*New Haven (Conn.) Palladium*, 1880.

J. A. S.

KOSCIUSKO. — (IV., 221.) Though unable to throw any light upon the immediate point touched upon in the query of your correspondent, I communicate the following paragraph from

the Duke de Rochefoucault Liancourt's *Travels in America*, from 1795 to 1797 :

"I shall be pardoned for adding the name of *Kosciusko* to the list which I delight in commemorating. There is no heart friendly to liberty, or admirer of virtue and talent, in whom the name of *Kosciusko* does not excite sentiments of interest and respect. The purity and liberality of his intentions, the boldness of his undertakings, the able manner in which he conducted them, and the misfortunes and atrocious captivity which have been their consequence, are too well known to require repetition. It is also well known that Paul the First signalized the commencement of his reign by the enlargement of this respectable sufferer, whose imprisonment and barbarous treatment made every generous mind condemn Catharine, if the whole life of that infamous woman, blackened with crimes and vices, could be sullied by an additional crime. In America, where he served with distinction in the war of the revolution, has *Kosciusko* come to seek an asylum. He lodged, when I saw him, at the house of the brave General Gates, in whose army he was employed at the memorable affair of Saratoga. The consequences of his wounds, which still prevent him from the free use of one of his legs, and his rigorous confinement impaired his health, but it now begins to be re-established. Simple and modest, he even sheds tears of gratitude, and seems astonished at the homage he receives. He sees in every man who is the friend of liberty of man a brother. His countenance, sparkling with fire, discovers a soul which no circumstances can render dependent, and expresses the language of his heart, *Shall I never fight more for my country?* He speaks little, particularly as to the misfortunes of his country, although the thought of them occupy his whole soul. In a word, elevation of sentiment, grandeur, meekness, force, goodness, all that commands respect and homage, appear to me concentrated in this celebrated and interesting victim of misfortune and despotism. I have met few men whose appearance so much excited in me that effect.

His young friend, *Niemcewicz*, who was wounded in the same battle with *Kosciusko*, and, like him, was imprisoned in the dungeon of

Catharine, has followed him to America, and devotes to him the fondest attentions of friendship. Niemcewicz is, from his noble sentiments, the agreeableness of his manners, and the extent of his knowledge, a person particularly interesting. He is said to hold the first rank among the poets of his country.

After having seen both these great men as often as I could, I left them with a sincere wish for the happiness of their country, which was returned with an equal wish on their part in behalf of mine."

Kosciusko was a great favorite in the service, his talents commanding the respect of the higher officers in an army in which, from its first organization, the want of competent engineers was felt.

Fieldstone. M. L. D.

THE PSEUDO PRINCESS CHARLOTTE —(V., 60.) Boston, Dec. 9, 1773. Tuesday Evening arrived in Town Incog. Her Serene Highness the Princess of Crownenburgh on a Tour thro' the Northern Parts of the Continent. Her Highness Attendants are daily expected in Town.—*New Hampshire Gazette*, Dec. 17, 1773. C. W. T.

BURGOYNED. — (V., 137.) There is a still earlier use of this phrase or its equivalent in a letter written by Richard Peters from Philadelphia, June 15, 1780, to General Gates on hearing of his appointment to the command of the Southern Department. "Our affairs to the Southward look blue. So they did when you took the command before the *Burgoyne*. I can only say *go and do likewise*. God bless you." EDITOR.

—General Gates may have been the author of the phrase Burgoyning. but I find in the Gates' papers preserved by

the New York Historical Society still another use of it. It occurs in a letter, dated Bourbonne les Bains (France), July 5, 1780, and written by I. Conway to General Gates :

"We'll never Dispair of American independence while General Gates is at the head of the Army, and trust that Saratoga will not Be the only field of Laurels for you, and some English Generals might yet be *Burgoyne'd*." EDITOR.

NIAGARA FALLS IN 1764. — (V., 48.) In Vol. II. of Dodsley's Annual Register (1759) is an article on Niagara Falls, headed "A letter from Mr. Kalm, a Swedish gentleman, late on his travels in America, to his friend in Philadelphia, containing a particular account of the great fall of Niagara" (Pages 388-94.) The letter is dated "Albany, Sept. 2, 1750." An examination of this letter shows that the article in the July number of the Magazine of American History, "from a newspaper of the day" (1764), is a very close following of the above letter, with some abridgement and very slight alteration in some of the parts retained. I think no new ideas are given in the "newspaper."

Faribault, Minn. J. J. Dow.

PEPPERELL MANSION AT KITTERY POINT.—(II., 683.) Timothy Alden, Jr., in a communication to the Humane Society at Boston, dated at Portsmouth, N. H., April 10, 1804, describing the heroism of the Kittery fishermen in rescuing shipwrecked mariners, mentions "Major Thomas D. Cutts' tavern, the ancient mansion of the late Sir William Pepperell " W. K.

THE FRANKLIN STOVE.—(V., 141.) In Bigelow's life of B. Franklin, written by himself, Lippincott Ed., 1879, vol. 1, p. 287, occurs the following statement by Mr. Franklin, which ought to set at rest forever the above inquiry:

"In order of time I should have mentioned before, that having, in 1742, invented an open stove for the better warming of rooms, and at the same time saving fuel, as the fresh air admitted was warmed in entering, I made a present of the model to Mr. Robert Grace, one of my early friends, who, having an iron furnace, found the casting of the plates in the stoves a profitable thing, as they were growing in demand. To promote that demand I wrote and published a pamphlet entitled "*An Account of the New Invented Pennsylvania Fire Places, wherein their construction and manner of operation is particularly explained; their advantages above every other method of warming rooms demonstrated; and all Objections that have been raised against the Use of them answered and obviated, etc.*" This pamphlet had a good effect.

Gov. Thomas was so pleased with the construction of this stove as described in it, that he offered to give me a patent for the sole vending of them for a term of years; but I declined it from a principle which has ever weighed with me on such occasions, viz.: *That, as we enjoy great advantages from the inventions of others, we should be glad of an opportunity to serve others by any invention of ours; and this we should do freely and generously.*

An iron-monger in London, however, assuming a great deal of my pamphlet, and working it up into his own, and making some small changes in the ma-

chine, which rather hurt its operation, got a patent for it there, and made, as I was told, a little fortune by it. And this is not the only instance of patents taken out for my inventions by others, tho' not always with the same success, which I never contested, as having no desire of profiting by patents myself, and hating disputes. The use of these fire places in very many houses, both of this and the neighboring colonies, has been and is a great saving of wood to the inhabitants."

The Encyclopedia Americana, Ed. 1842, under the head of Fire Places, describes this invention of Franklin as the "Franklin Stoves," which the editor says "are cast-iron fire places, and when executed according to the inventor's directions, are a very economical contrivance. *Most of the articles however now sold under this name are very different from the original plan.*" Under the head of Franklin, he says: "In 1742 he invented the Franklin stove (see Fire Places), for which he refused a patent," etc.

Wilkes Barre, Pa. H. E. H.

CURIOUS HEBREW RELIC.—(V., 139.) The mission with the Pottawatomies has been discontinued, and Dr. Lykins himself died some years since. He was thoroughly conversant with the character and usages of the tribe, and it is to be regretted that the person who obtained from him the facts presented with the query did not interrogate him further, as to the possible source from which the Pottawatomie family obtained the relic. Dr. Lykins' family at present reside, if I am not mistaken, at Kansas City, Missouri. I presume any information now

attainable as to the particular matter under inquiry may be had by addressing his son, Mr. W. H. R. Lykins, at that place.

If I may be permitted to venture a surmise, I would suggest that probably there is no specially recondite mystery in connection with the relic. Quite frequently Indian families or individuals are met who exhibit, or rather claim to have objects of various kinds to which they impute remarkable significance or properties. These objects may prove to be something picked up casually on their travels, or more usually obtained by barter, by theft, or from the person of a slain enemy. The more unaccountable the nature or use of the object is to its possessor the greater is its *ti-wa'-ruks-ti*, or mystical potency. Eagerness shown by others to get sight of, or to secure any of these objects only serves to enhance its fancied value. Whatever may have been its previous history I judge the relic mentioned may have come very naturally into the hands of the Potawattomie family in any one of the ways noted. The idea of seeing in its presence among them any betokening of a Hebrew kinship is simply absurd.

Deposit.

J. B. D.

—A recent number of the New York Observer, of date August 5th, 1880, has in it an article by S. E. Bridgman, one of its correspondents, giving an account of a visit to the Stockbridge Indians on their reservation in Northern Wisconsin. It contains a statement with reference to the Stockbridge Indians which is curiously corroborative of the statement clipped from the Eastern Chronicle of

Picto, N. S., pertaining to the Pottawattomies, and published in the last number of the Magazine of American History. It is as follows: "Many believe the Stockbridges and their kindred tribes to be remnants of the Jewish nation, and that they have at some period of their national existence possessed a part of the Jewish scriptures seems very evident. One of their old historians said that his people once possessed the 'Good Book given by the Great Spirit, but that, having lost the power to read it, they had buried it with their chief.' In 1815 a gentleman in Pittsfield, Mass., found in the ground, on Indian Hill, four strips of parchment enclosed and sewed watertight in hard, thick leather, having the appearance of a portion of a harness. On the parchment was written, in Hebrew characters, the identical passages of scripture which the Jews used as phylacteries. In witnessing the ceremonies of the weird 'medicine dance,' and in listening to the interpreter's story of this society, I was wonderfully struck by the close relationship to Jewish Scripture story. The late Rev. Walter Colton, in one of his published 'Travels,' commented at considerable length upon their reverence for the Bibles presented long years before by Dr. Ayscough, first chaplain to the Prince of Wales, carefully preserved in all their wanderings, and still used in their worship."

Salem, Va.

W. McC.

—THE EXECUTION OF ANDRÉ. — (V., 142.) The General Order Book of Captain Samuel Bowman, who was one of the two officers on whose arms André leaned as he walked to the place of exe-

cution on the 2d of October, 1780, gives the officers of the day for October 2d and 3d thus :

"Headquarters, Orange Town,
October 1st, 1780.

Officers for Duty tomorrow, *Brig.-General Glover*, Col. Scilly, Lieut.-Col. Derborn, Major Harwood, Brigade Major Patingal."

"Headquarters, Orange Town,
2d October, 1780.

Officers for Duty tomorrow, *Brig.-General Patterson*, Col. Tupper, Lieut.-Col. Scilly, Major Knapp, Brigade Major Rice." H. E. H.

Wilkes Barre, Pa.

WASHINGTON'S ENGRAVED PORTRAITS.—(IV., 392.) In the collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet of this city there are several varieties of the engraving described by Mr. Colburn. One lettered "General Washington published as the act directs, printed and sold by Carrington Bowles, No. 69 St. Paul's Churchyard, London," another, a mezzotint proof without lettering; in this the figure of Washington only, without the papers under foot and without the negro boy attendant. And there are others known. J. A. S.

New York.

WASHINGTON'S SPY IN NEW YORK.—(III., 379.) In Stevens' Colonial Records of the N. Y. Chamber of Commerce, 8vo., 1867, page 157 of the biographical sketches, is an account of Captain Thomas Randall, a noted New York privateersman and Whig of the Revolution, who is mentioned on page 140 of the same volume as commanding

the brigantine *De Lancey*, owned by Lawrence Kortright.

Is not Captain Randall the person alluded to in the query as Washington's Spy in New York? C.

THE CLYMER HOUSE, PHIL.—(V., 196). The house is depicted in the September number of the Magazine of American History but the text fails to give its location, which was on the South side of Chestnut Street, east of Seventh. It was for half a century the residence of George Harrison, Esq. Mr. Clymer bought the lot, sixty-three feet on Chestnut Street, and extending two hundred and thirty-five feet to George Street, now Sansom, from George Logan, the grandson of James Logan, of Steuben, on 17th March, 1790, for £600, gold and silver money of Pennsylvania; this was while he was filling his duties in Congress, and it is fair to presume he shortly began to build the mansion and stable. On 3d September, 1795, he sold the property, "with the Brick Messuage or Tenement, Coach House, and other buildings thereon erected," to George Harrison, merchant, for £9,250 specie. Mr. Harrison, on the 23d December following conveyed this to his brother-in-law, Bishop White, in trust for his wife Sophia, who was the daughter of Tench Francis. Mr. Harrison died here 6th July, 1845, and Mrs. Harrison in 1851. This estimable couple offered here constant hospitality, and became the centre of Philadelphian society, and all strangers of note found a welcome at their hands. Dying without children, the property became the heritage of Mrs. Harrison's nephew, Mr. Joshua Francis Fisher, who erected on

its site, in 1853, the warehouse Nos. 622, 624, and 626 Chestnut Street.

Phil.

T. H. M.

A MOON CURSER.—(V., 140.) A newspaper of the day describing the execution of Hickey, Washington's Life Guardsman, said: "During the execution, Kip, *the moon curser*, suddenly sank down and expired immediately." *Am. Hist. Record*, Vol. 1, 445.

C. A. C.

ROCHAMBEAU AT BOLTON, CONN.—(IV., 293.) The "Diary of a French Officer," quoted, states that the division of the army under M. de Rochambeau on the march from Providence, was at Bolton, June 21st, where they stopped for the night. At this place, 14 miles east of Hartford, the writer says that "the view is very pleasing." This was doubtless from the fine outlook over the Connecticut river valley there obtained, the city of Hartford also being distinctly seen from several parts of the road. Bolton is situated on very high ground, and this again well tallies with the diarist's words, "we came to Bolton with the greatest difficulty imaginable."

But my note has to do mainly with his "side note," which is as follows: "The host of Rochambeau was a minister at least six foot three inches in height."

"This man, whose name was Cotton, offered the wife of a grenadier, to adopt her child, to secure his fortune and give her for herself 30 louis. She repeatedly refused." Some fifty years since, a Connecticut pastor of the same name, told us of his uncle, the Rev. George Colton, an ancient Congregational minister at

Bolton, who, from his tall, commanding figure, used to be called "the high priest of Bolton." The name was not *Colton*, but the diarist was more correct about the stature. Indeed, I learn from an obliging correspondent, the Rev. Luther H. Barber, the present pastor of the Bolton church, that his noted revolutionary predecessor was said to have been six feet *seven* inches in height—making him probably the tallest clergyman of the American pulpit at that day.

Of Mr. Colton's generous proposition to the grenadier's wife, our friend can find no tradition in Bolton, but adds that an aged parishoner who remembers Mr. Colton, says that, "it would be just like him." The old pastor was twice married but had no children. He was characterized by eccentricity, piety, and an eminent devotion to the cause of Foreign Missions, often praying for the spread of the Gospel "all around the world;" was influential in the formation and support of the Connecticut Domestic Mission Society, the pioneer, and bequeathed his homestead to its treasury. From an historical discourse by the Rev. W. E. B. Morse, a former pastor, Mr. Barber kindly gives us the subjoined facts:

"Rev. George Colton was the son of Rev. Benjamin Colton, the first minister of West Hartford. He was born 1736, graduated at Yale College 1756, and was ordained and installed pastor in Bolton Nov. 9th, 1763, where he preached up to the time of his death, June 27th, 1812, so that he had there a continuous ministry of forty-nine years, and one that seems to have been crowned with great success.

Elizabeth, N. J. WILLIAM HALL.



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THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

By Dr. H. VON HOLST, Professor at the University of Freiburg. Translated from the German by JOHN J. LALOR, A. M., 1828-1846. Jackson's Administration, Annexation of Texas. 8vo, pp. 714. CALLAGHAN & Co. Chicago, 1879.

The translator, in his prefatory note, gives his reason for a change in title of this volume, which has since been approved by the author, and he also acknowledges his indebtedness to Prof. Wm. F. Allen, of the University of Wisconsin, General James M. Lynch of Milwaukee, and Alfred B. Mason, Counselor at Law, of Chicago, for valuable assistance.

It were impossible in the brief compass of a review to present in detail the majestic scope of this work, or to do justice to the profound study, accurate insight, incisive analysis and masterly comprehension of his subject which the author has brought to bear upon a period in "the history of the United States, pregnant with results yet germinant in the womb of time."

"In the person of Adams, the last statesman who was to occupy it for a long time left the White House; professional politicians and the crowd took possession of it." How long this is to continue is a page in the history of Democracy as yet unturned. Prior to this time the presidential succession had been determined by a caucus of Congress—known and execrated as King Caucus. This barrier to the incursion of mob rule was broken in 1824 by the prostration of William H. Crawford, the caucus candidate, by a stroke of paralysis, which left him a physical and mental ruin. The administration of Jackson is an epoch in the history of the United States: he was known to the people as a backwoods lawyer and successful general; to the political world as a man whose mind was as untrained as his passions were unbridled, whose utterances in Congress were choked by violence; and his candidacy, when proposed by the Legislature of Tennessee in 1824, was received in the Eastern States with surprise, mingled with derision and contempt.

Jackson was by origin and development a man of the masses, and the masses had in the political struggles of the past learned their power, and were prompt to use it. Opportunity was now found, and the theory of popular sovereignty was put into practical use. The election, however, went into the house, and there Adams was chosen President. In 1828 Jackson was elected President by the popular vote, a result rightly designated by Benton as the victory of the "Demos

Krateo" principle over the theory of the constitution. Jackson, before his accession, had been loud and profuse in profession and protest against the influencing of election by Government patronage, and in 1816 had exhorted Monroe to "exterminate the monster called party spirit." Previous to his time it had been difficult to find men willing to take office under the general Government, but as it grew in public estimation, a change took place, and the era of the professional politician began. Under Van Buren as guiding spirit, there had arisen in the State of New York an association of men of this class, known as the Albany Regency, whose decision in the selection of all candidates for office, State or National, was supreme. Now the cry was, to the "victors belong the spoils." Jackson, who was a practical man and acted under the banner of the Regency, to which he owed his success in New York, punished his enemies, *i. e.* office holders, by removal, and rewarded his friends, who struggled like swine for a foothold in the public trough, with appointments. Over one thousand officials were removed in his first year.

One great question of that day was the continued existence of the United States Bank, an institution to which Jackson was opposed; his hostility soon showed itself in the arbitrary removal of the deposits, and in the veto of the bills passed by both Houses of Congress renewing its charter.

His action in the first case was an arbitrary exercise of personal power, an usurpation. The Senate resolved: "the President had assumed upon himself power and authority not conferred by the constitution and laws, but in derogation of both." Jackson sent in a protest, with a demand that it be entered on the Journal of the Senate. The Senate resolved that the protest and demand were irreconcilable with the authority of the two Houses of Congress and with the constitution. After a long wrangle the resolution was expunged from the journal of the Senate.

The records of the nation were mutilated at the demand of a tyrant. The veto of the bank bill, while valid in law, was based on an assumption of power on the part of the President to judge not only of the constitutionality of laws submitted to him for approval, but of his right to pass on laws already existing. Story well said we are in fact under "the rule of a single man"; Von Holst calls this period the "reign of Jackson." The demoralization wrought in this "reign," under the idea that power lay in the masses, has been sedulously fomented by a swarm of politicians of the trading class of high and low degree, down "even to the pot house politician and the common thief under the

protecting mantle of demagogism." When people from the region lying between the limits of society and the house of correction "obtained control in politics, mediocrity, on an ever descending scale, dominated, and moral laxity became the rule if not a prerequisite to advancement." The first clear symptom of the decline of a healthy political spirit was found in Jackson's re-election to the presidency, its consequence in the manner in which it was turned to account by the southern States to the promotion of the cause of slavery, the ease and rapidity with which the slave holding interest attained to the zenith of its supremacy over the Union. At this same time there arose in the body of the abolitionists the enemy, which undermined the ground under the slaveocracy.

In 1821 Benjamin Lundy devoted his life to the cause of the slave, and in 1828 became associated with William Lloyd Garrison at Baltimore in the publication of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. Garrison was soon after fined and imprisoned on a charge of libel and inciting slaves to insurrection. After a confinement of seven weeks, his fine was paid by Arthur Tappan of New York, and Garrison went to Boston, where in 1831 he established a paper called the *Liberator*. The year following the New England Anti-Slavery Society in Boston was founded, and in 1833 the American Anti-Slavery Society was founded in Philadelphia. Its declaration of principles is one of the most important boundary marks in the history of the United States. It was a declaration of war against slavery. In 1831 an uprising of slaves in Virginia, under the lead of Nat. Turner, a religious fanatic, caused widespread terror in the slave states, and in Virginia emancipation was for a time urged in the legislature. Nowhere and by no men were the resources of argument and rhetoric more lavishly drawn upon than in that State and by the slaveholders themselves, at this time of alarm. James McDowell even urged that unless the evil (slavery) were then attacked, its removal would take place amid convulsions. But soon other views prevailed. Slavery was declared by Calhoun to be the corner stone of free institutions. The enforced ignorance of the slave was the peremptory demand of the system. Ignorance was necessary, that the negro should know his place; even the North echoed this cry. The foundation of a college for the instruction of the colored race was declared at a town meeting held at New Haven, in Connecticut, to be destructive of the best interests of the city, and an unwarrantable and dangerous interference with the internal concerns of other States, and one that ought to be discouraged. A law was passed by the Legislature of Connecticut in 1833, forbidding the instruction of persons of color from other States, and their admission into

schools. For violation of this law, Prudence Crandall was cast into prison and his school house torn down by a mob. In New Hampshire a similar event took place. In New York City and New Jersey riot followed riot; houses and churches were stormed and burned; negroes were set upon and killed in the streets. The scenes of 1863 were foreshadowed by the proslavery mobs of 1834.

It is needless to multiply instances. An outrage directed against an abolitionist was the highest form of devotion to the Union. This very violence forced the question in which it found its source into prominence, and resulted in opening the eyes of men to the danger which threatened the whole country from the slave power. The State of Georgia offered a reward of \$3,000 to any one who should bring Garrison within its limits, to be dealt with according to its laws. \$100,000 was offered for the apprehension of Arthur Tappan. The Governor of Alabama demanded of Governor Marcy the delivery of Williams, publisher of the *Emancipator* in New York, under an indictment found against him in Tuscaloosa. Marcy was willing, but was unable to comply with the demand, because, as he stated in answer, Williams had evaded "the justice of his State." The south demanded that the non-slaveholding States should pass laws to punish the abolitionists. Marcy and Everett were ready to advocate such laws, but the North was not prepared to abridge the freedom of the press. The incident is valuable as showing the brutal arrogance of the slave power. The struggle was now transferred to Congress. The President in his message in 1835, suggested the passage of an act prohibiting the circulation through the mails in the Southern States of incendiary publications intended to instigate slaves to insurrection. Such a bill was introduced and rejected, but it is worthy of remark that Jackson declared it to be constitutional.

Calhoun, who saw that in the Union and by means of the power of the General Government only would slavery be made secure, was censured by those less far-sighted than himself. He based the impossibility of emancipation or abolition on "diversity of the races," declaring that social and political equality between them was impossible; that to change the present condition of the African race, were it possible, would be but to change the form of slavery. Fateful words these, pregnant with prophetic foresight.

Jackson's reign was brought to a fitting close by his designation of his successor, Martin Van Buren, of New York. Jackson was no statesman, but he was a character. Van Buren was neither; he was a politician of the trading order, the impersonation of party. The only acts of his political life in which he showed himself other than this, are when he opposed the



introduction of universal suffrage in New York in 1821, and afterward favored the prohibition of slavery in Missouri. He repented of these errors. He had risen to political eminence through the use of means strictly adopted to secure his own advancement. His rejection by the Senate when he was nominated to that body as Minister to England, was regarded by the "people" as an insult to their chief. Through the Regency of which he was head he held the vote of New York, as Jackson's minion and political executor, and above all, having given the south ample evidence that he was a northern man with southern principles, he was elected as his successor. Henceforth the incubus of the wishes of the slave holding States weighed down the constitution like a mountain.

Jackson's lawless treatment of economic problems had contributed to bring on the crisis of 1837; but as this commercial convulsion was not limited to this country, its causes were deeper seated, and as far as the United States were concerned chargeable upon the whole people.

Van Buren proposed the divorce of the Government and the banks; the establishment of an independent treasury. In this instance he had the support of Calhoun, who erroneously judged that a victory for the administration would strengthen the hands of the state righters, which it did not. It added power to the general government.

The church in the United States partakes of necessity of the democratic feeling of the masses. It is a centre of influence rather than a leader of opinion, hence the apparent anomaly which for almost a generation ranged the church at large on the side of slavery, and caused it to denounce abolitionism as a disqualification for church membership and an offense against God. But the time came when the conscience of the North was aroused, and the authorities gathered with diligent research from the Bible, by pastor and people, to fortify belief in political dogmas already formulated in their own mind, ceased to have weight, and as servants of Christ they became in this question also servants of humanity. To the Roman Catholics alone, the question of slavery offered no difficulty; to them it was an ordinance not pronounced by their church as repugnant to divine law. With the gradual conviction, which grew up in the minds of the people of the free states, that the conservation of slavery meant to them the surrender of their personal rights and liberties, the power of the church was brought to bear against the great moral evil. This alliance Calhoun declared to be political and religious fanaticism, directed against the lives and characters of slaveholders, and announced their only alternative one of imperious necessity, to resist abolition at the cost of the last drop of blood and cent of money, to triumph or perish as a people. Calhoun's

furious advocacy of slavery was more fatal to it than all the attacks of the abolitionists. The line of attack adopted by them was in the form of petitions to Congress in favor of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, over which Congress had absolute jurisdiction. These petitions were many, and multiplied in number with time. To act upon them in any way was to surrender the principle upon which slavery was founded, and must necessarily result in its overthrow. All such petitions gave occasion for acrimonious debate as to their reception and disposition, to prevent if possible further agitation. On the 26 May, 1836, the House of Representatives, under the lead of the slaveocrats and against the bold protest of John Quincy Adams, passed a resolution that all papers and petitions relating in any manner to slavery, should be neither printed nor referred, but laid on the table, and no further action taken. This was a memorable day in the history of the Union. It was a direct blow at the constitutional right of petition, and was recognized at the North as a consequence of slavery, and an attack on the bases of freedom. Congress attempted by resolution to do that which by fundamental law it had no power to do. In January, 1837, a similar resolution was passed. Adams responded by asking if a petition he held in his hand, alleged to come from twenty-two slaves, came within the scope of the resolution. Then the vials of southern wrath were emptied on his head. Censure of the speaker at the bar of the house was the lightest penalty threatened. The grand jury and the penitentiary were called on to suppress the incitor of a slave uprising. To their eternal disgrace, be it recorded that foremost among the assailants of the brave old man, were Mann and Vanderpool of New York. The storm subsided at length, but not until more than one had cringed beneath the scorpion lash of his sarcasm. In December, 1837, the same scenes were repeated in an exaggerated form, the occasion being the presentation of a petition for the abolition of slavery and of the slave trade in the District. The southern members ostentatiously left the house, and all met after adjournment in caucus. They proudly spoke of their action as the "memorable secession." The ominous words had now been spoken; a trumpet call sounded for the marshaling of hosts. While the house was thus endeavoring to stifle all discussion of the question, Calhoun in the Senate boldly tore from the Constitution the fig leaves which had covered its nakedness, and advocated the passage of an amendment which should declare slavery to be the supreme good; the only foundation upon which a free republic might rest.

Yet another disgrace awaited the nation. The war against the Creeks and Seminoles in Florida, begun at the behest of the slave lords,

was prosecuted as a slave hunt by the army, and fugitives who had escaped from the adjoining States were purchased from the Indians on "account of the Government," and this purchase received the sanction of the administration.

The arrogance of slavery went yet a step further. The ship *Enterprise*, with slaves on board, on a voyage from one domestic port to another, was driven by stress of weather into Port Hamilton, an English possession, where the slaves were declared free. Demand for compensation was flatly refused by England. Calhoun charged her with a gross violation of international law. He grasped at the high seas as the domain of slavery in the name of the United States, and with the aid of his northern henchmen fulminated a series of futile resolutions of denunciations against England's revolting injustice. The nation at this time seemed so utterly prostrate that there was apparently no degradation to which the people would not submit at the behest of the slave power.

In the Arnistad cause the administration bent its utmost powers to break down the last rampart of justice and freedom in a free republic—the Supreme Court of the United States; but that august body, not as yet composed of facile tools of the slave power, maintained its integrity. The negroes of the Arnistad were declared free. Five days before the decision was rendered, Van Buren's term closed. He retired to private life, from which he never after emerged.

As one instance of the hold which party had acquired, and the methods of the democratic politicians, mention may be made of the tactics resorted to in the 26th Congress to secure a democratic majority, in defiance of law and right. The elections for five seats in the New Jersey delegation, for which the whigs held certificates, were contested. So evenly were parties divided, that upon the filling of these five seats depended the majority of either in the house. If neither of the contesting delegations were for the time being recognized, the democrats could secure the election of a speaker, and all the committees in their interest. Both delegations were excluded, but the scheme miscarried through the defection of Calhoun and others, and Hunter of Virginia, a self-called independent, was chosen. The party of State rights trampled under foot the rights and honor of the States in the name of the democratic principle and in the interest of party. The democracy scorned the broad seal of New Jersey. In later days that party have never failed to act on this evil precedent. It was a sign of the general demoralization of the party that defalcations were so common as to be matters of jest. Thieving officials were retained in office because their pockets were full, and the temptation to steal was less with them than it would be with new

appointees. Even Benton called the New York custom house the terror of the honest and the hope of the corrupt.

These things were the outcome of twelve years of Benton's *Demos Krato* theory put in practice. The masses wanted a "change." It secured one in 1840 in the election of Harrison and Tyler; the just hopes of Clay that he should carry, as he had the right to expect, the banner of the whigs, having been disappointed by means of an intrigue which had its origin in New York. Harrison was the son of Benjamin Harrison of Virginia, a signer of the Declaration of Independence; was himself a man of honor and had done noble service for his country both in the council and on the field. As a statesman he was but little known, nor could he now be induced to put himself on record in any other wise than in letters made up of general maxims, such as would be appropriate in a constitutional essay. But of his personal integrity, probity, and uprightness of purpose, there was no question. His poverty commended him to the voters, and "Tippecanoe and the log cabin" was the rallying cry of his partizans, and the presage of success. Tyler, of Virginia, floated into the nomination for Vice President on the tears he shed over the sacrifice of Clay. The position of Vice President as compared to the Presidency was looked on as a mere bagatelle; a conclusion falsified by the disastrous results in his case and that of one other. They were elected by a majority of 143,626; the democrats cried fraud. It was a party victory. The unnoticed cloud on the political horizon was the less than seven thousand votes cast for Birney and Earle, the candidates of the liberty party. Harrison died one month after his inauguration, and Tyler became President.

It is unnecessary to enter into details of the strife in which Tyler was almost instantly embroiled with the whig leaders, on the questions of the independent treasury, the bank and the tariff. He soon had no party, only a following; and all his efforts were addressed to the strengthening of the slave power and his election to the presidency.

West of the Mississippi extended a vast region of undefined boundaries, called Texas. The South had long seen that by the steady increase of the northern States in number and population, their control would be taken from them, and that slavery was doomed, unless endowed with unlimited expansion over a territory from which might be carved new States as a balance for Northern extension. This field for expansion was found in Texas, then a province of Mexico. That it was free presented no obstacle to the slave propaganda.

Efforts were made to purchase it from Mexico, without avail. American settlers had crowded into the land, taking their slaves with them, and



defying Mexican law, In 1836 Texas declared its independence. In the war which ensued with Mexico, the United States remained neutral so far as active intervention went, but it put no obstacle in the way of supplies, munitions of war and bodies of armed men, who marched through its towns to the aid of the Texans. Texan squadrons, fitted out in the harbors of the United States, were saluted by its forts and ships of war. Mexico was defeated, by reason of this neutrality.

Texas was a very travesty of an independent nation. Its army of twenty-two hundred men would have starved but for money sent from the United States. In November, 1835, its board of revenue resigned under the weight of a debt of thirty-six dollars. The fear that the territory might fall into the hands of England was used as a bugbear to stifle the conscience of the North and inflame the greed of the South. Claims for damages to American citizens, the alleged rights of land companies, the weakness of Texas, and the cry, "on to Mexico," fired the southern heart. The prospect of the boundless wealth of Mexico and Mexican churches were held up as a lure and a prize.

Mr. Wise blabbed out the policy of the administration; he even offered to conquer Mexico if some one would lend him \$5,000,000 to begin with. He would place California beyond the grasp of Great Britain; "slavery should pour itself abroad without restraint, and find no limit but the southern ocean." All this was prior to annexation; which was bitterly opposed by the right thinking portion of the northern people. But the treaty of annexation was signed. By an act of the Government, slavery was so far nationalized that it was declared by the Executive to be the sacred duty of the Union to prevent the abolition of slavery in neighboring countries, even at the hazard of war. "The bridal dress in which Calhoun had led the beloved of the slaveocracy to the Union, was the torn and tattered constitution of the United States."

Thus far it seemed as though the slave power would dominate the continent; that the wrong had triumphed. But "Texas was the Nessus shirt of the slaveocracy." With these significant words, this volume closes.

W. CARY SMITH.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY
PUBLICATIONS. No. VI. Early Records of the Town of Worcester. Book I. 1722-1739. 8vo, pp. 142. THE WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY. Worcester, Mass., 1879.

This first book of the Records of Worcester was prepared for the press by Mr. Franklin P. Rice. Worcester was settled in the year 1674, and was then known as Quinsigamond. The

breaking out of King Philip's war caused the abandonment of the small settlement, and the few buildings erected were burned by the savages. It was again settled and incorporated under the name of Worcester in 1684, but again deserted in 1702, in consequence of renewed hostilities with the Indians. In 1713 Jonas Rice, a former resident, returned and laid the foundation of the grand old town, now prosperous and beautiful, which has maintained a standard of independence of culture second to none in the staid old commonwealth. The first meeting-house was built in 1717. The Rev. Andrew Gardner was settled as the first minister in 1719.

The early records begin with the warrant of Justice Fullam, empowering the freeholders and inhabitants to choose their own town officers and elect a "Moderator" by written votes. The town records follow continuously without break, and supply the usual simple information, quaintly expressed, on matters of local interest, great and small. We are told how there was "Taken up and Strayed a brown heifer Coming three years old, with her side Something black and white under the Belly and neck, and Little upon the flank, and a Slitt on the near Eare, with no Brand;" and also a "Light Red Steer Coming in two years old, with a Swallow's Tail Cut out of the near Eare, with a Star in the forehead, and a Little white upon the back and between the Legs, with no Brand;" how "the Revd. Mr. Shearjashub Bourn was unanimously chosen for the Town's Minister," how "the Grants of the Pues were allotted."

In 1736-7 the preservation of fish was cared for, and a "Comitte" appointed to "Repair to ye grate falls of ye Head of Providence River or to whear black Stones River falls into ye Salt-water, to see if it be practicable for the falls to be made passable for fish to Come up Sd River;" ordinances also for the "Encouriging ye Killing of wolves," a pest to the colony. The volume closes with a good index, for which we are grateful.

THE YOUNGER EDDA; ALSO CALLED
SNORRE'S EDDA, OR THE PROSE EDDA. An English version of the Foreword; the Fooling of Gylfe the Afterword; Brage's talk, the Afterword to Brage's talk, and the important passages in the poetical diction (Skaldskaparmal). With an introduction, notes, vocabulary and index. By RASMUS B. ANDERSON. 16mo, pp. 302. S. C. GRIGGS & Co. Chicago, 1880.

Professor Anderson's English translation of the younger Edda is not a bad one, if merely considered as a translation; the simplicity of his English possesses a certain quaint, archaic

turn, that is admirably suited to his subject. On the contrary we are sincerely sorry that we are able to accept hardly any of the ethnological, mythological or historical theories, contained in his preface, introduction and notes. They seem to form one long tissue of blunders, and what is still worse, of systematic misstatements, with the exception, of course, of the general mythological information contained in the notes. We are here compelled to refrain from any detailed criticism, but still we may broadly substantiate our rather severe charge against the worthy and amiable Professor. Professor Anderson breathes nothing but "Teutonism;" his whole system rests on Teutonism, simple and absolute, with scorn and supercilious contempt for any other human manifestations, especially if savoring of Romanism. "Iceland," in his own words, "became the humble recipient of the old Teutonic spirit of freedom (*sic*!); the Icelanders only acted under the directions of the Teutonic spirit; old Icelandic literature did not belong to that island alone, but to the whole Teutonic world!" Does Professor Anderson really mean to insinuate, that Icelandic literature, from beginning to end, even including Eddas and mythic Sagas like the *Volunga Saga*, was not prominently stamped with metres, forms and style, that were the creation of the Icelanders, and the exclusive property of Iceland?

The only thing intelligible or real about the Germanic tribes, which invaded in succession the British Isles, was probably, that they left their ancestral seats precisely because they would *no longer be considered as Teutons*. All those Teutonic tribes no doubt brought with them a racial inheritance and the rude frame-work of certain political and social institutions, which in time may have contributed in western Europe to the kindling of an active, progressive spirit, which—if an "ism" must perforce be employed—we should prefer to characterize as "occidentalism," rather than Teutonism. The former at least has an intelligible, practical, geographical significance. Professor Anderson, however, has not a word to say about the dominant Celtic populations of the British Isles, that in time assimilated and completely absorbed all his Teutons, whether Anglos, Saxons, Yutes, Danes or Northmen, and thus, ultimately in their turn, conquered the conquerors themselves. The term "Teutonism" is exceedingly misleading, when exclusively applied to the social and intellectual development of west-European lands, in which both Celt and Teuton had a pretty equal share.

And now, as to the spirit of ancient Icelandic literature; was that also purely and absolutely Teutonic? Professor Anderson knows, probably, that more than one-half of the ancient Icelandic settlers did not come directly from Norway, but from the Scottish Isles and from Ireland both

before and after the battle of Clontarf. They had resided long enough in the British Isles to become a mixed Kelto-Norse race, although still speaking a Scandinavian language. Nay, even a number of purely Celtic families that accompanied them to Iceland had adopted the old Danish tongue, precisely as later the British Celt adopted the modern English, and most powerfully influenced its literature. Most of the Scalds and Sagamen—even the greatest among them—were men of a purely Celtic lineage, and bore Celtic names into the bargain. These are strictly historical facts, and not ethnological theories. Icelandic literature, accordingly, was probably more indebted to Celtic blood and Celtic genius than to all the Teutonism of the world. They may indeed have worked broadly upon a Teutonic basis, but they transformed both language and all the original elements into something much higher and nobler, to which all the other Germanic tribes down to the latest times have remained utter strangers. However, in Professor Anderson's country, during these last decades, there has sprung into existence a school of patriots and scholars, to which, we are sorry to say, Professor Anderson also belongs. These gentlemen at various times, have made desperate attempts to appropriate a series of Icelandic works as so many original Norwegian works, although notoriously written in Iceland, and by Icelanders. Now, that deserved a "*sic vos non vobis*," and the dear Norwegian cousins received it abundantly. Professor Anderson knows, probably, that the ungracious Norwegian claims were victoriously refuted among the rest by Dr. Jón Thorkelsson in a paper in the collection of "*Safn til Sögu Island's*." Since that time these scholars have mostly taken up a determined stand on the wider field of Teutonism. And yet, from that sterile point of view they will always miss all that is most attractive and really charming in old Icelandic literature. Professor Anderson only quotes Icelandic writers when he is absolutely driven to it, and when quoting any, they must not be supposed to be Icelanders, as that would be to offend the Teutonic idea. Among the chief authorities in the study of the Eddas he has quoted the names of a host of Teutons, from Bonn, Berlin, to Christiania, but not the name of a single Icelanders, not even of Professor Finn Magnusson, the father and creator of the interpretation of Odinic Kosmogony and Theogony. This attitude assumed by the Norwegian scholars towards the Icelanders in this respect differs widely from that of the Germans themselves, who not only have admitted the originality and nationality of Icelandic literature, but have actually, like K. Maurer and others, contributed important works to consolidate the national claims of the Icelanders both in ancient and in modern times.



The Icelanders no doubt were indebted to the Norwegians for a deluge of laws, and very Teutonic and Tartaric those laws were, before they were altered to the requirements of the old Icelandic commonwealth.

Professor Anderson winds up with a rather pseudo-Catonic phrase: "preceterea censeo Romam esse delendam." To this one is almost tempted to ask with the Gallic poet: "Et, que faisaient alors vos vertus Germaines (if the Teutonism of Goth and Vandal did not suffice to destroy Rome)?" The Icelanders also in this are at variance with the Teutonism of Professor Anderson, for they stuck to Rome to the last, as Rome had at all times been exceedingly kind to the Icelanders, and because her abhorred yoke had always sat lightly on their shoulders. In conclusion Professor Anderson could not well expect the Icelanders tamely to sacrifice the national and individual character of their literature to any abstract, Teutonic entity, or still worse, to any Teutonic "chauvinisme," that probably will turn out to be a superfluous and illegitimate pretension.

A. H. S. GUNLAGSEN.

THE OLD STADT HUYS OF NEW AMSTERDAM. A paper read before the New York Historical Society, June 15, 1875. 8vo, pp. 59. F. B. PATTERSON. New York, 1875.

Mr. Gerard was already known to all interested in New York antiquarian researches for his paper on the "Old Streets of New York," read before the New York Historical Society before he prepared the monograph before us, which gives an account of the old City Hall of New Amsterdam, which was originally constructed as the Herberg or City Tavern, a hostelry erected about the year 1642, which became the City Hall or State House of New Amsterdam in 1654. The building stood at the corner of Coenties lane, facing Coenties Slip, where now are the warehouses, Nos. 71 and 73 Pearl street.

The curious in old New York history will find many droll bits of information in this odd monograph.

EARLY MEDICAL CHICAGO. An Historical Sketch of the first Practitioners of Medicine, with the present faculties and graduates since their organization of the Medical Colleges of Chicago. By JAMES NEVINS HYDE, M. D. 16mo, pp. 78. FERGUS PRINTING CO. Chicago, 1879.

In these well-edited, prettily printed and illustrated pages may be found brief sketches of the pioneers in the field of medical science, the

predecessors of the large body of medical men now engaged in the practice of their profession in the western metropolis. It begins with an account of old Fort Dearborn, with which the history of Chicago is intimately connected, and of Dr. Isaac Van Voorhees, the surgeon of the garrison at the time of the massacre by the Indians in 1812, and closes with sketches of the several medical institutions now existing in the populous city. It is a worthy contribution to the history of the healing art in America. The illustrations are in steel.

THE UTICA SLATE, AND RELATED FORMATIONS. Fossils of the Utica Slate, and Metamorphoses of Triarthrus Becki. By C. D. WALCOTT. In advance of Vol. X, Transactions Albany Institute. 8vo, pp. 38. Plates II. J. MUNSELL. Albany, 1879.

The name Utica Slate has been given by New York geologists to the black bituminous slates succeeding the Trenton limestone in the Mohawk and Black River valleys. The organic remains found here are claimed to entitle it to rank as a formation quite as much as its lithological character. It has fifty fair specimens of fauna limited to its boundaries. The author rejects the idea that the term Cincinnati epoch be substituted for that of Hudson River. The paper is purely scientific, and addressed to scientific men.

BEDFORD SESQUI-CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION, AUG. 27, 1879. Historical Discourse. By JONATHAN F. STEARNS, D. D. Also a Sketch of the Celebration. 8vo. ESTES & LAURIAT. Boston, 1879.

The oration of Dr. Stearns is a cheery colloquy over the glories of old Bedford (Massachusetts), which was "launched on her voyage" in 1729, the territory being cut out from the northeasterly part of Concord and the southeasterly part of Billerica. Bedford played her part well in the Indian wars and the revolution. She "toed the mark" at every step, and showed her hand, and that a mailed hand, in every emergency. It was at the corner of the Bedford road in Lexington that the first blood was drawn, and the Bedford militia were early in the fight. Naturally, there is some account of the pastors of Bedford, for in the old New England days the pastors were always "to the fore." One Dr. Stearns was the famous preacher, his ministry extending over thirty-seven years.

For the benefit of the unlearned, it is as well to say that the Sesqui-Centennial was the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the incorporation, that of the third half century.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH IN HADDAM, CONNECTICUT. By the Pastor, EVERETT E. LEWIS. Delivered July 9, 1876, and repeated Sept. 8, 1878. 8vo, pp. 73. PELTON & KING. Middletown, Conn.

This is another of the valuable memorial sketches called forth by the proclamation of General Grant. Haddam was first settled in 1662, and incorporated in 1668. Haddam belonged to Hartford County till 1785, when Middlesex County was formed, and Haddam became one of the county seats. There is some doubt as to when the church was organized, but probably before 1700.

The first minister named in the town records is Mr. Willowby, but beyond that fact little more is known of him. He was probably a transient preacher. He appears in 1667. He was succeeded by the Rev. Nicholas Noyes from Newbury, Massachusetts, a graduate from Harvard, but for reasons which do not appear he did not "see cause to settle," though he tarried among the Haddamites for many years. He was a man of mark, and "principal part of the glory of the churches and people of New England." When King Philip's bloody war broke out in 1675, Mr. Noyes acted as chaplain of the Connecticut troops under Major Treat, who did good service in slaughtering the aborigines. Of Mr. Noyes' successor, the Rev. John James, a Welshman by birth, little also is known. The Rev. Jeremiah Hobart, next in order, was an Englishman by birth, also a graduate from Harvard, who passed over to Connecticut from Hempstead, on Long Island. He was in his seventieth year when he settled. During his ministry the settlement on the two sides of the river was divided into two separate towns, and the East Haddam church was organized in 1704. The second pastor of the church was the Rev. Phineas Fiske, 1712-1738.

He was followed by Aaron Cleveland, 1739-1746, when he was dismissed because of the part he took in the "currency question;" pastors then, as now, meddling in matters in which they had no concern, and compromising their influence in things spiritual by interference in things material. Upon the departure of Cleveland, the Haddamites had some trouble in getting a pastor, and were compelled, as the United States when she made her first loan from Holland, to stipulate the weight and fineness of the money in which the minister should be paid. Mr. Joshua Elderkin tried it for four years, but finally gave up the ministry as a poor business, and took up employment of a secular character. In 1756 the Rev. Eleazer May was duly ordained and during his pastorate the congregation moved from their worn out building into a new church,

which was dedicated in 1771. A steeple, however, notwithstanding repeated efforts, was beyond the reach of the congregation. On the death of Mr. May, after a ministry of forty-seven years, his mantle fell on the shoulders of the Rev. David Dudley Field, the sixth pastor. He preached for fourteen years, but asked for dismissal because of the meagreness of his salary in 1818. Next came Rev. John Marsh, an "active, vigilant, valiant" minister—one of the church militant, which Haddam evidently needed. He withdrew in 1833. After him came in turn Rev. T. J. Clark, another one of those who preached with "earnest conviction the terrors of divine wrath." The descendants of the old Puritans knew what that meant. In 1836 Dr. Field returned, and again maintained the "pastor's prerogatives" with unabated vigor. In 1844 he again withdrew. There were many later changes, which cannot be recorded here.

WESTERN RESERVE AND NORTHERN OHIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY PAMPHLETS. 8vo. Cleveland, Ohio, 1879.

The publication of tracts by this society began in the year 1870, and has been since continued, adding many important contributions to the stock of history of this section of our country. Two papers were issued in the year 1879. Tract No. 50: Indian Narrative of Judge Hugh Welch of Green Springs, by C. C. Baldwin; Tract No. 51, General Wadsworth's Division, War of 1812, by Charles Whittlesey, President of the Society; both of local and personal interest.

A REFUTATION OF THE CHARGES MADE AGAINST THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA OF HAVING AUTHORIZED THE USE OF EXPLOSIVE AND POISONED MUSKET AND RIFLE BALLS DURING THE LATE CIVIL WAR OF 1861-65. By Rev. HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN. 8vo, pp. 13. GEORGE W. GARY. Richmond, Va., 1879.

These pages are an answer to the charge made by Dr. Benson J. Lossing in his account of the battle of Gettysburg, printed in his Pictorial History of the Civil War, that the confederate troops used explosive and poisoned missiles. The gentleman who replies is not satisfied with a denial that the Confederate States ever authorized the use of such missiles, but makes the assertion that they were not only authorized but made for the United States. That any *poisoned* balls were used on either side is hardly to be credited, but in what an explosive rifle ball is more objectionable than a shell, passes our limited, purely civil comprehension. Blowing up in wholesale or in detail are, after all, varieties of the same practice.

THE SILVER QUESTION. By N. P. VAN DEN BERG. Translated from the Dutch Text at the Liverpool Consulate for the Netherlands. With an Introductory Chapter on the present state of the currency in Holland and Java, by the same author. 8vo. pp. 46. JAMES WOOL-LARD. Liverpool, 1879.

In this pamphlet may be found an account of the difficulties caused in the currency of Holland by the perturbations in the silver market, and the introduction of gold as standard coin of the nation conjointly with the silver coins. The Indian possessions, however, formed a field more difficult to manage, but so far the lack of gold has produced no evil consequences, silver bringing the full value of gold for payments in Holland, and the exchanges have suffered less fluctuations than those of British India. Sooner or later, however, the author holds that the monetary reform must be completed by the demonetization of the silver still in circulation. And to this it must surely come, as to use the forcible words of the author, "No country, either in the West or in the East, can possibly prosper, whose standard of value lacks the principal quality it ought to possess—a great relative fixity of value."

A SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF REV. JOSEPH MONTGOMERY. By John MONTGOMERY FORSTER. 8vo. pp. 47. LANE S. HART. Harrisburg, 1879.

The subject of this sketch, doubtless of Scotch-Irish origin and Presbyterian parentage, was born in Ireland in 1733. Brought over at a tender age he was educated at Princeton, where he was graduated in 1755. Licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Philadelphia about 1759, he was ordained as Pastor of Georgetown, Kent County, Maryland, in 1761, but was compelled to ask his dismissal in 1769 on account of non-payment of his salary. While at Georgetown he married Elizabeth Reid, daughter of Andrew Reid of Trenton, N. J. Her connection with the Reids and Pettits of Pennsylvania is shown, and some interesting biographical details concerning the latter family, of which Colonel Charles Pettit, Greene's Assistant Quartermaster, a man of distinguished revolutionary fame, are given in this connection. After leaving Georgetown, Montgomery was installed pastor of the Congregations of New Castle and Christina Bridge after the form of the Church of Scotland. In 1777 he asked for dismissal from his charge on account of the "broken state of his parish." In the fall of 1780 he was elected by the Assembly of Pennsylvania to represent the State in the Continental Congress, and was

an active member in 1781 and 1782, as the journals show. In 1783 he sat as member for Lancaster in the Seventh Assembly of the State of Pennsylvania. In 1783 he was chosen one of the Commissioners to compromise the difficulty between Pennsylvania and the Connecticut settlers in Wyoming. Although no longer a formal minister of the Church, he occasionally preached, and is said to have been the first clergyman in the town of Harrisburg, where he opened a Master Mason's Lodge on St. John's Day, 1791. He died in October, 1794. A genealogy of his descendants closes this simple but attractive sketch.

SKETCH OF GOV. MERRIWETHER LEWIS. By General MARCUS J. WRIGHT. (First published in the June number, 1876, of Ware's Valley Monthly.) 8vo. pp. 10. Washington, D. C.

Merriwether Lewis, whose name is familiar as the chief of the celebrated expedition of Lewis and Clarke to the northwest territory, was the son of Colonel Robert Lewis, of the Virginia Line of the Continental Army. At the age of twenty he enlisted in the U. S. army as a volunteer, but was soon transferred to the regular service, with an appointment of lieutenant. At the age of twenty-three he was promoted captain. He was serving as private secretary to President Jefferson when the exploring party to trace out the Missouri river to its source was organized. Applying for the command, Lewis was at once appointed, and Mr. William Clarke associated with him to direct the movement, in case of accident to the chief. Soon after his return to Washington in 1807, Captain Lewis was appointed Governor of Louisiana. He killed himself in a fit of mental derangement in 1809. A monument was erected to him by the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee in 1848, on the line of the old Natchez road.

LETTERS FROM FLORIDA. BY MRS. H. W. BEECHER. 12mo, pp. 85. D. APPLETON & Co. New York, 1879.

In these letters the impressions left on a practical mind, after several years of close observation of the characteristics, natural and acquired, of Florida, the resort of health seekers in the winter season, are recorded. In the genial climate of the old Spanish settlement, whose name bears continual testimony to its natural beauty, Mrs. Beecher finds a proper home and work for all of the thousands who gain a bare pittance in the overcrowded north. She shows what has been done with moderate sums of money, and what may be done in the future by a well ordered settlement.

OUR AMERICAN ARTISTS. By S. G. W. BENJAMIN. With portraits, studies, and engravings of paintings. 4to. D. LOTHROP & Co. Boston, 1879.

The authors, sketches of whose lives and engraved specimens of whose work are here given, are twelve in number—Beard, Bellows, Gifford, Chase, Shirlaw, Enneking, Wood, Colman, Thompson, Brown and Neal. Some of the engravings are exquisite specimens of the art in different styles.

THE TEST OF LINGUISTIC AFFINITY.

By ALBERT S. GATSCHET. 8vo, pp. 7. Reprinted from the American Antiquarian, Vol. II., No. 2, 1879.

THE NUMERAL ADJECTIVE IN THE KLAMATH LANGUAGE OF SOUTHERN OREGON. By ALBERT S. GATSCHET. 8vo, pp. 8. Reprinted from the American Antiquarian, Vol. II., No. 3, 1879.

The readers of the Magazine will remember the exhaustive article of this accomplished and industrious student, upon The Indian Languages of the Pacific States and Territories, which appeared in March, 1877 (p. 146). Attention has also been invited to his books and pamphlets; Twelve Idioms of North American Indians of the Southwest (I., 139), Analytical Report upon Indian Dialects spoken in Southern Colorado, etc. (I., 206), Remarks upon the Tonkawa (I., 206), Timacua, Languages (II., 573).

The papers now before us continue this investigation and deserve the attention of our Indian philologists. In the first Mr. Gatschet explains what he claims to be the true method of testing the affinity of languages; in the second he shows how the comparative study of the numerals of the different nations and races contributes to the disclosing of certain abstract ideas which may lead to an understanding of the physiology and reasoning faculties even of prehistoric nations—a study of *ideas*, as displayed in the continuous order of their sequence, analogous to that of *facts*, as presented by tangible remains such as grave mounds, chisel heads, etc.

EARLY HISTORY OF GENEVA (FORMERLY CALLED KANADESAGA). By GEORGE S. CONOVER, President of the Village. From the Geneva Courier. 8vo, pp. 47. COURIER STEAM PRESS. Geneva, N. Y., 1879.

At the close of the Revolutionary war Massachusetts and New York both claimed, under the British Crown grants, the larger share of the territory lying within the bounds of the State of

New York. In 1784, on the petition of Massachusetts, Congress assigned a day for a hearing of the Commissioners of the two States, the result of which was a cession by Massachusetts of the right of government, sovereignty and jurisdiction of all the lands in dispute, and by New York of a right of pre-emption of a certain limited amount of soil from the Indians, being 230,000 acres between the Owego and Chenango rivers. Beginning with an account of this settlement Mr. Conover follows with a relation of the treaties by which ownership of the territory was obtained from the Indians, and the controversies which ensued between the claimants of the land. There are chapters on the Reed and Ryckman patents, Phelps and Gorham's purchase from Massachusetts, their subsequent sale to Robert Morris (the Financier of the Revolution, whose papers on this subject are preserved in the O'Reilly Mss. collection in the N. Y. Hist. Soc.), Morris' sale to the Pinkney Association through William Temple Franklin, his London agent, and his conveyance to Captain Charles Williams as their agent.

Later chapters describe the Sullivan campaign, and the Old Castle at Kanadesaga, the Capital of the Senecas, the location of which is definitely stated, though all indications of its site are said to be "almost entirely obliterated;" the Cherry Valley massacre, and Mr. Campbell's account of the last Thanksgiving sacrifice of the White Dogs at Kanadesaga; a sketch of the Iroquois, abounding in statistical information, and finally, chapters in relation to the early settlement of Geneva, which, in 1792, consisted of a few families who had clustered at the outlet of the lake.

The pamphlet has been prepared with great care, and is an important contribution to New York State local history.

THE PUBLIC LIBRARY AND THE COMMON SCHOOLS. Three papers on educational topics. By CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Jr. 8vo, pp. 51. ESTES & LAURIAT. Boston, 1879.

The United States owe much to Mr. Adams for his practical labors in the cause of political economy. He is one of a class, numerous in Europe but restricted with us, who devote a life-time to subjects of public interest—not with a preconceived idea of favoring any particular system, but an unbiased rendering of conclusions, independently deduced from an assemblage and comparison of facts—than which there is no more scientific or safe mode of reasoning.

In this pamphlet he presents in narrative and tabulated forms the results of long experience in the management of the Common Schools and Public Library at Quincy. He divides his sub-

ject into three parts: I. The Public Library and the Public Schools; II. Fiction in Public Libraries and Educational Catalogues; III. The New Departure in the Public Schools of Quincy. In the first he points out the want of common sense in the education of youth, which he would properly limit to a direction of the mind in the path of self-education, and points the moral with a story of the manner in which his father crammed Pope's Messiah down his unwilling throat, to a disgust with the book and its author from which he has never yet recovered. In the second he notes the fact that fiction constitutes two-thirds of public library reading, and sensible again, looks upon this appetite as healthy and natural. In the third he has a hearty laugh over the old-style committee examinations of the students in the common schools, and reports the results of the change introduced in 1873, and the advantage of a thoroughly trained superintendence.

The pamphlet must be read in full for a correct understanding of its suggestions, and we commend it to all interested in this subject, which is the basis of republican liberty.

TWO MONTHS IN EUROPE. A RECORD OF A SUMMER VACATION ABROAD. By O. R. BURCHARD. 12mo, pp. 168. DAVIS, BARDEEN & CO. Syracuse, N. Y., 1879.

After two experiments, one in 1873 and one in 1878, the writer presents the results of what may be done in foreign travel in a trip of two months, and at an expense of five hundred dollars. He takes the reader to the Scottish lakes, through London and Belgium, up the Rhine, where he stops at Wiesbaden, Baden-Baden, visiting Heidelberg on the way, thence to the Swiss lakes and Mont Blanc, through Italy to Rome, and ends with the Paris Exposition.

RODERICK HUME. A story of a New York teacher. By C. W. BARDEEN. 32mo, pp. 295. DAVIS, BARDEEN & CO. Syracuse, 1878.

The preface declares that this story is written to depict certain phases of the modern Union school. It is not intended to teach any lesson. It is descriptive, not instructive. It is not intended for satire. The chapter in the book, which, under the title of an unlucky vacation, tells of the hero's experiences in billiard rooms and gambling saloons, created quite an excitement among the readers of the story when it appeared in serial form, but there was no help for it. Roderick did gamble and did lose his money, and was very sorry. The author confesses that he had been reading up the history of gambling from Appleton's Cyclopædia, and we cannot re-

frain from the supposition that he used his material because it was on hand. There is the usual amount of sentiment that is found in this class of character tales. It is of a mild and innocuous kind.

HAWAII NEL. An Idyll of the Pacific Isles. By EDWARD BAILEY. 16mo, pp. 53. SAMUEL C. ANDREWS. Ann Arbor, Michigan.

In unpretending verse a picture is here given of the scenery of Kalakua's domain, with its volcanic mountains, ravines and streams, and some idea of Honolulu and the lazy life of the Kanakas.

ECHOS DE QUEBEC. Par NAPOLEON LEGENDRE. 16mo, 2 vols., pp. 208-202. AUGUSTIN COTÉ & CIE. Quebec, 1877.

Under this suggestive title, and in a pleasant readable style, with much that has no historical interest, there is a great deal of nice observation of the manners and customs of the ancient city, where the French still hold to their traditions with a pertinacity not usual to the race. The second volume begins with a sketch of Canadian literature, which is well worth perusal. It is of a late growth.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE UNION

LEAGUE CLUB OF NEW YORK, ITS ORIGIN, ORGANIZATION AND WORK, 1863-1879. By HENRY W. BELLOWES (for private publication). 8vo, pp. 200. CLUB HOUSE, New York, 1879.

Dr. Bellows gives here an account of the origin and formation of this organization, which was a social nucleus of loyal men during the civil war, and has since, by wise management, become one of the leading clubs of the city. Dr. Bellows forgets to mention that almost immediately after its organization the club departed from the purposes of its founders, which was to organize a club at a scale of price low enough, and on a social basis large enough to cover a wide field of ground, and bring a direct influence to bear on the upper working classes. It was this departure that rendered the formation of the Loyal Leagues necessary. The name of League also was taken from the Loyal National League, which was the creation of a day, upon a pledge drawn up, posted on the bulletins of the Evening Post and Tribune, signed by thousands of people, who later, called together by the originators of the idea, organized formally, and led the way in this popular method of supporting the Government. The Loyal National League was not, like the Loyal Union League, a secret body, but an open organization which anyone could

join who would sign the pledge of loyalty. It was this body that held the great meetings at Cooper Institute and in Union Square, and later the convention at Utica which determined the politics of this State. But while the Union League Club did not carry out the broad purposes which were the gist of the original plan, and was narrowed to a social organization, it was quickly swept from that equivocal position, and not only brought face to face with the political questions of the day, but active interference in politics became the very condition of its existence. Of the action of the Union League Club, however, on every occasion when its services could aid the Government or the cause, too much cannot be said in commendation; and in its courageous countenance and support of the negro regiments, in the face of a threatening and dangerous populace, it was simply heroic.

DESCRIPTIONS OF NEW SPECIES OF FOSSELS FROM THE NIAGARA FORMATION AT WALDRON, INDIANA. By JAMES HALL. 8vo, pp. 20. J. MUNSELL. Albany, 1879.

This is a paper read before the Albany Institute, March, 1879. Mr. Hall states the number of species known to him from the Niagara as upwards of one hundred and fifty, including variety. A brief account is given of those recently discovered.

LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED BY THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY FROM THE SALE OF THE FIRST PART OF THE BRINLEY LIBRARY. To which is added a Catalogue of the Mather publications previously in the Society's Library. (Arranged and collated with notes by NATHANIEL PAINE.) 8vo, pp. 54. Press of Charles Hamilton. Worcester, 1879.

The student of early American history will do well to consult this excellent bibliographical work. Catalogues arranged and carefully collated in this manner are invaluable guides.

THE TWINS OF TABLE MOUNTAINS AND OTHER STORIES. By BRET HARTE. 16mo, pp. 249. THE RIVERSIDE PRESS. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co., Boston, 1880.

Bret Harte has created a new color of literature in this new country. There is nothing analogous to it. The dramatic interest of the earlier stories, *The Luck of Roaring Camp*, has not been sustained in his more recent works. Compared with this, his best story, *The Twins of Table Mountains* reads as though from another pen; yet, inferior as it is, it has a local color, and a quaint flavor peculiar to the author.

FAMOUS FRENCH AUTHORS. BIOGRAPHICAL PORTRAITS OF DISTINGUISHED FRENCH WRITERS. By THEOPHILE GAUTIER, EUGENE DE MIRECOURT. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 323. R. WORTHINGTON, New York, 1879.

This volume of biographies is made up of translations from the best sources. *Les Nouveaux Lundis de Saint Beuve*, *Les Causeries de Samedi de M. de Pontmartin*, Mirecourt's *Portraits and Silhouettes*. No class of men in their strong idiosyncracies present such a variety of outline and color as the French literateurs, Beranger, Balzac, Dumas, Saint Beuve, all types differing radically from each other, almost without any points in common. The translation is satisfactory, though it cannot be said to render the authors' varieties in style as all translations should.

THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE LIVINGSTON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, HELD AT GENESEO, TUESDAY, JANUARY 14, 1879. Opening address by President MILLS. Annual address by L. B. PROCTOR, 8vo, pp. 26. A. O. BUNNELL, Danville, N. Y., 1879.

The subject chosen by Mr. Proctor for his address was "The Judges and Lawyers of Livingston County, and their Relation to the History of Western New York." The bar of Livingston county has a proud record. Among the distinguished men named in this pamphlet Mark H. Sibley, George Hosmer, John B. Skinner, Dudley Marvin, Martin Grover are the most generally known.

EARLY INDIAN MIGRATION IN OHIO. By C. C. BALDWIN. Western Reserve and Northern Historical Society Tract No. 47. 8vo. Reprinted from the American Antiquarian, April, 1879.

In these pages will be found a clear account of all that is known of the migrations of the Indian tribes. In 1872 they were located by Col. Whiteley as follows: The Iroquois and the tribes adopted by them, Northeast Ohio; Wyandots and Ottawas, the valleys of the streams flowing into Lake Erie; the Delawares, the valley of the Muskingum; the Shawnees, the Scioto and its tributaries; the Miamis, the western part of the State, including the Miami valleys. These were the general limits of the tribes in Ohio from 1754 to 1780. Mr. Baldwin shows the manner in which these settlements were made, and the time, and indicates the principal sources of information concerning their history.

WHEN WAS OHIO ADMITTED INTO THE UNION? By I. W. ANDREWS, President of Marietta College. 8vo, pp.

It is odd enough that there should be any such doubt as to any State. The learned author of this little tract sums up his argument in these words: 'In view of all the facts we seem shut up to the conclusion that the State of Ohio was not admitted into the Union on the 29th day of November, 1802, when the Constitution was formed, but on the 19th of *February*, 1803, when Ohio was first recognized as a State by Congress.'

A LIST OF THE REPRODUCTIONS, BOTH IMITATION AND IN FAC-SIMILE, OF THE PRODUCTIONS OF THE PRESS OF WILLIAM CAXTON, England, First Printer, with some preliminary observations by B. H. BEEDHAM. 8vo, pp. 24. JONATHAN S. GREEN, New York. JOHN SPRINGER, Iowa City. 1879.

The bibliophile and bibliograph will be alike interested in this careful study, the publication of which is due to the antiquarian taste of Mr. John Springer, who guarantees the qualifications of the author and the accuracy of his description of the reproductions.

JOURNAL OF THOMAS WALLCUT IN 1790. With notes by GEORGE DEXTER. Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for October, 1879. 8vo, pp. 42. University Press. JOHN WILSON & SON. Cambridge, 1879.

Thomas Wallcut, the writer of this journal, was one of the founders of the Massachusetts Historical Society and its first Recording Secretary. The journal was kept by him during a visit to Marietta, Ohio, from October, 1789, to March, 1790. It is of local value to those interested in the beginnings of the western settlements. Mr. Dexter's notes are as usual to the point and thorough.

INDIAN MASSACRE AT FOX POINT IN NEWINGTON, by CHARLES W. TUTTLE, from Proceedings of Massachusetts Historical Society. 8vo, pp. 6. Boston, 1879.

This is a still further impeachment of Cotton Mather's historical accuracy. Mr. Tuttle throws doubt on the alleged destruction of Fox Point by Indians in May, 1690, as alleged in the *Moquotia*. The evidence is of course negative, but it is strong, and Mr. Tuttle must be considered to have made his point.

THE GENESEE COUNTY PIONEER ASSOCIATION. A HISTORY OF ITS ORGANIZATION, LIST OF OFFICERS AND MEMBERS, AND THE ANNUAL ADDRESS DELIVERED June 11th, 1876, by HON. NORMAN SEYMOUR. 8vo, pp. 44. Published by the ASSOCIATION, Batavia, N. Y., 1879.

In August, 1869, the Pioneer citizens of Genesee County, met in Batavia and organized themselves into a society for the preservation of the remembrance of interesting facts in the early history and settlement of Western New York. Mr. Seymour delivered the annual address in 1878, which is full of information of a local character, and an excellent guide to the study of the history of New York as a State.

INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS—PARIS—PHILADELPHIA—VIENNA. By CHAS. GINDNEZ, Architect of France; Prof. JAMES M. HART, of United States. 8vo, pp. 45. A. S. BARNES & CO. New York, 1879.

These essays appeared originally in the *International Review*. They carefully describe the different arrangements of these public exhibitions, and may well be kept in mind by the gentlemen who have assumed to themselves the management of the American World's Fair, with which it is proposed to celebrate the centennial anniversary of the organization of the American Government in 1783.

THE PALENQUE TABLET IN THE UNITED STATES NATIONAL MUSEUM, WASHINGTON, D. C. By CHARLES RAU. Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, 331. 4to, pp. 81. Published by the Smithsonian Institution, Washington City, 1879.

The specimen which constitutes the subject of this memoir is a sculptured slab, forming part of the celebrated tablet in the so-called Temple of the Cross at Palenque, in the State of Chiapas, Mexico, and is now in the Smithsonian collection. Palenque is a ruined city in the Mexican State of Chiapas on the borders of Guatamala, of which it was once a province. Cortes passed near it, but there is no allusion to it in the histories of his conquest. The ruins were discovered by Spaniards about the middle of the eighteenth century, and first explored by Captain Antonio del Rio in 1787. The Temple of the Cross stands on a dilapidated pyramidal stone, measuring about one hundred and thirty-four feet on the slope, and forms a rectangle fifty feet long and thirty-one feet wide. The tablet of the Cross, which is surmounted by a bird and loaded

with indescribable ornaments, is evidently of remote antiquity; and its construction antecedent to the Christian era, affords strong evidence that the cross had a symbolical meaning among ancient nations long before it was established as an emblem of the Christian faith.

This detailed and elaborately illustrated history of this curious monument is edited with scrupulous care, and published with great elegance.

THE LIFE AND ADMINISTRATION OF

RICHARD EARL OF BELLOMONT, GOVERNOR OF THE PROVINCES OF NEW YORK, MASSACHUSETTS AND NEW HAMPSHIRE, FROM 1697 TO 1701. An address delivered before the New York Historical Society, at the celebration of its Seventy-fifth Anniversary, November 18, 1879. By FREDERIC DE PEYSTER, President of the Society. 8vo, pp. 60. Appendix, xvii. Published for the Society. 1879.

In this address Mr. de Peyster confined himself chiefly to the important details of Bellomont's administration in their bearings to the history of the Province of New York. The descendant of Colonel Abraham Depeyster, a friend of Governor Bellomont (whose letters to him while on public business in Boston form the valuable appendix to the address), the venerable orator is naturally found in sympathy with the Earl. Bellomont Mr. de Peyster finds to have been in entire accord and harmony with the people of the New York province, then chiefly Dutch or of Dutch descent. He bravely defended the memory of Leisler and Milbonne, the leaders of the popular party and the victims of a personal cabal. Beginning with a genealogy of Bellomont, he traces the family from Sir John Corte, a native and knight of France, who flourished, according to Burke's records of the British peerage, some time in the eleventh century. Richard, the second Baron Corte, born in 1636, was created Earl of Bellomont in 1689 by William of Orange, and 1695 appointed Governor of New York. Piracy and an "unlawful trade in fraud of the Acts of Navigation and Plantations infinitely prejudicial to England" were then thriving in New York. The hardy seamen who thronged the seaboard towns of the American coast, cut off by the restrictions laid upon the colonial marine by the grasping policy of Great Britain, were always ready for a cruise in annoyance of the French traders of the northern settlements, or a more dangerous, but more profitable quest of the heavy Spanish galleons which ploughed the southern seas with their rich freight, the product of the Mexican mines; and they were not unfrequently assisted in their enterprises by the merchants themselves. The line between

privateering and piracy was a narrow one, and in the distance from home control, and the general indifference of the British Admiralty to any breaches of law or justice, so long as the seas were made hot for the enemies of England, often overstepped. Of course laxity in the enforcement of law led to crime in the practice of the ungovernable men who looked to the sea for their support and profit. Bellomont, who seems to have been scandalized by the abuses he encountered, attempted the difficult task of correcting them. His first attempt was in what in these days would be considered a droll fashion. At the instigation of Robert Livingston a vessel was fitted out to cruise against the French and the pirates of the Indian Ocean, who used the ports of the American colonies as convenient resorts for the disposal of their plunder. This vessel, the "Adventure-galley," was placed under the command of Captain Kidd. The vessel was owned upon shares, the King himself joining in the venture. This scheme ended in a disgraceful manner, cast a shadow over the fame of Bellomont, and brought Kidd to the scaffold. Mr. de Peyster attempts to vindicate the honesty of the Governor and the character of Kidd. Sailing from Plymouth, England, in April, 1696, Kidd sailed for New York, where he recruited a crew of desperate men, and started on his cruise. Sailing from New York, he reached Madeira in February, 1697, and the mouth of the Red Sea in July. Notwithstanding his earlier statement that "Kidd was not the evil and abandoned character he is so generally regarded," Mr. de Peyster finds himself compelled to admit "that he became a pirate," though with the saving clause, "not so much from any particular design on his part as by force of circumstances and previous training as a privateer." Some captures were made, including that of the "Quedah Merchant," valued at £64,000, which he carried into Madagascar, where he burnt the Adventure-galley. He then sailed for the West Indies in the Quedah Merchant; arriving there in the spring of 1699, he learned that he had been declared a pirate, purchased a sloop, and with it sailed for Delaware Bay, and thence to the vicinity of New York, where he disembarked a messenger to claim the protection of Bellomont, who was at Boston. Bellomont invited him to Boston, where Kidd appeared on the 1st July, and was soon after arrested by Bellomont. His treasure was seized, and found to consist of one thousand one hundred and eleven ounces of gold, two thousand three hundred and fifty-three ounces of silver, fifty-seven bags of sugar, forty-one bales of goods and seventeen pieces of canvas. Kidd was sent to London for trial in 1700. On his arrival the entire proceedings, in which Bellomont was of course implicated, were exposed. Kidd was tried, pleaded that he had been forced by his crew into piracy, and hanged.

The judgment of Macaulay as to Bellomont's innocence in the nefarious part of Kidd's proceeding is no doubt correct, but that he could have entered into such a partnership for purposes of personal gain is an imputation on his judgment and a stain upon his fame, which no apology can remove.

Failing in this attempt to repress piracy by an application of the homœopathic principle of *similia similibus curantur*, Bellomont returned to the charge with new-born zeal, and "resumed his old battle against illegal trade and piracy" with such vigor that a petition for his removal was sent to England by the New York merchants, who would not accept his construction of what was and what was not legitimate trade. The London merchants, sympathizing with their persecuted kin across the sea, joined in the petition.

Harried by his enemies on both sides of the water, he could no longer resist his more immediate enemy, the gout, and in March, 1701, fell a prey to this disease. He died in the city of New York, and was buried "in the Chapel at the Fort at the Battery." Later the leaden coffin which contained his remains was removed to St. Paul's churchyard.

Mr. de Peyster has illustrated his pamphlet with photographs of a portrait of Bellomont in his possession and of Colonel Abraham de Peyster and his wife. Bellomont's personal appearance is described on the authority of Mrs. Lamb, but we miss Mr. de Peyster's identification of the portrait as that of Bellomont. The Bellomont Madeira which survived him was long famous.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

By CHARLES GODFREY LELAND. 16mo. pp. 246. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, New York, 1879.

The name of the author of this biography is sufficient guarantee of an attractive treatment of the subject, which, like the story of Washington, can never become hackneyed while the United States remains what Lincoln so largely contributed to make it—a free nation. The key note of Mr. Leland's book is the example of self culture set before us in the life of the man who, from the humblest beginnings, lifted himself, through marked gradations by force of study, perseverance and honest ambition, to the first rank among American men, and finally, in the administration of the government, showed himself fully equal to each new occasion as it arose. The most interesting feature in Lincoln's character was his peculiar temperament. He was naturally a man of humours, melancholy almost to morbidness,

or gay almost to absurdity, yet holding each mood in stern control when action demanded its repression. Both of these traits were inherited, his father being of a gay and excitable nature, and his mother habitually depressed. In the narrative of his early life, with its experiences peculiar to the western region, but by no means uncommon there, Mr. Leland is in happiest vein, thoroughly appreciating and drawing in strong relief his kindness of heart, his indomitable perseverance, the result of his will power, because he was by nature indolent, his keen sense of the ludicrous, his unfailing good nature, and his personal vigor and courage. Successful as a lawyer and well known throughout his region as one of the ablest of his profession, and with a local personal popularity that always drew crowds to listen to his forensic displays, his fame first burst upon the nation as not unequal to the foremost, in the magnificent intellectual duel he maintained with Douglas, the idol of the young West. His speeches in that remarkable political campaign are models of fine legal argument and comprehensive grasp of what may be termed higher politics. His first inaugural is one of the most original papers in American literature, and his address at Gettysburg, for chaste simplicity, and a choice of words expressing most aptly the deepest feeling, will stand forever as a model of true oratory. One trait of Mr. Lincoln's public character has never been presented with sufficient strength; his remarkable knowledge of men, his intuitive insight into motives, and his ability to draw from each precisely what he needed, no less and no more. This is hardly statesmanship, and it is doubtful whether Mr. Lincoln will ever rank as a great statesman. His training had not been in that direction, but rather to make immediate use of that which fell to his hand, which is rather political sagacity than the higher range of intellectual mastery. Yet his objects were always large and philanthropic, and his highest aim the welfare and improvement of mankind. He was a firm believer in popular government, and held that the average opinion of mankind was more certainly right than the views of any specialist, however profound. His administration was a perfect vindication of his theory, and it is questionable whether the people of the United States would have followed with such entire trust any other than himself. No man to a greater extent than he inspired confidence in the purity of his intentions, and it almost seemed as though the popular heart beat in response to his own, and the popular will determined that what he said was best to be should at all hazards be brought to pass. And to this day, on each recurring struggle for political power, there are tens of thousands who hold in memory his advice and his declared purposes, and ask themselves how they may best contribute to the order of things as he would have wished them.

OBITUARY

THE REV. SAMUEL OSGOOD, D.D., LL.D.

*Read before the New York Historical Society
October 5th, 1880.*

The history of the Osgood family in America, to which is now added the honorable record of our late colleague, as a scion of the seventh generation, is coeval with the history of the Massachusetts commonwealth. In 1634, Christopher Osgood, its progenitor, came from Hampshire, England, to the shores of that newly founded colony, and from him has descended a numerous posterity, which comprises many persons, eminent in the annals of New England and the nation. Dr. Osgood's parents were Thomas Osgood and Hannah Stevens, who shortly after their marriage in 1792, removed from the paternal homestead in Andover, Mass. to Charlestown, Mass., where Samuel, their twelfth child, was born August 30th, 1812. With parental prescience they discerned in his happy disposition, his lively spirits and warm affections, his intellectual quickness and early fondness for letters, that he was born one of the gifted few whom Heaven entrusts with unusual talents to be employed for the good of the many. They selected careful teachers to prepare him for the collegiate course at Harvard University, from which institution, after applying himself with great industry and ardor, he was most honorably graduated, in 1832, at the age of twenty years. His collegiate life at Cambridge was passed under the immediate teachings of Ware, Channing, and other brilliant scholars of the emergent Unitarian faith, and their vigorous utterances deeply influenced his youthful christian zeal, and determined his purpose to enter the ministry of that denomination. In 1835, he completed his theological course at the Cambridge Divinity School, and spent in further study and travel in the South and West the two following years, during which the first work of his vocation at Louisville and Cincinnati, gave large promise of the power, which he afterwards exhibited in the pulpit. In 1837 he accepted the pastorate of the Unitarian Church at Nashua, N. H., and in 1842 was called to that of the Westminster Unitarian Church, at Providence, R. I. In the following year, one of the most propitious events of his life, as evinced by the peculiar felicity of his subsequent domestic relations, took place in his marriage with Ellen Haswell Murdoch, of Boston, a lady of congenial temperament, taste, and education. In 1849 he was transferred in accordance with the general desire of the Unitarian denomination to what had become an important field of its influence in America, and succeeded Dr. Orville Dewey in the pulpit of the Church of the Messiah in this city, where he officiated for twenty years. In 1869 he relin-

quished the pastoral charge of this church, and sought in foreign travel relief from the physical effects of his long and continuous ministry. Upon his return to this country, in 1870, he took holy orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church, and without assuming the continuous charge of a parish, occupied the pulpit at intervals, and maintained various professional relations until his death, which occurred at his residence in this city, on the 14th of April, of this year.

From early manhood his literary activity was incessant and most fruitful. In 1836, while at Louisville, he was associated with Dr. James Freeman Clarke in editing the *Western Messenger*, a Unitarian religious journal. During his pastorate at Nashua, he contributed to American literature a translation of Olshausen's "History of the Passion," another of De Wette's "Human Life," and with C. T. Fox edited "The New Hampshire Book." From 1842 to 1849, the period of his ministry at Providence, he delivered several courses of secular lectures, which were subsequently published; and contributed to the *Christian Examiner*, the *North American Review*, and other prominent periodicals. In 1850 he assumed the editorial charge of the Unitarian organ in New York, the *Christian Inquirer*, and delivered before the Unitarian Theological School at Meadville, Pa., his discourse upon "The Coming Church and its Clergy." During his subsequent ministry at the Church of the Messiah, he identified his name with the permanent literary records of the country by the publication at various periods of volumes, replete with evidences of his rare scholarship and genius. Among these works, which now enrich our libraries, are the volume of essays, entitled, "Milestones on our Life Journey," and the volumes entitled, "Student Life," and "American Leaves." During this period he also delivered the Oration before the Alumni of Harvard College, at the inauguration of Professor Felton as President of that institution, and the discourse before this Society on its Sixty-Second Anniversary, entitled "New York in the Nineteenth Century."

While enjoying the merited repose from continuous activity which he had so honorably earned during the many years of his unselfish labors, the prevailing principle of his life still ruled him. He was still eager in his appointed task of cheering the hearts and strengthening the feet of his fellow men in the great mortal pilgrimage, calling onward the laggards, turning those faced wrong, and pointing the shining things upon the way, and where and what the bourn.

The later productions of his eloquent lips and ready pen include the published memorials of Bryant, Maurice, Crawford, Walker, and Duyckinck; the instructive criticisms upon Coleridge, Spinoza, Rousseau and Voltaire; and the judgments of his fine esthetic sense in the discourse on the "Ethics of Art," delivered at Boston in 1876. On

April 6th of this year, he made the last public effort of his life in delivering before the New York Historical Society his masterly Centennial discourse upon "Channing's Place in American History," which, with the memorial discourses upon Bryant and others, he intended to publish in a volume entitled "The Renaissance of America."

Dr. Osgood became a member of the New York Historical Society in 1850, and in 1855 its Domestic Corresponding Secretary. He held this office until 1865, when he was appointed to serve upon its Executive Committee, of which body he continued a member until his death.

The Committee desire to place upon the minutes of the Society a tribute of respect to his memory, which will not only attest his virtues, but their affection and gratitude. No more honorable memorial of him could be made than to depict in great detail his blameless life, or duly characterize the peculiar excellencies of his literary works. But this grateful labor will be appropriately performed by able biographers, who will trace commensurably with its importance the wide influence of his offices in the sacred calling which he adopted. They will record the facility of diction, the graceful elocution, and the unaffected dignity of bearing which lent enchantment to his effective utterances in the pulpit and rostrum. Posterity itself will discern in the printed monuments of his genius the clearness of view and beauty of illustration which characterized the substance of his mental efforts. The future scholar will behold in him the genius which assimilates learning, which communicates more subtle truths from those it gathers, not abstractions only, but the tender sentiments, the generous feelings, and high purposes with which it is inspired. The theologian will mark in him the courageous religious teacher who sought for the standard of truth and duty in the very nature of things, listening neither to personal and dogmatic authority on the one hand, nor visionary speculation on the other; who thus stood throughout his life, now against him who cherishes old errors, and now against him who would introduce new ones, the resolute champion of whatever is good in both progress and conservatism. In all the fields of his activity a man of power, the ambitious of eminence in any of these fields will meditate his bright example, not as of one who was feared, but as one whose dominion was in his love.

But now the Committee deem it most fitting to inscribe their memories of him as they knew him within these walls, and the environment of this institution's influence, a cherished and faithful officer, who served it for thirty years, whose efforts were always most zealously exerted in its behalf, and whose counsels and sound judgment have greatly aided it in accomplishing its honorable purposes. The greatness of his worth, the

peculiar and tender sentiment of respect which the public now holds for him, warrant them in predicting the durable influence of his life and example upon the nation's character, and of his broad and humane scholarship upon its education and literature.

One of the duties of this society is to preserve the characters of exemplary men as lessons for posterity. We who are sifting the men of the past are likely, from the impulse of affection, to exaggerate the virtues of the contemporary friend. We who know that posterity will turn back upon the men of these times the same clear regard which we now turn upon those who have preceded us, would still speak with the accents of affection rather than with the deliberate voice of historic criticism. But our speech may well be silent of faults if it be of those which historic criticism would note but to point their triviality. Our spoken words may well be all of admiration, if it be for virtues, of which in the characters of men, the historic criticism of this day should speak the loudest. The world grows more and more desirous of looking for exemplars in life and character like his. The greatness of future nations will depend upon the spiritual rather than the physical hero; and that nation is fated to ignominy and servitude which will not cherish the substantial legacy he has left it in his example; for the inscriptions upon the urns which hold the ashes of the just are much alike, and when we bend our tender regard to read that upon one, new-made, our friend's, our conviction of its truth lends new force to the mighty lesson of all.

Thus, in our long intercourse with him, we see him growing with every hour of his lengthening life, invigorating his intellectual faculties, strengthening his moral habits, and developing his sensibilities; fashioning that life, not according to an impossible, dreamed ideal, but as something to be accomplished—an example for his fellow-men. So in our latest memories stands before us, like a statuary's work, the finished life of the man, the finest, the chief of his works. We see him entering the boundaries of the unknown land, another spiritual hero, sufficient unto himself and true to his convictions, still in his hand the inflexible staff of self-reliance, which Heaven early lends such to lean upon. We see upon his brow the wisdom of the sage; upon his face, the ever-freshening smile of youth. And if the broken shaft symbolizes the unsuccessful aims of an unselfish life, or the failure of those of ambition, let there be none over his ashes but one straight and lofty, to mark the achievement by him of both. His single, selfish purpose was to do good to his fellow-men throughout his life—and he has; his single, personal aim was to be known as among the noble and exemplary of his age—and he is.

JACOB B. MOORE.

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THE AFFAIR AT KING'S MOUNTAIN

7TH OCTOBER, 1780

THE principal object of this article is to present in new but true colors the prominent features of this battle; delineations novel, although authentic, because contrary to narratives hitherto given as correct.

The chief facts are these:

1st. The fall of Ferguson did *not* determine the battle. He was *not* killed at *the end* of the action, as always hitherto represented, but "*early in the action*," and, therefore, his second in command and successor must have some credit for the protracted resistance instead of being held amenable to the charge of having surrendered as soon as his superior was slain, and the responsibility devolved upon him. He had gone through pretty much all of the previous receiving and giving of hard knocks, and had been shifted like a shuttle from one point of impact to another, wherever danger threatened, again and again, throughout the whole engagement, and he continued to fight on until, as his subordinate subsequently testifies (Charlestown, 30th January, 1781), "Captain de Peyster, on whom the command devolved, seeing it impossible to form six men together, thought it necessary to surrender to save the lives of the brave men who were left." "We lost, *early in this action*, Major Ferguson, of the 71st Regiment." Ferguson's obituary notice in Rivington's Royal Gazette (New York), 24th February, 1781, begins: "On the death of Maj. Patrick Ferguson, who was killed *early in the action* at King's Mountain, South Carolina." Another letter, dated Charlestown, 4th March, 1781, written by an officer who also was in the battle, says, "after our misfortune in losing Major Ferguson, the command devolved on Captain de Peyster; he behaved like a brave, good officer, and disputed the ground as long as it was possible to defend it." Finally, General Lenoir ("Wheeler's North Carolina," 105), who was a



Captain with Major Winston's command, writing to correct "accounts of that battle [King's Mountain] which are very erroneous," states, "Colonel Ferguson had seven or eight bullets shot through him, and fell some time before the battle was over."

If General Graham, in his plan of the battle, locates correctly the spot where Ferguson fell, it is not unlikely that he was shot down in repelling one of the effective charges at the west end of the summit, opposing the advance of the left under Cleveland. It is conceded on all sides that Ferguson might have burst through the American forces when his lieutenant drove their first attack down the slope in the direction of Tarleton and Cornwallis, as the latter advised him to do. Shortly after Major Winston came in to the right, and the circle was complete.

2nd. There was *no* corps of British Regulars in the fight, but those called "Regulars" were a detachment of selected troops from the "Provincial Corps" or "Brigade" of American Loyalists, and Ferguson was "territorial" Brigadier. Like Hanging Rock and other severe collisions, King's Mountain was a fight altogether between Loyal and Whig Americans, *not* between British, proper, and Colonists.

3d. Instead of the British outnumbering the Americans, the latter were to the British as 1 3-4 to 1; as 1310 (Shelby) to 1370 (calculation), to 908 (Allaire) to 960 (Stedman), or to 850 (Warren), or to 960 (Davidson, W. N. C. 103); perhaps the Whigs were fully twice as many as the Loyalists, 1900 to 950.

4th. With the exception of the 100 Provincials, Regulars, or "Veteran Volunteers," the British were all green troops or militia.

5th. The Americans were not green militia, properly so speaking, but men acclimated to battle, seasoned by life long service to fighting.

In order to understand the importance of the battle of King's Mountain—the decisive battle of the Revolutionary War at the South, and, perhaps, the decisive result everywhere—it is necessary to consider the preceding events, their bearing upon this engagement and its influence upon what followed.

The defeat of Camden was a terrible blow to the colonies. No disaster was so unexpected. None was followed by such lasting consequences. It left Cornwallis in the centre of the new State the master of the situation; and if Clinton had given him a few more troops, or the British Government had followed the advice of every general of ability and poured reinforcements in at once and at critical points, the South would have been irretrievably lost. The Southern States were always the vulnerable point of the Union, and it was in this quarter Washington

expected an invasion when made Lieut.-General, and preparing against hostilities on the part of the French.

Cornwallis had with him a man remarkable for spirit, ability and courage, Patrick Ferguson, Junior, or Second, Major of the Seventy-first Regiment Highlanders. He possessed many of the qualities which ennoble a soldier. He was temperate in his habits, magnanimous in his disposition, fearless in danger, and manly at all times. Such was the confidence reposed in him by Cornwallis that he conferred upon him a Brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel; constituted him a "local" or "territorial" Brigadier-General of militia; confided to him an independent command and allowed him to select his subordinates and troops. His mission was to insure the submission of the western part of the two Carolinas, embody the Loyalists, organize and discipline them, sweep away the partisan corps and guerillas which endangered communications, utilize the resources of the country, and, in fine, act as his chief's left arm in the effectual subjugation of the outlying territory. Ferguson had already won considerable reputation in the German wars, and at an early age, before he came out to America in 1777. He brought with him his own invention, the first breech-loading rifle ever used by regular troops in actual battle, combining a number of improvements deemed of comparatively very recent discovery or application. These rifles, constructed upon this principle, were issued to a picked body of men, who, at the Brandywine, 11th September, 1777, astonished the American sharpshooters by the superiority of their aim and the rapidity of their fire. In this battle Ferguson had his right arm shattered, and lost the use of it so as to become in reality the "one-armed devil" that he is represented as having been during his service, elsewhere, and to the South.

Ferguson had been uniformly successful in every operation confided to him. He distinguished himself at the siege of Charleston (29th March-12th May, 1780), and in the operations subordinate thereto, especially at Monk's Corner and Lanneau's Bridge, in connection with Tarleton. American writers on these events do not stint the praise so justly due to his military capacity. They style him "the celebrated Ferguson."

The animosity aroused by Ferguson's penetration so deep into their fastnesses, and his manifest intention of sparing no exertions to restore the authority of the king, inspired the hardy element, which dwelt amid the Alleghanies, to unite with their friends to crush out one who seemed to be the most dangerous common enemy. It is usual and popular to attribute the general irritation against Ferguson to his own severity



and the outrages committed by his followers. This is totally inconsistent with the language used about him by local historians. It is needless to dwell on his intrepidity, for that he was utterly fearless is acknowledged by every one; likewise his extraordinary ability. If any one to whom he was nearest and dearest desires to see his praises set forth in the strongest language they need only resort to Ramsey and to Wheeler.

Patrick Ferguson was no ordinary man.¹ General Davidson styles him "the Great Partisan;" General Lenoir "the celebrated Colonel Ferguson." His rank in 1780, has occasioned considerable controversy. In different works and on different occasions he is styled "Major," "Colonel" and "General." This is easily explained. He held the "line" commission of Second Major in the Seventy-first Regiment ("White") Highlanders; was "breveted" Lieutenant-Colonel; is addressed as Colonel, a few days before he fell, by Colonel Cruger in the latter's last communication to Ferguson from "96;" and held the "local" rank of Brigadier-General of Militia. The English have a variety of military titles which are unknown and unrecognized in other services, especially our own; "local," or "territorial," is one of these; "temporary," another; there are five or six.

Shortly after Sir Henry Clinton returned to the North and Cornwallis succeeded him in command at the South, Patrick Moore, against the instructions of Cornwallis, placed himself at the head of a strong body of Loyalists from Tryon (afterward Lincoln) County, N. C. He was successful in recruiting his corps throughout the region between the Catawba and the Alleghanies. As the British advanced northwards, Moore marched toward them, and established himself at an old post (such as is generally known at the West to this day as a fort) which had been built years previously by General Williamson on the Pacolet River, one of the feeders, from the Northwest, of Broad River, which it joins at the present village of Pinkneysville. (See Ramsey's *Tennessee*, 213-15; Stedman's *Quarto*, II, 196.) Here he was attacked by Colonels Sevier, Shelby and Clarke, and surrendered to them the 20th (Lee, 22d) June, 1780. This premature rising against the advice of Cornwallis, was a movement he ever after greatly deplored.

The sufferings experienced by the Loyalists of North Carolina wore out their patience. They assembled again under Colonel Samuel Bryan (Sabine II. 272-3), and marched into South Carolina. Those who escaped Major Davies and Colonel Sumter were present in the battle and constituted a portion of the army victorious at Camden, 16th Aug.,

1780. Previous to these occurrences, near the border line of the Carolinas, Ferguson, with his "Flying Corps" or column, had been ranging the country between the Wateree, or Catawba, and the Saluda Rivers, gradually drawing nearer to North Carolina. Even to indicate the different movements which ensued would be almost equivalent to writing a complete history of the operations in South Carolina during the "Battle Summer" of 1780. Suffice it to say that these "insults" of the mountain men induced Cornwallis to select the spirited, active and intelligent Ferguson to follow the invaders into their own districts, embody the Loyalists, and occupy the strongest suitable positions in the interior. Colonel Ferguson possessed qualities peculiarly adapted to win the attachment of the marksmen of Western South Carolina. To a corps of originally 150, but soon reduced by disease and hardship to 100 picked men, Provincial regulars (armed with his rifles), he soon succeeded in attaching about 1,300 or more hardy natives, until, as he advanced, his command increased to over 2,000 men, besides a small squadron of horse.* To watch and harass this expedition Colonel McDowell sent Colonels Shelby and Clarke (Dawson, 606) with 600 picked mounted riflemen. Instead of awaiting an attack Ferguson pressed forward after Clarke, and his advance struck, if it did not surprise, the latter at the Green Spring, in the Spartanburg District, South Carolina, on the 1st August. Clarke got off as quickly as possible, and justly so, because he was greatly outnumbered. This mishap did not damp the spirits of the Americans, and five days afterwards Sumter attacked the British post at Hanging Rock, or Rich's Mountain, where, on the 6th August, occurred one of the most obstinately contested engagements of the Revolution. The fight lasted four hours. It was a conflict, pure and simple, between the native Whigs and Tories, or Loyalists—not a regular soldier was present—and the former were defeated. On the 15th August, Sumter surprised the redoubt which covered the Wateree Ford. Here he gained a little success which his enormous preponderance of force rendered inevitable. Next day, the 16th, is the date of the catastrophe at Camden.

This disaster for the Americans has already been sufficiently considered. Before its extent and effect had become generally known, McDowell had achieved a remarkable triumph on the 19th August at Musgrove's Mills, on the Enoree River. It was a triumph, but, nevertheless, one of the merest side issues, since the destruction of the main army at Camden rendered it of no consequence. It was won by the same tactics as were afterwards applied at King's Mountain, and yet,



strange to say, the British and Loyalists seemed stupidly blind to their fatal efficacy. The British depended on their discipline, their manhood and the bayonet. The Americans took to the trees, shunned anything like personal encounters, and while safe under cover, shot down their enemies one by one, just as the Indians of the present day slaughter our troops at the West. Undoubtedly they were right to do so; but if the British had discarded their intrepidity and followed a similar plan of military killing, the Muse of History would have had a different story to tell. It was a repetition of Braddock's defeat in 1755, of Oriskany in 1777. At this time, Ferguson lay between the different lines of these incursions. As soon as he received intelligence of the disaster of his friends on the Enoree, he swooped like an eagle upon Clarke (R. 220), who retreated as fast as his horses could carry him away. The flight towards the mountains lasted two days and the intervening night, without any stop for refreshments. The pursuit was equally vigorous. Major de Peyster, with a strong body of mounted troops from Ferguson's column, pursued closely until late on the evening of the second day after the action at Musgrove's Mills, and did not draw rein until excessive fatigue and the fearful heat of the season and region broke down both men and horses.

Family tradition places Captain Frederic de Peyster, aged 21, of Fanning's King's American Regiment of New York Loyalists, at the head of these pursuers; and it is said that a similar assignment to detached duty preserved him from the catastrophe at King's Mountain. It may have been, however, his elder brother, Abraham, aged 27, who was Ferguson's second-in-command.

This appears to be an appropriate place to explain how Ferguson got to the spot, King's Mountain, where his career was brought to such a sudden termination. After his victory at Camden and the rout of Sumter, Cornwallis, with his main body, moved due north (east of the Catawba), to the Waxhaws, the scene of the previous slaughter of Buford's command by Tarleton, and thence to Charlotte, eighteen miles eastward of King's Mountain, intending to proceed on to Salisbury, some forty miles to the northeast again. West of the Catawba lay the route of Tarleton's Legion and the Light Infantry. Cooperating with Tarleton, Colonel Turnbull was stationed with his New York Volunteers, in conjunction with Ferguson's corps of Loyalists, on Little River (Lee, 98).

After the failure of Colonel Elijah Clarke's attempt upon Augusta, 14th-19th September, Ferguson was ordered by Cornwallis to attack the Americans on their retreat, and cooperate with Colonel Cruger, who

was in command at Ninety-Six, seventy miles north of Augusta, and about one hundred miles south of Gilbert Town, whitherward, as was supposed, Clarke was retreating. "Cruger, after gaining some advantage, found the pursuit would carry him too far from *Ninety-six*, to which place he judiciously returned. Ferguson unfortunately adhered to the plan of continuing on, striking at Clarke and his associates, and thought the direction which they had taken towards *Gilbert town* was perfectly consonant with his ulterior purposes. The object Clarke arrived at was to form a communication with many detachments of his friends who were approaching; or, if the superiority or advanced situation of Ferguson prevented that intention, to join Colonel Sumter on the borders of South Carolina."

It was to break up the 'Personel and Materiel' which led to such expeditions as that of Clarke and nourished them, that Ferguson was ordered into northwestern South Carolina. His mission was also to organize, arm and discipline the Loyalists. On the 18th August, 1780, an assemblage of these were attacked and defeated by Colonels Williams, Shelby and Clarke, near Musgrove's Mills, on the Enoree River, about where the present lines of the Spartanburg and Union districts touch that of Laurens. Ferguson was not far off, and he sent a detachment to overtake the victors. These came to grief, but the Americans, well aware of Ferguson's energy, fled, or retreated with a speed resembling flight, "pursued closely until late in the evening of the second day after the action, by Major Dupoister, and a strong body of mounted men from Ferguson's army. These became so broken down by excessive fatigue, in hot weather, that they despaired of overtaking the Americans and abandoned the pursuit" (Ramsey Tenn., 220). The same authority at another place (223) remarks: "The detachment under Ferguson, as has been already seen, had been for several weeks on the left of the main army, watching the movements of McDowell, Sevier, Shelby, Sumter, and Williams, and Clarke and Twiggs. His second in command, Dupoister, pursued hard and fast after the mountain men as they retired, after their victory at Enoree, to their mountain fastnesses. Ferguson himself, with the main body of his army, followed close upon the heels of Dupoister, determined to retake the prisoners or support his second in command, if he should overtake and engage the escaping enemy. Finding that his efforts were fruitless, Ferguson took post at a place then called Gilbert Town, near the present Rutherfordton, in North Carolina. From this place he sent a most threatening message by Samuel Philips, a paroled prisoner, that if the officers west of the mountains did



not lay down their opposition to the British arms, he would march his army over, burn and lay waste their country and hang their leaders.

It has always been believed, and so is stated in histories, that the nucleus or kernel of Ferguson's force at King's Mountain who did all the fighting there were British regulars. This is so far from being the case that it can be clearly shown that those who are termed British regulars were Loyal American Volunteers, picked out as a rule, from three (two New York and one New Jersey) Loyal battalions. There were, undoubtedly, one or two British regular officers present, selected for peculiar qualities which adapted them to the service in hand, and there may have been individual British regular soldiers incorporated for their proficiency as marksmen. As at Oriskany—the turning point of the war and the bloodiest action for the numbers engaged at the North—so at King's Mountain—the turning point of the war and the deadliest for the numbers who actually fought in it at the South—the conflict was one between Americans—Americans drilled to fight as regular soldiers, and Americans instinctively trained to bushwhack as guerrillas. While the event at King's Mountain was exactly the reverse of the immediate issue at Oriskany, the course and consequences of both were the same; the discomfiture of the British plans of conquest, and a rapid ebb, which, owing to foreign intervention, never knew a flood corresponding to the previous high-tide.

Those who, writing in the interest of truth, have striven to divest the stories of the Revolution of the myths which envelop them like an atmosphere, have always maintained that Ferguson's corps has been invariably exaggerated both as to numbers and efficiency, and the force of his opponents diminished to satisfy the popular craving for the marvelous triumph achieved by undisciplined backwoodsmen and mountaineers over regulars and oppressors. The fact is Ferguson did not know from day to day what numbers he did have in camp. This statement is attested by a disinterested military witness. His strength fluctuated in accordance with the hopes, fears or passions of the population favorable to the Royal cause. No real general, endowed with ordinary judgment, has ever placed any reliance in Militia. Washington is emphatic in regard to their unreliability if not absolute worthlessness, and he is corroborated by a number of our own best, as well as observant French officers who served with him.

It is a great error to suppose that this body of 3,000 American Whigs—the number reported by General Davidson writing of the assemblage at Gilbert Town, 10th October, 1780—were new to the exigencies and dan-

gers of battle. Their fighting qualities could not be regarded as otherwise than respectable by professional soldiers, except those whose judgments were bounded by the narrowest horizon and distorted by senseless prejudice. These mountain and valley men had been born and had grown up in an atmosphere of danger. From their earliest years they had breathed in powder-smoke, if not in actual set battles, in more perilous struggles with fierce wild beasts and adversaries like the Indians, as dangerous in their ferocity and more so in the union of cunning, weapons and combination. Many of them had been acclimated to something like regular war by engagements, skirmishes and collisions with loyal uprisings and regular forces. They were of totally different and far better stuff than the militia who threw down their arms after a single scattering discharge, or without firing at all, and fled from Camden, leaving their regular comrades to certain destruction. If they were not regular soldiers they were brave men and stalwart adversaries, and if they did not understand the tactics of the Continentals, they had tactics of their own which suited the region in which they had to operate. The tactics of the associated Whig Colonels, whoever suggested and whatever inspired them, were unexceptionable, and as applied by Cleveland, worthy of the stratagem of Hannibal, which implies the highest commendation. They were far superior to those of Ferguson. From what few facts are known of his plans, except through an unfortunate result, his simply seemed to be, "Imitate my own and my Provincials' contempt of death and our devotion. Remember this, and show yourselves men." The British tactics were those of the Romans, complete in the valor that dies fighting but does not conquer the aggregated craft and courage of men skilled in the use of firearms.

The aspect of the storm clouds, portending a veritable cyclone, gathered upon the neighboring mountains, was too indicative not to have an effect upon even such a fearless man as Ferguson. It seems to have demoralized the Loyalists of this section. His circular letter to overcome its effects and their timidity, of the 1st October, breathes an indignation and contempt which alone could have induced an elegant gentleman to pen such a scathing appeal, in the roughest Saxon, to even tepid manhood. He broke up his camp at Gilbert Town after sending out these missives, and sent two messengers to Cornwallis at Charlotte to reveal his own critical situation, and to ask for a reinforcement. Three days after, on the 4th, he marched southward over the main branch of Broad River to the Cow Pens. On the 5th he wheeled to the left, or east, marched to Tates, since Dears (Davis's) (?) Ferry, recrossed

the Broad River, and camped about a mile above. On the 6th he marched about fourteen miles, and pitched his camp on an eminence now known as King's Mountain.

Here a question presents itself which is insoluble to the closest scrutiny and analysis. From Gilbert Town to Charlotte, by a road distinctly marked on Tarleton's map, was less than fifty miles, and from Gilbert Town by the route Ferguson followed was seventy miles, and looking at the system of roads laid down on the maps of the period, it would seem to have been almost as easy to proceed direct to Charlotte as to make the circuit that he did. The Americans did not reach Gilbert Town until the 4th October. Ferguson's retreat emboldened them and hastened their pursuit. They followed exactly the route he took, and they did not overtake him until the afternoon of the 7th. This shows he had over five days start of them, which at the rate he marched would have carried him into Charlotte, or brought him within the reach of the helping hand of Cornwallis. There are only two explanations for Ferguson's movements. Either he expected to be reinforced by Tory organizations, or he did not know the extent of the force about to overwhelm him. The latter alternative contradicts received opinions, and is the best proof that he acted in accordance with a plan which he considered judicious—a plan which he carried into the grave with him.

The epithet Tories has been used immediately above for the first time because if the large parties of Tories who were collecting along the route passed over by the Americans had been true-hearted Loyalists, they would not have left Ferguson in the lurch to perish in the trap into which he had been lured by delusive promises of support. At the Cow Pens, 6th October, the Whigs were informed that a body of 600 Tories were assembled at Major Gibbs', four miles to their right, and would join Ferguson the next day. On the morning of the 7th Ferguson was within 15 or 20 miles of these Tories, and if they had simply followed up the Americans as the latter followed Ferguson, they could have fallen upon the rear of the Americans, captured or stampeded their horses, and taken the associated Whig Colonels in the very act. Judging from the few known facts of which historians are in possession, such Tories deserved the epithet with which Cleveland stigmatized them in his battle-speech.

Before entering upon a description of the battle, this appears to be the proper point at which to settle the numbers engaged. General Davidson, (Gates papers,) wrote that 3,000 men were assembled at

Gilbert Town on the 1st October. Ramsey, (228,) says "scarce a single gunman remained that day, 25th September, at his own house." The first rendezvous had been at Watauga on the 25th September. This place is beyond the Stone Mountains, in the present state of Tennessee, further to the northwest of Gilbert Town than the latter is west of Charlotte. This proves that there was no force between Ferguson and Cornwallis on the 1st October, nor for three days afterwards, to militate against a safe retreat to Charlotte. Ferguson was not afraid of the "mountain men," but he knew that he did not have numbers sufficient to cope with the force nor the kind of force which was marching against him. Like any wise commander he fell back on his supports, and they proved the veriest Pharaoh's reeds.

How many men did Ferguson actually have? McKenzie says that his militia constituted "a fluctuating body, whose numbers could not be depended on as they increased or diminished, with the report of the day." Allaire's estimate foots up 906 or 907, which agrees more closely with the majority than the factitious calculation founded on the ration-return, so often quoted, 1125.

In regard to the American Whigs, their organization and march, there are a number of clear indications which concur to establish the correctness of Ramsey's account. The first spontaneous assemblage of the improvised column of backwoodsmen and their associated colonels was at the Sycamore Shoals, or Watauga, on the Watauga River, then in the northwest corner of North Carolina, or now over the border in Northeastern Tennessee, on the 25th September.

The associated Whig forces consisted of Colonel Shelby's 240 from Sullivan County, then in the northwest corner of North Carolina, now in East Tennessee; of Colonel John Sevier's (Xavier's) 240 men, from Washington County, then in northwest North Carolina, now a part of East Tennessee; of Colonel Charles McDowell's 160 refugees from Burke and Rutherford Counties, western North Carolina, who had fled before the Loyalists to the western waters across the mountains; and of Colonel William Campbell's command, 400 men, from Washington County, south southwest portion of Virginia, bordering on Tennessee. This made 1040 mounted riflemen. On the 26th, these began their march, passing along the valley of Gap creek, and encamped the first night at Talbot's Mill. "The staff was incomplete; rather, there was no staff; no quartermaster, no commissary, no surgeon, no chaplain. As in all their Indian campaigns, being mounted and unencumbered with baggage, their motions were rapid. Each man, each officer, set



out with his trustworthy Deckhard on his shoulder. 'A shot pouch, a tomahawk, a knife, a knapsack and a blanket, completed the outfit. At night, the earth afforded him a bed, and the heavens a covering, the mountain stream quenched his thirst; while his provision was procured from supplies acquired on the march by his gun.' Some beeves were driven in the rear, to furnish subsistence while in the settlements, but they impeded the rapidity of the march, and, after the first day, were abandoned. After passing the mountain, the troops, sparing the property of the Whigs, quartered and subsisted upon the Tories." On the 27th they continued on, following Bright's Trace across the Yellow Mountain, almost due north of Gilbert Town. At the foot of the Alleghanies, proper, 16 to 18 miles distant from Gilbert Town, they were joined on the 30th by Colonel Benjamin Cleveland and Major Jacob Winston with 350 to 400 men, from Wilkes and Surrey Counties, Northwestern North Carolina.

From the 1st to 3d October no movement was made. Ramsey (231) says because the weather was so wet. Here Colonel Campbell was selected to command, to avoid entrusting the office to Colonel McDowell, because the latter was considered as "too far advanced in life and too inactive for the command of such an enterprise as we were then engaged." Colonel Campbell was made the leader at the suggestion of Shelby to reconcile difficulties, "not on account of any superior talent or experience he was supposed to possess." Colonel Charles McDowell then turned over his command to his brother, Major Joseph McDowell, and set out to communicate the condition of things to General Gates, and consult with him. Here, on Green River, or at Gilbert Town, Wednesday, 4th October, the American forces, according to Davidson, "formed a conjunct body, consisting of 3,000; from this body were selected 1,600 good horse, who immediately went in pursuit of Colonel Ferguson, who was making his way to Charlotte." Colonel Shelby says, "On the next night, 5th, (?) it was determined, in the council of officers, to pursue him unremittingly with as many of our troops as could be well armed and well mounted, leaving the weak horses to follow on as fast as they could. We accordingly started about light next morning with 910 men thus selected. Continuing diligently our pursuit all that day, we were joined at the Cowpens on the 6th by Colonel John Williams, of S. C., and several field officers, with about 400 men."

Mark this; it is most important testimony from the highest authority, and determines that the American numbers, were from 1310 to 1370 in

the fight, because at the Cow Pens the 910 selected out of the first aggregate were joined by 60 men from Lincoln County, west of Gilbert Town, in North Carolina, and about 400 under Colonel John Williams from the Spartanburg District, then embracing the whole circumjacent country of South Carolina, which furnished the guides, whose pilotage had as much to do with Ferguson's defeat as any other cause. Although referred to in several other places, it may be well to mention here that Williams is said to have had in his pocket a commission as Brigadier-General from Governor Rutledge of South Carolina, and that he is, not Campbell (according to Allaire), whom the British considered as commanding against them on the 7th.

For the last thirty-six hours of the pursuit the Americans did not dismount but once. This was at the Cow Pens. About 12 m., of Saturday, the 7th, the advance guards met some *unarmed* men who had just quitted Ferguson, and from them his position was accurately ascertained. The rain, which had poured down all the previous morning, ceased shortly after noon, and the sun shone out brightly. A council of war was held, dispositions made for the attack, and its course determined, to surround their enemy and attack him on all sides simultaneously. Then the riflemen mounted, and without breaking their fast or taking any rest, moved on to assume their stations around the fatal hill. Within a mile of the Loyal position, a messenger was arrested bearing a dispatch from Ferguson to Cornwallis, urging the latter to hurry forward reinforcements. This paper is said to have stated the number under the command of Ferguson. What number did it mention? What became of the paper? Why has it never been textually quoted? It would settle the disputed question of the British force.

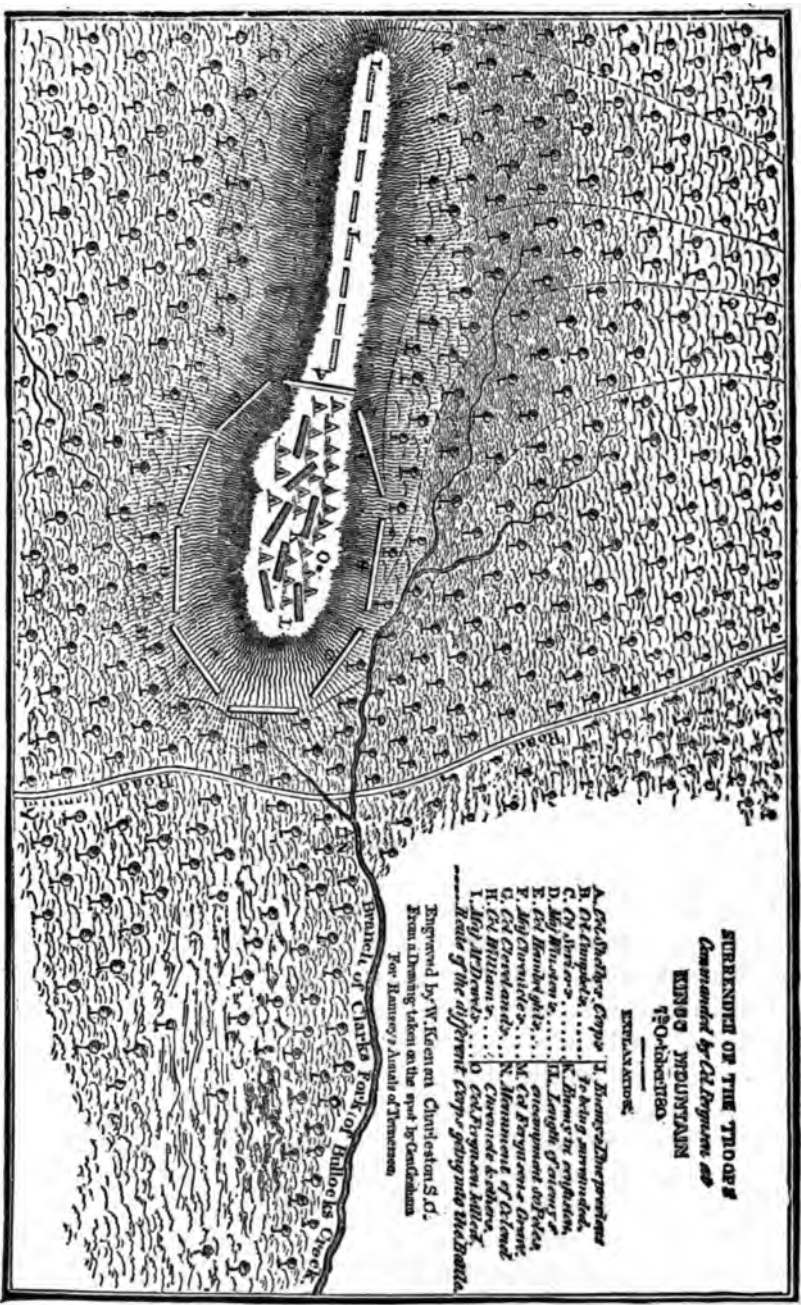
The King's Mountain range extends northerly and southerly about sixteen miles with several lateral spurs. The highest peak of this system might be recognized in Crowder's Knob, crowning a northeasterly radiation in North Carolina, while the most prominent summit in the opposite direction at the end of a southeastern rowel is Henry's Knob, north by west of Yorkville, in South Carolina. Although the elevation of King's Mountain, proper, is given at 1,500 feet above the sea level, that portion of the ridge on which the battle was fought, about a mile and one-half south of the dividing line between North and South Carolina, does not rise more than 100 feet above depressions drained by adjacent streams.

At the very outset, in describing the battle-ground, a difficulty occurs. According to Map XII., accompanying Marshall's Life of Wash-



ington, and likewise the beautiful map attached to Tarleton's history of his campaigns of 1780-1, there is a road or wagon-track distinctly laid down on the first, leading from the Cow Pens, by the Cherokee Ford, to Ramsour's Ferry, and thence to Charlotte; on the second from the Cherokee Ford—the Cow Pens, where Morgan routed Tarleton is omitted—to Tryon, half way to Ramsour's (Ransower's?), and thence by the Great Tuckesege (Togaseechee) Ford, of the Catawba, to Charlotte, eighteen miles to the southeast, where Lord Cornwallis lay with the main body of the British army. (L. F. B. A. R., II. 627.) From Clarke's Fork of (Buffalo?) Creek (Lossing calls it "Kings" Creek, which, if correct, would solve a multitude of difficulties), which is shown on the plan to the eastward of Ferguson's right, the ascent is almost imperceptible to the group or series of greater or lesser undulations among which the collision occurred. These hills, gravelly, sparsely strewn with a few small boulders, are covered with hard and soft wood, some grand trees, but mostly a smaller growth of post-oaks, laurel and sorrel. The large trees stand far apart, and even the lesser ones are not close together, so that they present scarcely any impediments to the movements of troops. The big trees afforded excellent cover for riflemen, who, stealing from one to another, found in them admirable temporary screens (blindages) or mantlets to protect their approaches. In fact they might be compared to the huge shields of which the English archers—the sharpshooters of the period prior to the introduction of firearms—availed themselves for protection while clearing the works of a besieged place of their defenders. Lossing, who saw it many years ago, justly observes "it was a strange place for an encampment or a battle; and to one acquainted with that region, it is difficult to understand why Ferguson and his band were there at all." This is a most logical conclusion, and the artist's sketch reveals the locality, which would seem to be the very last which a professional soldier would select whereon to make a stand against a preponderating force of the best marksmen in the world.

The whole fighting was done within an area of less than half that of Madison Square, (N. Y. city,) and some correct idea of it may be had by supposing that the American Whigs occupied the surrounding houses and picked off the British Loyalists in the open square from the windows, until, finally, when the troops in the square were pretty much killed, disabled, or demoralized, the Whigs made a simultaneous rush from the houses and captured the remainder. The cleared area or bare summit of the King's Mountain range, "a narrow, stony ridge" on which Ferguson pitched his camp, has an outline not unlike that of an Indian paddle,



PLAN OF BATTLE OF KING'S MOUNTAIN.

with the end of the blade pointing south of west; "the shadow of the timber at half-past one P. M. ranging with its median line." Colonel Shelby states that the Loyalists "were encamped on an eminence called King's Mountain, extending from east to west, which on its summit was about 500 or 600 yards long and 60 or 70 broad." These bearings must be correct, because they reconcile contradictions, and explain why Ferguson fronted as he did, which would be inexplicable if his line of battle faced as General Graham would make it, according to the shadow. Graham sets down the length of Ferguson's encampment [line (?)] at 80 poles (1,300 feet), which does not contradict Shelby. After an examination of perhaps one hundred authorities, it is still extremely difficult to reconcile many of the particulars. It is most consistent, however, to believe that Ferguson's line fronted southerly and easterly, with his camp on the left, occupying pretty much the open space from 1,170 to 1,320 feet in length and some 210 feet in width. If such is not the case the American report goes to water.

Still, in justice to a soldier of so much ability as Ferguson is admitted by friend and foe to have been, the selection of the battle ground must have been due to some good reason. It is very likely that he chose an open place that he might have the militia under complete and constant supervision, fearing that if he fought in the woods his new levies might instantly or quickly dissolve under a hot fire if not under his own eyes or those of his trusted subordinates, "*in whom*," [as in their immediate commanders], McKenzie assures us, "*perfect confidence might on all occasions be placed.*" As to the militia the same contemporaneous authority is far less complimentary. He says that in the course of this campaign, Ferguson had "from one to two thousand militia, a fluctuating body, *whose numbers could not be depended upon, as they increased or diminished with the report of the day.*" No one would dare question the fact that many of these Loyalists were animated by the highest sentiments of honor and duty, but what could have been the principles of the majority, when Colonel Martin Armstrong, in command in Surrey County, in North Carolina, and in charge of those captured at King's Mountain 7th October, in writing to General Gates on the 7th November, states "the Torie prisoners all enlisted into the Continental Service, excepting a Small number, which the Justices have committed to Halifax, there being but a few of the British." Such sudden conversions, or perversions, would indicate very little constancy, unless they transferred their services to the enemy, with the intention of deserting as soon as possible again, and so get home and rid of military service altogether.

Why Ferguson made such an eccentric retreat is easily explained. The approach of the associated Colonels frightened the Loyalists. Instead of joining Ferguson in the numbers expected they left him and went home. Conscious that his force was too weak to stem the approaching torrent, he marched southwards, having every reason to believe that he would be joined, day after day, by bodies of Loyalists already assembled in arms. One body of 600 was within a few miles of him when he fought his last battle, and yet did not hasten to his assistance. These might have fallen upon the flank and rear of the Americans whilst fully occupied with Ferguson, just as the Prussians took Napoleon in flank and rear at Waterloo. The only excuse for their inaction is to believe that they were infected by the recollection of the fate of Boyd's men at Kettle Creek in 1779, of Moore's Loyal levies at Ramsour's Mills, and those of Bryan at the Catawba in midsummer, 1780.

At, or near, the Cow Pens, which is not more than fifty miles north of Ninety-Six, Ferguson received the letter, found on his dead body, from Cruger, dated at "96," 3d October, giving him to understand that he could expect no assistance from that quarter. This communication is a curious one. It shows that Cruger, at all events, if none others, comprehended the situation. It disillusionized Ferguson. Hitherto he had been falling back to the south; he now wheeled off to the northeast towards Cornwallis at Charlotte. This new route gave him a double chance of support, since Tarleton was operating in the intermediate district, and the victorious Americans retreated at once for fear that Tarleton would fall upon them with a fury which nothing as yet had stayed, and with a sabre which knew no mercy.

Ferguson is charged with being afraid of the force pursuing him, whereas, in a private communication to his commander, he expresses almost contempt for the very adversaries from whom he was said to be fleeing. Ferguson failed from over-confidence, not the want of it. Everything goes to show that his militia did not fulfill his expectations. It is pretty well established by the concurrent testimony on both sides that all the real fighting was done by the 70 to 100 Provincial regulars, and the pick of the Tories or Loyalists.

About 3 P. M. the Americans, having dismounted and secured their horses out of gunshot and left them under a sufficient guard, advanced to the attack in three columns, under the guidance of men who knew every inch of the ground, on nine or ten different routes, as clearly laid down in the plan,

"As hunters round a hunted creature draw."



The idea that Ferguson could have cut his way through and escaped seems very fallacious. A body of infantry, encumbered with baggage, could scarcely expect to escape or elude the pursuit of superior numbers of mounted riflemen, on hardy horses, without any encumbrance whatever. Had Ferguson as soon as he knew that he was followed up, so closely and in force, he might have saved his men. Still, such a retreat would have been little better than a flight, and its effect—except as regards his own personal safety, which a man of his character would not take into account—must have been almost as disastrous for the cause which he represented as the defeat which did ensue.

In the absence of reliable information, and its disappearance or destruction through lapse of time, it is but equitable to believe that Ferguson had good reasons for every step of the course he pursued. Unquestionably he had a professional soldier's contempt for all militia, and it was through striking on this "rock of offense" that his bark was so injured that it foundered in the storm that followed. Of one fact, which might have exercised an important influence upon his decision to stand or retreat, he could not have known. The mounted riflemen who "fought the battle were fasting and almost famished." Consequently, as the country could not have afforded provisions, they would have had to break up in a few hours more to obtain the necessities of life. One day's respite would have carried Ferguson to Charlotte where Cornwallis lay in force. Davidson says that Ferguson was making his way to this point. Unfortunately for him he did not respect his adversaries sufficiently to allow their approach to hurry his march until it was too late.

Ferguson's Provincial regular detachment, some seventy disciplined infantry, were on his right. The only way to account for his deployment, is to believe that from the manner in which his adversaries showed themselves at different points, he could not make out from what quarter he might expect the principal attack. Therefore, he faced in the direction in which the mass of the enemy was first distinguishable.

With the controversy as to who exercised command among the Americans (G. P. 4, Gates recognizes no chief) this article has nothing to do. Popular history, almost always incorrect, assigns it to Campbell. The only discoverable statement on the British side, reads as if the British considered that Brigadier-General Williams enjoyed it, and that it devolved on Campbell after he was mortally wounded. The Shelby Papers, published in this Magazine, (V. 351,) embodying affidavits, certainly make Shelby the prominent figure, and place Campbell in a very

unfavorable light. Whoever issued the preliminary order was alive with soldierly instinct. One more laconic and at the same time apposite has scarcely ever been given. "*Tie up overcoats, pick touch-holes, fresh prime, and be ready to fight!*" As Cleveland's subsequent speech to his immediate command, the American extreme left, was as pertinent as this order, and as splendid a specimen of authenticated battle oratory as can be found, it is only fair to credit him with the inspiration of the Spartan order for battle.

According to "the statement which has generally been adopted," Colonel Cleveland led off the dance, and Lossing (F. B. A. R., II., 631), who says he copied from the original report among Gates' Papers, and furnishes *fac similes* of signatures, places Benjamin Cleveland first, Isaac Shelby second, and William Campbell last. The writer's copy of this document reverses that arrangement. Whatever was Cleveland's rank he seems to have been the animating spirit of—just as to Shelby is due the credit of originating the plan of—the campaign, and to have been the author of "that great partisan's miscarriage." Immediately after he encountered a picket of the enemy he delivered the following spirited and sagacious address to his men, pertinent to the occasion, and so full of common sense that it fits every other of a similar character: "My brave fellows, we have beat the Tories, and we can beat them again. They are all cowards; if they had the spirit of men they would join their fellow-citizens in supporting the independence of their country. When you are engaged, you are not to want (wait?) for the word of command from me. *I will show you, by my example, how to fight*; I can undertake no more. Every man must consider himself an officer, and act from his own judgment. *Fire as quick as you can, and stand your ground as long as you can.* When you can do no better, get behind trees, or retreat; *but I beg you not to run quite off.* If we are repulsed, let us make a point of returning and renewing the fight; perhaps we may have better luck in the second attempt than in the first. If any of you are afraid, such shall have leave to retire, and they are requested immediately to take themselves off."

Shelby gives the strength of each attacking column in the following words: "The right wing or column was led by Colonel Sevier and Major Winston, together with Major McDowell's command, which had been considerably augmented during the march; the left by Colonels Cleveland and Williams; and each of these wings was about as strong as Campbell's regiment [400] and mine [240] united composing the centre. Three times 400 plus 240 makes 1,920, which justifies the Loyal Lieutenant



Anthony Allaire's opinion of the vast superiority of the Whig Americans, and other statements to the same effect." Honest Shelby likewise admits: "This [the *quasi* official] report, however, *omits to mention*. * * Colonel McDowell's command * * had been considerably augmented during the march" by men who had formerly belonged to it.

Mrs. Mercy Warren, who enjoyed great opportunities to learn the truth, whose "History of the Revolution" was "long considered a standard authority," uses an expression which can mean nothing else than that the British were swarmed out; "though the British commander exhibited the valor of a brave and magnanimous officer, and his troops acquitted themselves with vigor and spirit, the Americans, who in great numbers surrounded them, won the day."

Whether Campbell did or did not lead his immediate men, but supervised, is not clear, or whether Shelby commenced the movement, ascending the eastern end of the mountain to attack Ferguson's left. The firing soon became so heavy in this quarter that Ferguson brought over from his right, a portion of his Provincial regulars under de Peyster his second in command, and with these, supported by some of the Loyalist militia, who had *previously* whittled down the handles of their butcher knives so that they could be inserted in the muzzles of their rifles and serve as bayonets, made a brisk charge, which pushed Shelby and Campbell and McDowell, who came to their assistance on the left, down the mountain. At this juncture the American left column under Cleveland ascended the hill and engaged the British right where Ferguson himself was present. This portion of his line was protected in a measure by the baggage wagons and some slight defences hastily constructed. These were of no avail, because while the elevation on which the British line was formed secured the Americans from any chance whatever of suffering from the cross-fires of their friends on either side of it, the British were exposed to being hit by shots coming in from every quarter, so that if they attempted to shelter themselves from the bullets of one American column, they were immediately subjected to the danger of being killed by shots raining in from the opposite direction. Ferguson, subjected to pressure on his right, immediately recalled his second in command from his left, and the latter retraced his steps lengthwise the ridge under a galling fire from the South Carolinans under Williams. Then with the whole of his Provincial regulars, he drove the Americans to the west foot of the hill. As yet Ferguson, enveloped on the east, front and west, had experienced no disturbance in the rear, and some critics assert that he might have escaped in this

direction on the road to Charlotte. It is not likely that the brave officer who had already repulsed every assault upon his position would have abandoned it without a further attempt for victory. This outlet, however, was almost immediately closed. Major Winston, who on starting, had the longest detour to make, became so far separated from the columns, next to his left, by the intervention of a steep hill that he lost sight and hearing of them; while thus uncertain, he was hailed and directed to dismount and ascend the hill. Expecting to encounter the British on this hill he did so, but before his men had advanced two hundred paces from their horses they were again hailed and directed to return to their animals, mount them, and push on because the enemy were a mile beyond. Thereupon they ran back to their horses, threw themselves into their saddles, and rode like fox-hunters on full run through the woods, until they came in upon the left rear of the British, where they were originally intended to fall in and complete the envelopment. "Nothing," says the narrator, "but the interposition of Divine power could have conducted the said right-hand-column to so great advantage." Thus Winston, the last to come into position,

"Flow'd in, and settling, circled all the lists,"

and so,

"From all the circle of the hills,"

death sleeted in upon the doomed.

Shelby, always clear and honest, admits that the Americans were repeatedly repulsed by the British and driven down the mountain; that in the succession of repulses and attacks, and in giving succor to the points hardest pressed, much disorder took place in the Whig ranks "and confusion." There is just as much confusion in the various accounts both as to when Ferguson was killed and where he fell. Colonel Shelby says Ferguson was killed about one hundred yards down the western end of the mountain. General Graham, in his drawing made on the spot, locates the place where the British commander fell, on the summit, directly opposite the South Carolina regiment of Williams, so that it is very likely that the two may have fallen near together (as sometimes averred), but not at the same time.

Ramsey, quoting Foster, describes Ferguson as riding "from one end of his line to the other, encouraging his men to prolong the conflict. With desperate courage he passed from one exposed point to another of equal danger. He carried in his wounded hand—[his left arm had been shattered at the Brandywine and was almost helpless]—a shrill



sounding silver whistle, whose signal was universally known through the ranks, was of immense service throughout the battle, and gave a kind of ubiquity to his movements."

"Rushing from one regiment to another, encouraging some and directing others, Major Ferguson performed prodigies of valor, when he was shot by an American rifleman, and Captain Abraham de Peyster, of 'The King's American Regiment'—a Tory from New York—took the command. After the action had raged for an hour and five minutes the enemy raised a white flag, and surrendered themselves at discretion." There is no direct proof that Captain de Peyster himself, even at the last, raised the flag. Shelby simply remarks, "a white flag was soon after [the final Whig charge or closing in] hoisted by the enemy," without adding in what quarter or by whom. Toward the last part of the action, which must have been some time after Ferguson had fallen, de Peyster, who had moved to and fro like a shuttle, determined to make one more bold attempt to wrest success from the menaced wreck. His fierce and gallant charge drove the Americans down the eastern slope of the mountain in a retreat which was so rapid that there was great danger of its becoming a rout. By this time, Lieutenant Allaire says, that out of the "seventy [Provincial regulars] (*exclusive* of 20 who acted as Dragoons and 10 who drove wagons, etc., when we *marched* to the field of action) all 'were killed and wounded but twenty, and those brave fellows were soon crowded into a heap by the militia,' just as the frightened crew of a ship in a desperate situation will gather around their captain, and thus impede and neutralize the efforts of those who remain cool and are willing to "try, try again."

In examining and comparing the testimony, it is clear that the Whigs lost a great many more than was reported. The statement of the associated Colonels reads twenty-eight killed and sixty wounded; in General Lenoir's corrected account he says "there were not near so many of the enemy [British] wounded as were of the Whigs, about forty of whom afterwards died of their wounds." Lieutenant Allaire mentions 123 wounded altogether, which, weighing Lenoir's language, would justify an estimate of British killed and died, 120, wounded, 123; Whigs killed and died, 68, wounded, over 150. The Provincial, who was prisoner, and whose account was afterwards printed, remarks, "I was pleased to see their [the Whig] loss superior to ours." This corresponds almost exactly with Shelby's account, that when the Americans could be rallied and turned in overwhelming force upon the scanty few who had held them in check so gallantly, and, considering the circumstances,

so long, the British Provincial regulars and what Loyalists stood up to the work retreated the whole length of Ferguson's first deployment to the western extremity of the bare crest, where his camp had been originally pitched. Here on the level the horizontal volleys of the Provincial regulars first began to tell, when the American Whigs got up on to the plateau. It is admitted by friend and foe that not one of the Loyalists escaped; if so, Allaire's calculation of force, 906 or 908, proves itself, and Stedman corroborates it 960, Warren makes it only 850!

It was not a battle, it was a battue; a slaughter, parallel in circumstances, but not as to numbers, with the destruction of Roland and his corps in the defile of Roncesvalles, overwhelmed by the missiles of adversaries who shunned every attempt at an encounter hand to hand.

Our people have always put too much reliance in militia, that is, militia proper, for if men have been subjected to real discipline and gone through a baptism of fire, they become soldiers whatever may be the title applied to them; but then militia, in the accepted sense of the word is a misnomer. Colonel Cruger, as gallant an officer as ever drew a sword, wrote to Ferguson only four days before he fell: "I flattered myself they [the Tory militia] would have been equal to the mountain lads, and that no further call for the defensive would have been on this part of the Province. I begin to think our views for the present rather large. We have been led to this, probably, in expecting too much from the militia."

Not one of the British force escaped the catastrophe. It had been completely enveloped, and not a man could extricate himself from the coil. The victors remained upon the field the night after the battle; the next day, the 8th, was Sunday. The dead were buried at dawn, but not all; one at least was left to the birds and beasts of prey. Colonel Hanger wrote that the body of Colonel Ferguson was treated with every indignity and left above ground. If it was interred where his grave is indicated on the plan of General Graham, it may have been by some of his sorrowing men, since the severely wounded who could not march were left on the field, and the only surgeon carried off a prisoner.

A much more detailed statement was prepared, but space, justly could not be conceded to it. With time, however, this article will be expanded into a volume, with original letters and various interesting collateral testimonies. Thus complete, it will be worthy of the interesting subject, and constitute a memorial to "the unfortunate brave."

J. WATTS DE PEYSTER



¹ He was a Scotchman by birth, son of an eminent judge, James Ferguson, Lord of Sessions and Justiciary, and nephew of a nobleman of great literary talents, Patrick Murray (Lord Elbank), deemed by Robertson, Ferguson, Hume and contemporary sages equal to the best authors of the Scottish Augustan age. Patrick Ferguson sought renown in a different career, but possessed an equally vigorous mind and brilliant parts. At the early age of eighteen he entered the army in the German war, and was distinguished by his cool and determined courage. He early displayed an inventive genius, sound judgment and intrepid heroism, which constitute the successful soldier. He had invented a new species of rifle, that could load at the breech and fire seven times in a minute with certainty and precision. He was present in 1777 at the battle of Brandywine, and in that achievement used with his corps his invention with fatal effect. He distinguished himself on the North River in 1779, and was sent to aid General Clinton in the South. His signal service in the reduction of Charleston in May, 1780, is mentioned with great praise in the dispatches of the Commander-in-Chief.

² A letter written by an officer of the "Provincial Brigade," under command of Ferguson, Lieut. Anthony Allaire, of the Loyal American Regiment, corroborates Ramsey (215) as to the numbers of picked regulars (100), the nucleus of Ferguson's command, which originally "consisted of about 150 men from the Provincial corps, in whom perfect confidence might on all occasions be placed," as their conduct at King's Mountain proved. By the severities (see Allaire's letter) of an extraordinary campaign Ferguson's detachment of the Provincial *corps d'elite* had been reduced to 100 men. This detachment from the Provincial Corps or Brigade of American Loyalists was officered by American Loyalists also detached from a number of regiments belonging to the same corps.

Among those whose names are particularly mentioned were Captain Abraham de Peyster of New York, Senior Captain of the Fourth, or King's American, Regiment, raised in and about the city of New York. He is sometimes mentioned as "local" Major and "Territorial," or Militia Colonel. Captain John Taylor, First Battalion of the New Jersey Volunteers (Sabine's Fragments, Vol. II.; Mackenzie, 10). Captain Samuel Ryerson, Third Battalion New Jersey Volunteers. He came from near Paterson, N. J., and had a brother Joseph, who for good conduct was promoted to a Lieutenancy in the Prince of Wales Volunteers. (Sabine's American Loyalists, II., 250-1.) Lieutenant Anthony Allaire, Lieutenant in the Loyal American Regiment (Hough, p. 3). Lieutenant R. M'Ginnis, Lieutenant in the Royal Garrison Battalion. He was killed at King's Mountain (S. II. F.). Lieutenant Allaire says that in 1780 he belonged to Lieutenant-Colonel Isaac Allen's Second Battalion N. J. Volunteers, Cortland Skinner's N. J. Brigade. Lieutenant Stevenson, Third Battalion New Jersey Volunteers (S. II. F.).

Colonel Alexander Gordon, Aid-de-Camp to General Greene, etc., in his "Anecdotes of the Revolutionary War in America" (Charleston, S. C., 1822) bears emphatic testimony to the characteristics of the Loyal organizations. He observes: "Many of the officers of the Provincial Corps were pure in character, and are to be named with respect. They were the decided enemies of our cause, but free from the pollution of inextinguishable avarice; and in the hour of victory, alive to the impulses of humanity, they forgot not *that they were men*. Their zeal and activity in the cause in which they had engaged were of the highest utility to our enemies, and leads to the development of a melancholy fact, *that in almost every instance where our armies have been foiled in action, the opposition proceeded from our own countrymen.* * * * Allen's, Skinner's, Browne's, Hamilton's, Simcoe's, and other *American Corps*, greatly distinguished themselves by their bravery, and were comparatively generous and merciful. The stigma remains on *Tarleton's Legion alone*, that as often as they gained an advantage, and triumphed in success, the virtue of humanity *was* lost."

THE SOUTHERN CAMPAIGN

1780

GATES AT CAMDEN

Since writing the article printed with this title in the last October number of the Magazine, my friend, Mr. Charles A. Campbell, has called my attention to a letter from an actor in the campaign which had not before fallen under my observation, and which corroborates every position assumed by me.

This letter, written by General Thomas Pinckney from Clermont, 27th July, 1822, to the Hon. William Johnson, appeared in the August number of the Historical Magazine for 1866. The purpose of the letter was to defend General Gates against some of the charges brought against him by Mr. Johnson in his *Life of General Greene*. General Pinckney was an Aid-de-Camp of Gates during the Southern Campaign of 1780. After the war he was Governor of South Carolina, and later Minister to the Court of St. James during the first administration of Washington.

The letter is of considerable length, and covers the entire period of the campaign, from the time when Major Pinckney was transferred from the staff of Baron de Kalb to that of General Gates on the arrival of the latter at the camp near Coxe's Mills, and his taking command of the army. "From that day," writes General Pinckney, "I was constantly with him until the fatal 16th of August. In this capacity I saw all the orders before they were issued; was employed in composing his proclamation and in some of his correspondence, particularly in a letter to Lord Rawdon on the subject of military usage, with respect to flags of truce and in dispatches to Genl. Sumter, &c. &c.; which circumstances I mention to show the confidential footing on which I was placed by the General; whence I may have been acquainted with his views and intentions, although they were not disclosed to Col. Otho Williams, who acted as Adjutant-General." On the narrative of Colonel Williams Mr. Johnson relied for many of his facts and opinions in his incidental account of the disaster of Camden.

In this letter it is clearly shown that Gates had no intention of making an attack on the enemy, but of taking a strong position near Camden, by which he could confine their hostile dispositions and cut



off their supplies from the upper parts of the Wateree and Peedee Rivers, and thus compel them to retreat or come out and attack him upon a ground where the militia could be used to advantage. The plan of Gates Pinckney considers "to have been consistent with sound military principles," and the best in his opinion that could have been adopted.

With regard to the charge that Gates was not diligent to obtain precise information as to the strength of the enemy, General Pinckney testifies that he himself was one of the persons directed to obtain information, and that no opportunity was lost to secure complete intelligence; and he confirms what the Gates correspondence shows, that "Gates was not materially deficient in information of the enemy's force."

As to the personal conduct of Gates on the battle-field, Pinckney also testifies that in what "he witnessed while with him he saw no indication of want of presence of mind," and his account of the battle shows that until Gates was borne away from the field by the torrent of dismayed militia, he (Gates) had personally directed the movements of his army from "the head of the line."

Passing to a consideration of the route of march taken by Gates from Deep River, by Mask's Ferry on the Peedee, to Lynch's Creek, General Pinckney pertinently observes that "this was nearly the precise route which General Greene pursued the succeeding April, the country being in both cases destitute of provisions, owing to previous exhaustion and the natural sterility of a great part of the soil," and expresses his admiration for General Gates' prompt decision on arriving at De Kalb's camp, and being informed that the entire country had been stripped of provisions, that "we may as well march on and starve as starve lying here."

The whole of this important letter should be read by those who desire to arrive at a correct conclusion with regard to this important piece of history. It will be found a complete vindication of the military correctness of Gates' movements, and of his personal bearing on the field.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

TRACTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

In the Library of Brown University is a volume of fourteen bound pamphlets, all of them, with one exception, written on subjects connected with the American Revolutionary War. They are all English prints or reprints from American editions. Most of them are referred to in catalogues on American works, like those of Rich and Bartlett. In looking through these productions, all of them written more than one hundred years since, one is carried back to a period of great excitement both in America and in the mother country. We note, with curiosity and interest, the play of human passions, the sometimes calm and at other times passionate statement of grievances, and the attempted vindication of courses of conduct pursued. The first of the pamphlets referred to is "The Address of the People of Great Britain to the Inhabitants of America, 1775." The name of the writer is not found upon the title page. Rich quotes the Monthly Review as follows: "This address is said and believed to have been written by Sir John Dalrymple, and printed at the public expense, to be distributed in America, where the greatest part of a large impression has been sent apparently to co-operate with a late conciliatory resolution of the House of Commons. It is replete with expressions of tender affections for the inhabitants of the Colonies, and paints the measures and intentions of government towards them, in the softest and most pleasing colors." Sir John Dalrymple was a Scotch baronet, for many years a Baron of Exchequer in Scotland, who died in 1810. As a writer, besides numerous pamphlets which he wrote, he is best known by his "Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland from 1681 to 1771."

The "Address," after a brief introduction, proceeds to discuss the two methods by which America proposes to retaliate on Great Britain for the grievances which she has inflicted upon her Colonies, to wit, war and a suspension of trade. "We owe to you, to ourselves, to our holy religion, and to that system of glory and liberty, involved in the united power of the British Empire, and to be dissolved only by the dissolution of its parts, and which we wish to last till time shall be no more, to give you our thoughts upon these two modes of opposition with freedom and with truth. So may Heaven deal kindly with us and our posterity in the hour of need, as we mean kindness and not unkindness to you and your posterity, in what we are now to say to you on



these heads." The utter improbability of success in taking up arms against the government is, in the first place, calmly discussed. A people situated as the Americans are can hope to make good their cause only on the ground that they have strongly fortified towns, a disciplined army and navy, and large pecuniary strength, of higher importance than all other things is this last, since in modern times "the success of war depends more on the largest purse than on the longest sword." Sir John then draws a gloomy picture of what he seems most honestly to believe will take place if there should be a resort to arms. Among the predictions which he makes was one similar to that made by many persons in the early stages of our late civil war, and which, in both instances, was not fulfilled. "The most valuable part of your fortunes in the Southern Provinces is composed of slaves ready to rebel against their masters, or run away from them on the appearance of an enemy." He ventures the opinion that in from six to twelve weeks every town along the entire coast of the Colonies might be reduced to ashes by English ships of war, or if not absolutely destroyed, laid under the most grievous contributions, "your slaves lost or become your masters, yourselves fled for protection from thence to the woods, or to hide you from your own shame; your trade annihilated, and your vessels and seamen captives in the port of that enemy whose rage you had provoked." No wonder all the sympathies of this warm-hearted Scotchman were stirred within him as he gazed upon the picture which his imagination had drawn, and that in earnest emphatic language he besought the American people to pause as they stood upon the edge of the awful chasm which was yawning for their destruction.

Equally fallacious were the hopes cherished of the results which would follow a suspension of trade, and the non-payment of debts due to British merchants. Two can play a game of this kind as well as one. If America refuses to receive articles of English production, England may close its markets against all articles of American manufacture, and the effect of the prohibition of all trade with England would be fatal to the prosperity of America.

The writer of the address proceeds to an examination of the subjects of difference between the two parties. America declares that England has no right to bind her in any case whatever, and asserts that England claims that right in all cases whatever. He then vindicates Great Britain in the claim of supremacy which she sets up, and contends that the existence of a kind and conciliatory spirit on both sides would lead to an easy adjustment of all the difficulties which have

arisen. He shows that England has been actuated in her treatment of her Colonies with a sincere desire to promote their commercial prosperity, that she has given monopolies to her American subjects on the raising of some of the most important articles of traffic. "If we lately," he remarks, "imposed a trifling tax upon you to be spent among yourselves, we have taxed ourselves to an hundred times the value of it to pay bounties to you." He next considers the charge that the King and Parliament interfere in the internal legislation of the Colonies, new model their Assemblies and alter their charters. Such interference he justifies on the ground of the necessities of the case, when society is so much in a formative State as it is in the Colonies, and he contends that dignity, independence, power, and even splendor should be thrown around the seats of justice, "to strike with awe the imaginations of the meanest, and with the necessity of obedience even the highest." In like manner he vindicates the government in sending troops to America without the consent of the Legislatures of the different Colonies, asserting that it is as much their interest to be defended as it is that of the mother country to defend them. He thus meets the charge that England assumes airs of superiority over the inhabitants of this country. He declares his wish that America would ask for the establishment of nobility and of ranks among the people in order that, as he expresses it, "your spirits might not only be inflamed by the love of liberty, but exalted by the love of family." He asserts that "the whole history of mankind presents not a state of society, notwithstanding all the imperfections it is charged with, so fraught with liberty, safety, wealth and honor as that of England is."

But the gravest of the matters discussed is that of the so-called unjust taxation of the Colonies by Great Britain. We are familiar with the arguments which were used to vindicate the course presented by the government in this matter. Sir John Dalrymple presents these arguments very concisely, and from his point of view very strongly, and contends that there was not the slightest injustice in the course which was pursued by England. Other matters of grievance he considers in detail, and closes the "Address" by expressing the hope that before "a very few months run round, he may hear that peace is restored to your minds, and order to your Provinces."

Another of the pamphlets to which we are referring, is one which bears this title: "An appeal to the justice and interests of the people of Great Britain in the present disputes with America." This is a second edition corrected and published by J. Almon, 1775, the first edi-

tion having been issued in 1774. "The author of this appeal," says a writer in the *Monthly Review*, "is an able advocate for the colonists, not as composing distinct States, but as having in common with British subjects, an indefeasible right to an exclusive disposal of their own property. After denying the right, he proceeds to expose the imposing of raising a revenue in America against the will of the people." The authorship of the pamphlet is not certainly known. It is attributed to Dr. Lee of Virginia, also to Lord Chatham, Mr. Glover, and Dr. Franklin. After reading the "Address" of Sir John Dalrymple, it is interesting and instructive to read the other side of the question. Two memorable sayings, the one of Lord Chatham, and the other of Lord Camden, with a few others from eminent authority, form the prelude to the appeal. "You have no right," said Lord Chatham, in one of his famous speeches in Parliament, "to tax America. I rejoice that America has resisted. Two millions of our fellow subjects, so lost to every sense of virtue, as tamely to give up their liberties, would be fit instruments to impose chains upon the rest." And Lord Camden endorsed this view when he said, "My researches have more and more convinced me that you have no right to tax America. I will maintain it with my last breath—taxation and representation are inseparable." Bound up between the "Address" and the "Appeal" is a very dingy yellow pamphlet, to which neither Mr. Rich nor Mr. Bartlett refers in their catalogues. It is a pamphlet of ten pages only, and bears the title "Dissertations on the Grand Dispute between Great Britain and America." The writer who signs himself "Amor Patriae," presents for consideration what he calls "A Receipt to mediate the very dangerous differences between the mother country and her numerous colonies." The cure which he suggests for the existing troubles is the same, in substance with that for which the writer of the "Appeal" pleads, to wit, representation of the Colonies in Parliament as the proper antecedent to taxation. "Two questions are discussed in the 'Appeal.' First, whether we have a right to tax the Colonies. Second, whether it be expedient to exercise that right. These two questions are very ably discussed, and the positions taken, maintained by elaborate argument, enforced by reference to the highest authority as furnished by precedents of the most reliable character. It will be difficult, we think, to find anywhere a clearer presentation of the subject under discussion, looked at, from an historical point of view, than is found in this 'Appeal.' Occasionally the writer grows eloquent. 'If,' says he, 'these principles upon which the American claim is founded are fallacious, then were our own

claims usurpations upon the Crown, and the glorious revolution itself was nothing more than a successful rebellion; Hampden, Pym, Sidney, and Russell, than whom Greece with all her patriots, and Rome with all her heroes, produced no men who trod this mortal stage with more dignity, or quitted it with greater lustre, were strictly traitors. Surely their pretensions cannot be just, which so manifestly subvert in principle, the foundation of our constitutional liberties." And, again, "The Americans received the news of the intended stamp-act with astonishment; it was some time before they could believe it possible, that a parliament which they regarded with respect could be guilty of such an outrage against their rights; that a House of Commons, who existed only by the election of the people of England, who would not suffer any other branch of the legislature to touch the property of the people because they only are deputed by them, should seriously resolve that it might be just and expedient for them to give and grant the property of the people of America. One reads to this moment, such a resolution with a mixture of astonishment and ridicule. Had they resolved that it would be just and proper for that house to turn all the white people in America into blacks, it would not have been more ridiculous." Readers of American history are familiar with the course of reasoning to which our fathers resorted in justifying their action in resisting the arrogant claims of the English government. If one desires to see these reasons presented in a concise and comprehensive way, let him carefully read the "Appeal to the Justice and Interests of the People of Great Britain in the present disputes with America."

Among the pamphlets, I also find two English reprints of Paine's "Common Sense," and the reply to it, "Plain Truth." The former was somewhat curtailed in its proportions for prudential reasons. The editor of the Monthly Review remarks: "The American editions of this pamphlet contain in different parts such reflections on the king and government of Great Britain as could not have been printed here without considerable hazard; and therefore, in Mr. Almon's impression frequent chasms occur; some of these are short, and the words omitted so obvious, that the defects may be easily supplied; but with others, it will be found impossible, without other assistance, to conjecture the meaning of the deficient passages." The London edition of "Common Sense" was enlarged upwards of one-third by the addition of an appendix, and an "address to the people called Quakers." It is known that Paine came to this country at the suggestion of Dr. Franklin. In 1775 he took up his residence in Philadelphia and became the editor



of the "Pennsylvania Magazine." He wrote "Common Sense" at the instigation of Dr. Rush. So much pleased was the Pennsylvania Legislature with the tract, that as a testimony of their appreciation of the value of the work he had done, they voted him £500. The popularity of the pamphlet was very great, its circulation reaching to not less than 100,000 copies. It was soon followed by the publication of "The American Crisis," another of the productions of the pen of Thomas Paine, which had the effect to add fresh fuel to the patriotic feeling which was rising all over the country. With regard to the English reprint of "Plain Truth," we are told that "it is written with such outrageous zeal, and contains so many scurrilous reflections against the author of "Common Sense" and the supposed favorers of independency, that we may safely conclude, from its having been printed at Philadelphia, that the Congress either do not aim at a separation from this country, or that their government is not of the tyrannical nature which some have chosen to represent it." Dr. Parr says that this tract produced a *wonderful effect* throughout America and England. Not long after the publication of "Common Sense" in England, Almon published another pamphlet, which I find also in the volume of tracts, entitled "Additions to Common Sense, addressed to the Inhabitants of America," a compilation from the American newspapers, of essays in support of the arguments and conclusions of the writer of "Common Sense." In these three pamphlets, there is no small amount of racy and spirited writing. We give one or two illustrations. In the appendix to "Common Sense" is the following: "Sir John Dalrymple," the putative father of a whining jesuitical piece, fallaciously called "The Address of the People of England to the Inhabitants of America," hath, perhaps, from a vain supposition that the people *here* were to be frightened at the pomp and description of a king, given (though very unwisely on his part) the real character of this one, as a prince, "by whose *nod alone*, the administration were permitted to do anything." He who can calmly hear and digest such doctrine ought to be considered as one who hath not only given up the proper dignity of man, but sunk himself beneath the rank of animals and contemptibly crawls through the world like a worm." The editor of neither the Eatanswill Gazette nor the Eatanswill Independent could beat that. "Fine newspapers there were," as we learn from the trustworthy "Pickwick Papers." "Such leading" articles, and such spirited attacks! "Our worthless contemporary, the Gazette." "That disgraceful and dastardly journal, the Independent." "That false and scurrilous print, the Independent." "That vile and slanderous calumniator, the Gazette."

These, and other spirit-stirring denunciations were strewn plentifully over the columns of each, in every number, and excited feelings of the most intense delight and indignation in the bosoms of the townspeople. But it is the pages of "Plain Truth" that are so full of porcupine quills. "Fifty years hence," our author "Paine will be forgotten; impelled therefore by his villanious ambition, he would rather precipitate his country into every species of horror, misery and desolation, than forego his fancied protectorship." "But if you have" (says our author) "and can still shake hands with the murderers, then are ye unworthy the name of husband, father, friend, or lover; and whatever may be your rank or title in life, you have the heart of a coward and the spirit of a sycophant." Ye that are not drunk with fanaticisms answer me. Are these words dictated by peace, or base foul revenge, the constant attendant on cowards and sycophants? Does our author, so perfectly versed in Scripture, mean to conduct us to peace or desolation? or is he fit to legislate for men or devils?" "Notwithstanding our author's fine words about toleration, ye sons of peace and true Christianity, believe me, it were folly supreme, madness, to expect angelic literature from New England, where she has constantly been detested, persecuted, and execrated; even in vain would our author, or our Cromwell, cherish toleration; for the people of New England, not yet arrived in the seventeenth or eighteenth century, would reprobate her." It would be easy to make other extracts of a similar character with these, but we forbear.

We come now to a copy of Governor Bernard's "Select Letters." Sir Francis Bernard, Bart., who died in 1779, was Governor, first of New Jersey, and afterwards of Massachusetts, and wrote these letters between the years 1763 and 1768. This period in American history, it will be remembered, was one of great excitement, and it is to the consideration of many questions which were then agitated, that the governor now addresses himself. In the preface of the "Select Letters," he says, that "they were mostly, even those which were addressed to persons in high offices, merely speculative; and they cannot be misunderstood in any instance more than by being considered as Dictation." The reader will remember that Governor Bernard, whose administration at the outset was popular and conciliatory, became exceedingly obnoxious to the citizens of Massachusetts, because of the arbitrary measures he pursued in his support of what he considered to be the prerogatives of the Crown. It was he who advocated the bringing of troops into Boston, and asserted his right to maintain his government of the Province, if need be, by the force of arms. He opposed all measures which looked



toward the enlargement of the rights of the people, and arrayed himself in direct hostility to those who demanded what they regarded, as their just due, as British subjects, not to be oppressed and trampled upon, but treated as the peers of their brethren in the mother land. So bitter was the opposition which was awakened against him, that the government recalled him, showing, however, their appreciation of the stand he had taken as Governor of Massachusetts, by making him a Baronet.

These "Letters" give us a good insight into the state of public affairs at the time they were written, and reveal to us the causes at work which were tending to alienate the people of this country from Great Britain, and which, at length culminated in the separation of the Colonies from the mother country. Complaints had been made to Governor Bernard that the laws regulating trade with foreign countries had not been enforced, and that revenue from imported goods had fallen below the reasonable expectations of the government. More stringent measures were recommended, and the Governor was urged to see to it that the duties should be collected on all articles dutiable. What the effect of all these injunctions on the Governor was, appears from a letter which he wrote under date of January 7th, 1764. "Dear Sir; the publication of orders for the strict execution of the Molasses Act has caused greater alarm in this country than the taking of *Fort William Henry* did in 1757. Petitions from the trading towns have been presented to the general court; and a large committee of both Houses is sitting every day to prepare instructions for their agent. In the mean time, the merchants say there is an end of the trade in this Province; that it is sacrificed to the *West Indian* Planters; that it is time for every prudent man to get out of debt with Great Britain as fast as he can, and betake himself to husbandry, and be content with such coarse manufactures as this country will produce. This is now the common talk wherever one goes."

Under date of October 28th, 1765, he writes in a way to show how increasingly distasteful his administration was becoming to the people of Massachusetts. To his correspondent he says: "I shall constantly communicate to your honor what shall further happen upon this dangerous and critical occasion, and must beg your observance of my difficult and perilous situation; in the midst of those who first stirred up these disturbances; without a force to protect my person; without a council to advise me; watched by every eye, and misrepresented and condemned for every thing I do on the King's behalf. If things do not

take another turn before the 1st of November, the appearance of government will cease." In justice to Governor Bernard it should be said that in the same letter he urges the immediate repeal of the infamous Stamp Act, and the representation of the Colonies in Parliament if they are to be subjected to taxation. "The Stamp Act," he remarks, "seems to me to be like a sudden accident to an human body, which occasions its flinging out some latent disease, which, if it had been concealed much longer, would have been past curing. I hope the State doctors have discovered this disease in time, and will apply proper remedies to it. They must begin with palliatives, but they must search it to the bottom before they have done."

The next letter, which bears date of February 28th, 1766, brings out in clear light Governor Bernard's view of the unhappy state of things in the Colonies. He expresses his desire to be allowed a furlough of a few months that he may return home and make a report of the condition of affairs in America. The people of Massachusetts have felt their strength, he says, and flatter themselves that it is much greater than it is. He is quite sure that they will not, of their own accord, submit readily to any thing they do not like. He thinks he is a competent witness to give his testimony to his Majesty's ministers, as he has studied the subject for near six years. He assures his correspondent that he is not impelled to ask to return to England by any calls of business or pleasure, but simply from the patriotic motive of being of service to the government to which he is proud of owing fealty. It is pleasant to notice the firm stand which he takes upon the question of a paper currency. No advocate for hard money in our days would make a stronger statement of the evils of such a currency than Governor Bernard has left on record. "When the currency is only specie, it forms a kind of barometer, whose rising and falling show the people the increase and the decrease of the general stock. If they are carrying on a losing trade, or import more than their exports will pay for, or live at a greater expense than their income will bear, the want of cash gives them warning, and obliges them to attend to it. But where the currency is paper, and that in plenty, a people may go on, by the various means of a losing trade, unnecessary imports and extravagant living to the utmost extremity of bankruptcy, without having any warning, except, perhaps, the depreciating of their paper. I have called paper-money the negative power of riches; it is doubly so; it at first occasions all the specie in the country to be carried out of it, and afterwards it creates a want of an extraordinary quantity of specie to pay the debts, of which it bears



the testimony. Surely, if people would look forward for a few years to come, they would cheerfully submit to some temporary inconvenience, in order to remove the accursed thing from them and substitute in its stead real riches and true credit for all future time."

The closing letter is exceedingly spirited. The Governor has learned that the Messieurs Snarling, as the "Country Parson" calls the constitutional grumblers, have severely criticised his speech, his answer to the town, his giving way to the populace, etc. "As for my speech," he says, "(I know not which is meant) and my Answer to the town, I would ask what concessions have I made that I ought not to have done? or what else is blameable in them, except using civil words? and of what service, at that time, would have been the use of hard words? As for giving way to the populace (in whose hands, be it observed, I have been left for above three years) I would again ask, what have I given up to them that I could maintain? and how would it have served his Majesty's cause for me, to have provoked the people, in whose power I was, to have knocked me on the head, or drove me out of town?—I am indeed a good deal worn with my former service, which has indeed been severe and dispiriting for three years past, and I had expectations that I was even now going to receive my reward, in being placed in a station, where I should have health, peace and competence. I carried my expectations so far as to engage a cabin and fix upon a day of embarking. But since the King's service requires that I should continue here in further action, I submit cheerfully to my destination, and hope I have strength enough to serve another campaign. If the dispute lasts much longer, it will be too much for me." It is very certain the Governor did not find himself on a bed of roses, and if, at length the wrath of the citizens of Boston forced him to leave Massachusetts, he found a solace to his wounded spirit in the honors and reward of which he was the recipient on his return after so many years' absence to his home in England.

Appended to the "Letters" of Sir Francis Bernard is an essay drawn up by the Governor in 1764, setting forth "Principles of Law and Polity applied to the Government of the British Colonies in America." The propositions which he advances are ninety-seven, "beginning," as he says, "with first principles which are self-evident, proceeding to propositions capable of positive proof, and descending to hypotheses which are to be determined by degrees of probability only." It is needless to say that the theory unfolded and maintained by the "Principles" is the monarchical theory, the fundamental idea being that "the King

in Parliament is the sole and absolute Sovereign of the whole British Empire." It is curious and interesting to see what position the Royal governor of a British colony in America took as early as 1764 concerning the relations which the government at home sustained to their dependencies on the American continent. Proposition No. 30 was as follows: "The Parliament of Great Britain, as well from its rights of sovereignty as from occasional exigencies, has a right to make laws for, and impose taxes upon, its subjects in its external dominions, although they are not represented in such Parliament." As we have seen, Governor Bernard subsequently held a different view from this. Indeed, in No. 65 of the "Principles" set forth in this "Declaration," it is declared that "it may be expedient that the Colonies be represented for quieting disputes concerning the authority of the Parliament over the Colonies." How deep rooted in the mind of a representative of the upper classes of England was the feeling that an established nobility is desirable in a well-ordered commonwealth, appears in Nos. 87 and 88 of the "Principles." The first reads as follows: "Although America is not now (and probably will not be for many years to come) ripe enough for the hereditary *Nobility*, yet it is now capable of a *nobility* for life." The second is; "A *nobility* appointed by the King for life, and made independent, would probably give strength and stability to the American governments, as effectually as an hereditary nobility does to that of Great Britain." It is evident, moreover, that the English governors of this country (for without doubt Governor Bernard gives expression not simply to his personal views) believed that there should be a consolidation of the colonies, reducing the number, and bringing them into such shape that the administration of affairs could be conducted more efficiently and more economically. Principle No. 90 is thus stated: "The reformation of the American governments should not be controlled by the present boundaries of the colonies; as they were mostly settled upon partial, occasional and accidental considerations, without any regard to a whole." And still further to develop his views in Principle No. 91, he says: "To settle the American governments to the greatest possible advantage, it will be necessary to reduce the number of them; in some places to unite and consolidate; in other to separate and transfer, and in general to divide by natural boundaries instead of imaginary lines." What a herculean task would have been undertaken in carrying out this suggestion may be readily conceived by one who is familiar with the interminable disputes which have grown out of the adjustment of the boundary lines of some of the States.



The pamphlet under consideration is made up of other matter in addition to the "Letters" and the "Principles." We find in it the "Petition of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts Bay against Governor Bernard," his "Answer" to the same, the "Report of the Committee of Council" and the "Order of his Majesty in Council" made thereupon. Governor Bernard says: "It will appear that it was not the persons of the governors that gave offence, but the Government itself; and that the redress they prayed for must fall short of their purpose, if it did not procure for them the nomination of the governors, as well as the appointment of the Council. Then their government will be complete, when there is not the least remains of Royalty left in it, and the whole is reduced to a pure *Ochlocracy*, or government by a mob. But perhaps the resolution of the Privy Council, which in both instances has declared their Petitions to be *groundless, vexatious* and *scandalous*, may put an end to their expectations." We do not propose to lay before our readers the grievances of the Legislature as set forth in the charges they bring against the Governor. They are classed under seventeen heads, and indicate the feelings of a people who believed their rights had been ruthlessly trampled upon by Sir Francis. Under the last head they declared that "he has rendered his administration odious to the whole body of the people, and has entirely alienated their affections from him, and thereby wholly destroyed that confidence in a governor which your Majesty's service indispensably requires." "Wherefore," say they in conclusion, "we most humbly intreat your Majesty that his Excellency Sir Francis Bernard, Baronet, may be forever removed from the government of this Province; and that your Majesty would be graciously pleased to place one in his stead worthy to serve the greatest and best monarch on earth." One may be pardoned perhaps for questioning the sincerity of this lofty compliment to George III. It may have been politic to have declared him to be the "greatest and best monarch on earth." Did policy and truth in this instance coincide? To the charges brought against him, Governor Bernard replies with spirit, declaring that in his entire administration he has been actuated by a sincere desire to be loyal to his King, and at the same time, to the best of his ability, to advance the interests of the colony over which he had been set as its chief magistrate. He declares that he "has always had a most earnest desire to remove jealousies, and restore that harmony and mutual affection which ought to subsist between Great Britain and America." He used all the means in his power to prevent a breach of a good understanding

between the two countries, and for that purpose, when the Stamp Act was first agitated, notwithstanding he had good reason to believe that the bill was strongly adopted by the Ministry, he wrote a letter to the Secretary of State, urging many reasons which occurred to him against its passing into a law, with a freedom which nothing but a consciousness of his integrity, and a sense of his duty to both countries, and a desire to prevent any uneasiness between them could have supported. Afterwards, when the repealing of the act was in contemplation, he gave his testimony for the repeal both in his public and private letters. From a review of the whole case, it seems that the chief ground, or one of the chief grounds, of the unpopularity of Sir Francis was his enforcement of the Stamp Act. Although he strongly disapproved of it, his orders being peremptory to support it, he had no alternative but to obey orders. How popular he was at the outset of his administration appears from extracts from the journals of the House of Representatives. A resolution is recorded, under date of February 27, 1762, to the effect that a grant, "in consideration of the extraordinary services of his Excellency Governor Bernard," of the island of Mount Desert be made to him, "his heirs and assigns." A most valuable grant surely, if the Legislature could have foreseen how popular this famous summer resort would become in a little more than a century from the time it was made. Other extracts from the journals of the House and his addresses to the House place it beyond all doubt, that he and the Legislature were on the best of terms. As late as June 8, 1764, the House thus addresses him in a message: "The House humbly and gratefully acknowledges your Excellency's paternal care of all the interests of this Province, etc." The action upon the "Petition of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts Bay" was positive and decided. We have a record of the Report of the "Committee of Council," and of the action thereon, at a meeting held at St. James', March 14, 1770, at which were present "the King's most Excellent Majesty" and twenty distinguished persons connected with the nobility. The report referred to closes with the declaration, "that the several charges contained in the said Petition of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts Bay are *groundless, vexatious* and *scandalous*, and that the said Petition ought to be dismissed." At the meeting at St. James', where the report was laid before his Majesty and Councillors, the following was the result of their deliberation on the same: "His Majesty, taking the said Report into consideration, was pleased, with the advice of his Privy Council, to approve thereof, and to order that the said

Petition of the House of Representatives of the Massachusetts Bay be, and it is hereby, dismissed this Board, as *groundless, vexatious and scandalous.*"

Among the other pamphlets in the volume to which reference has been made, are Major John Cartwright's "American Independence, the interest and glory of Great Britain." On the title-page is the following quoted from Trenchard on Plantations and Colonies, in Cato's Letters, No. 106, Anno 1722:

"No Creatures suck the Teats of their Dams longer than they can draw Milk from thence, or can provide themselves with better Food; nor will any Country Continue their subjection to another only because their great Grand-mothers were acquainted. This is the course of human affairs, and all wise States will always have it before their eyes."

Prefixed to this work is a very curious map, setting forth what the author proposed as the different sections into which he suggests it may be wise to divide British America, including what is now so much of the United States as lies between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mississippi River. The names by which he proposes to call some of these sections have the merit at least of originality, and a few of them of being quite euphonious. He proposes to call the regions lying west of Lake Superior "Camanestigonia" and "Missisagonia." Proceeding directly south, we have "Puania," "Mascoutenia," "Wauwautania," "Chikasawria" and "Chactawria." We think a citizen of Chicago would be quite as willing to be known as a resident in Illinois as in Mascoutenia.

We find also, what can hardly be called a pamphlet, it being rather a book of 256 pages, Matthew Robinson's "A further Examination of our present American Measures and of the Reasons and the Principles on which they are founded," 1776. The *animus* of this long production is found in the following sentence: "To spill the blood, to spoil and to plunder, to lay waste with fire and with sword the habitations of a people, from whom we have received almost unspeakable profit and benefit, who gave to us a rich and a great country, planted and improved at the cost and the hazard of themselves, who never entertained towards us a thought or a meaning of mischief, who, when our own squabbles or impatience or ambition, and not their desires, hurried us into war, have so often combated under our banners and contributed to our expenses, is, I say, surely a service, at which the heart of every humane man in our army must turn and revolt." It would require too much space in an article like this to present even a general synopsis of the author's course of thought, and we shall not make the attempt.

An examination of a series of pamphlets like those to which we have been directing the attention of the reader, carries one back to scenes and events which live in the pages of history, and in which our fathers took an interest, the depth of which it is not easy for us to conceive. All the actors in these scenes have passed off the stage, but they set in motion long trains of influence which will make themselves felt far down the ages. Reaching as we have reached the anniversary days which celebrate the daring exploits of our fathers in their heroic attempts to free themselves from the yoke of foreign oppression, it becomes the American people to revere the virtues of their patriot ancestors, and to resolve that they will transmit to their posterity the rich legacy which has been bequeathed to them by those who made sacrifices and gave their lives that the nation might live

J. C. STOCKBRIDGE



FRENCH HILL AND THE TRADITION OF THE FRENCH IN NORTHERN WESTCHESTER.

The traditions of the war of the Revolution are passing away with the fathers, and but little will be left, unless at once reduced to writing, when the present generation of grey heads are in their graves. Those not interested in historic research care but little for the memory or the acts of ancestors generations back whom they have never seen. The recent translation of the Ms. diary of a French officer, 1781, and its publication with a map (Magazine Am. Hist. IV. 299) has suggested the collecting together what remains of the tradition of the French encampment in Northern Westchester ere all be lost. With this article will be found a photo-lithographic fac-simile of a map belonging to the Ms. diary. A careful examination of this map shows that it was prepared to indicate what route the army was to take to King's Ferry—not the route actually traveled. We cannot regard it as giving the route taken, because in the diary referred to above it is distinctly stated that "in the evening (July 1, 1781) news arrived from the American general which again changed our plans, for instead of marching to Crampond (Crompond) as we proposed, July 2d, in the morning we left for Bedford (Bedford)," and we know that the French proceeded as far south as Kingsbridge and did not return to Northern Westchester until August 21st. The map designates Crompond (Crompond) as the 11th encampment, as it would have been had not the army marched from its 10th camp southward. If we suppose that the map represents the route taken, no mathematical computation can make Crompond the 11th camp. The main army, under Rochambeau, marched by the northern route through Hartford, Newton, Ridgebury, to the 10th camp, and then turned to the south to join Washington. The southern route indicated on the map through Middletown, Wallingford and Oxford, was taken by the legion of the Duke de Lauzun, which had spent the previous winter at Lebanon, Ct. The distances between the camp indicate a day's march, averaging perhaps sixteen miles.

The French army made its advent into Northern Westchester when it reached its 10th camp on the evening of July 1, 1781. From this point they proceeded southward. They next appear about the 20th of August when they encamp at North Castle on their way to King's Ferry,

whence they are to proceed against Cornwallis in Virginia. Leaving North Castle on the morning of the 21st, very early, they march by way of Pine's Bridge, north of which they crossed "quite a high mountain," and "the troops encamped in the evening at Hun's (Hunt's) Tavern in a place more convenient than military." "At this place there are four or five houses, which are at the head of Crompond." August 22d the army left Hunt's Tavern to march to King's Ferry. The diary adds; "Nine miles from Hun's (Hunt's) Tavern is Peskill (Peekskill), a village of about twenty houses, quite close to each other," etc.

It is also stated that the march of the previous day from North Castle to Hunt's Tavern was nine miles. These data in connection with a deed recently found bearing the date of February 15, 1802, conveying certain property, may assist us in determining the exact location of the encampment on the evening of August 21st. This deed was given by "Solomon Hunt, of the city and State of New York, gentleman, and Mary, his wife," to "Henry Strong, of Yorktown, in the County of Westchester, State aforesaid, farmer," and is said to cover what is known as the Harry Horton place, now owned by Benjamin Flewellen. The house, which was enlarged and improved by Mr. Horton, was formerly used as a tavern, and after it passed into his hands and ceased to be a public house it was a matter of annoyance that travelers should remember and seek it as such. All the evidence at hand points to this place as Hunt's Tavern where the French had their headquarters on the night of August 21, 1781.

We find the French in Northern Westchester at a still later date. They had spent the winter of 1781-82 in Virginia, the headquarters being at Williamsburgh. Early in the summer, for reasons of health, the army began its march northward. August 18, 1782, the army is at Baltimore. On the 20th they are on the move for the Hudson River. August 31st, the American army, hitherto in camp at West Point and northward, proceed by river and land to Verplanck's Point. September 14th, "the American army was under arms to receive General Count de Rochambeau." * * * * The French army was now arriving from the southward; they encamped to the south of Peekskill as they arrived. "18th, the last of the French army arrive." (Heath's Mem.) "On the 24th (Sept.) our (French) army proceeded to Crampond (Crompond) about nine miles from Peekskill; that of General Washington being encamped upon the banks of the North River." (Blanchard's Journal.) Thomas Balc, in his *Français en Amérique*, gives us the best written description (meagre, indeed, in itself) of the position of the

French army: "The French army took a strong position on the hills in front of Crompond. The Corps of Lauzun was in advance guard on the heights which skirt the Croton, and from this position the two armies could in one day's march reach New York and Staten Island."

Blanchard (Journal) tells us under date of "October, 1782, our (the French) army remained in this position about a month. Finally, it was decided that our troops should approach Boston. * * * * The first division left the camp at Crompond on the 22d (October, 1782), and the second on the following day. They stopped at Salem, which is also in the province of New York."

From this documentary evidence we gather that the van of the French army reached King's Ferry on the 14th of September, 1782, and by the 18th the entire army had arrived. Their first encampment was south of Peekskill. On the 24th of September they proceeded to Crompond and went into camp on the hills to the east and southeast of two lakes, formerly called according to the map of The Manor of Cortlandt, drawn in 1734, "Ceeder Pond," now known as Mohansic Lake.

Now for the traditions. There is a tradition that they encamped in a wood, now called Requa's woods, a short distance east of the fourth mile-stone on the road from Peekskill to Crompond, and that in twenty-four hours the trees were all felled. The position of the camp at Crompond, seven miles east of Peekskill, the tradition points out quite definitely. The extreme northerly point of the encampment was separated from the extreme southern by $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 miles. Beginning at the south on what is properly called French Hill, to the southeast of the Crom Pond, now called Mohansic Lake, on the farm now owned by Jordan Frost, the encampment extended across the lands of John B. Tompkins, Moses Dean, Benjamin Flewellen (known as the Harry Horton place) and Hosea Fountain, M.D., to the Flewellen ridge. Tradition is not clear as to whether or not it extended further north. From one source we learn that the encampment extended across the farms of William L. Mead and of the late J. Hazard Strong, to the land known as the Fair Grounds. From another, however, we learn that it extended no farther north than the Flewellen ridge. The lay of the land would seem to indicate that it extended to the Fair Grounds, though such evidence can scarcely be regarded as conclusive. Balch's description of the location of the encampment, as a "strong position on the hills in front of Crompond," would be better satisfied by supposing that it reached the northermost point indicated by tradition. A paper in the hands of the writer contains circumstantial evidence, which, with that just given, fairly set-

ties the point. The paper referred to was prepared by the late Alvin Purdy, and the incident related happened to one of his ancestors. It states, incidentally, that "a part of the French army lay encamped on the land of Major Joseph Strong, about half a mile from Crompond corner." He describes the camp as "a regular encampment, complete in every appointment, artillery, infantry, and cavalry; wagons loaded with specie." The present Fair Grounds once belonged to Major Joseph Strong, and are such "a strong position" as would be likely to be chosen for a camp. Taking all the evidence, written, traditional, and the lay of the country, we are led to the conclusion that a portion of the army were encamped on what may for convenience be called the Fair Ground ridge, that the encampment extended south to French Hill, and that on French Hill Lauzun's legion were encamped. If Lauzun's legion were encamped there then they would be "in the advance guard" and in a very commanding position overlooking the Croton, though it is two or three miles distant. Balch speaks of the corps of Lauzun as being "in the advance guard on the heights which skirt the Croton." Looking from French Hill southward the description seems to be satisfied by the supposition.

On the Flewellen Ridge, military buttons, certainly not American and supposed to be French, have been found, and on the western edge of this ridge, in a wood adjoining the land of Doctor Fountain, are certain mounds connected by tradition with the French, which a recent examination has shown to be ovens. When the farm, now owned by Doctor Fountain, was in the possession of General Bernardus Montross, who is living at the present time, there were three logs which tradition connected with the huts of the French soldiers; and in the memory of persons now living, there were holes into which the oxen would sink in plowing, and which were said to be remains of the dug-outs in which the French soldiers sheltered themselves from the cold.

W. J. CUMMING

NOTE.—The charts now given of the route of the French from Providence to King's Ferry are a reproduction on a larger scale of those which accompanied the second part of the "Diary of a French Officer," in the April 1880 number of the Magazine, (IV, 289), which were too small to be legible.

EDITOR.



THE SAINT-MÉMIN PORTRAITS

The interest aroused by the publication of a steel engraving of the St. Mémin head of Washington, from the original crayon in the possession of J. Carson Brevoort, Esq., in the last February (Washington) number of the Magazine, has suggested the gathering of information concerning the original crayon drawings and copper-plates of this industrious French gentleman.

It was the habit of this artist to draw from life a full-sized head of his subject, and afterwards by process engrave it in reduced form on copper, the patron being entitled to both the crayon and plate; consequently a large number of originals must still be in existence among the older families of the country.

It is now proposed from time to time to reproduce these portraits from such of the copper *plates* as may be tendered. The value of such impressions, direct from the originals, will surely be appreciated even by those who have the photographic copies from St. Mémin's *proofs* issued by Mr. Dexter in 1868. The alphabetical list appended to Mr. Dexter's volume of photographic reproductions mentions seven hundred and sixty-four portraits, the names of which, with the exception of seventeen of the letter U, have been identified, but there are known to have been numerous others not included in it.

Information in regard to the existence and ownership of the crayons or plates will be thankfully received. Any plates furnished will be duly cared for, reproduced and returned to the owners, with extra copies of the impressions on fine India paper. It is probable that many of the original plates have deteriorated by the action of time and the elements. In such cases, Mr. H. B. Hall, the excellent engraver, who will superintend the printing for the Magazine, will, with the consent of the owners, restore the plates as far as practicable, and they will be returned properly prepared for preservation in the future.

The series is now begun with the portraits of Governor George Clinton and Lady Clinton (Cornelia Tappan), his wife, from the plates which, as well as the original crayon sketches, are in the possession of Mrs. Pierre Van Cortlandt of Cortlandt Manor, New York, who has kindly furnished them for publication.

EDITOR

 *Express parcels should be addressed to the Editorial Rooms of the Magazine No. 69-71 Bible House, New York, or by mail to the Editor, Lock Box 37, Station D, N. Y. City.*





C. M. ...







THE CASE OF OSCEOLA

PRELIMINARY NOTE.—An unjust version of an event created by party feeling is liable to become traditionary in spite of authentic record that contradicts it, especially among those who remember oral better than they do written narrative ; and it occurred to me lately, on seeing Osceola the Seminole mentioned in a newspaper, that, even now, many of those who remember his name may still connect it in recollection and belief with a vague story of treacherous capture once extensively circulated. The Seminole war occurred during the administration of President Jackson, and at a time when the party opposed to him were too ready to condemn any measure of his and identify maliciously with his policy any act of his subordinates that could be made to appear censurable. It was owing to this partisan bitterness that the detention of Osceola by Major-General Jesup, then in command of the Army of Florida, was perverted into an act of bad faith, which, if real, would have been a disgrace to our arms : as it was, the accusation did great injustice to an officer of gallant service and long and honorable record. The following statement was published in one of the Washington papers by Gen. Jesup in January, 1858, when a recent revival of the exploded fiction called on him for a vindication of his good name. So long as a calumny has vitality enough to survive in rumor, a reproduction of the truth is never superfluous ; and, as the General's statement of 1858 probably gives a more condensed and clear account of the affair than previous official

reports, I here offer it for republication. Some of the early stories about Osceola's captivity, by way of quickening sympathy, represented him as a chief of high rank, which he was not, though doubtless a man of influence in his tribe sufficient to obtain for him the occasional command of war parties. The Seminoles had among them an order of nobility called the Justennuggies, and no man could become a chief proper unless a member of it. Osceola did not belong to it, though he had a function which was perhaps one of dignity among his people—he being the man who administered the black drink, a beverage made from some plant, and handed round at solemn councils and talks. The rite was probably of sacramental character, and invested Osceola with an office that was priestly rather than servile. The meaning of his name had some reference to this duty.

R. M. POTTER.

STATEMENT BY MAJOR - GENERAL JESUP.—A matter has recently been brought into discussion with which my name was connected some twenty years ago, and, though explained at the time, seems not even now to be well understood. It has been published in a neighboring print, on the authority of a distinguished professional and public man, that the Seminole Indian warrior Osceola, who by the murder of General Thomson and other atrocities began the Seminole war, "was captured by treachery and fraud," and that, "when dying in his hopeless captivity, his bitterest regret was that history would deprive him of the honor of winning the battle of Withlacoochee." Had the gentleman who

penned the paragraph referred to (a part of which is quoted above) been better acquainted with the details of the transaction he would have been aware that the late Gen. Clinch won the battle of Withlacoochee, and that there is some doubt whether Osceola was in the battle at all. With that portion of the story, however, I have no farther concern than to vindicate the truth of history and the reputation of a departed friend.

But the other part of the story containing the charge that Osceola "was captured by treachery and fraud" concerns me alone ; and, if true, would not only be damning to me, but be a stain upon the character of the country for all time to come, for, when in command of the Southern Army in 1837, I, as the representative of the Government, ordered the seizure and retention of that warrior.

Osceola had come into Fort Peyton, a few miles from Saint Augustine, not on my invitation nor that of any other officer ; but he, with his warriors, had accompanied a messenger of Emarthia (King Philip), the principal chief of all the Seminole bands on and near the river St. John, who had been captured some time before, and who had been allowed to communicate with his people on the assurance that they or the greater part of them would come in and accompany him to the West. Osceola, no doubt, intended to return, should he fail in the object that really brought him in, which was to capture the place and release the prisoners.

In a conference which I held with the Seminole chiefs, at their own request, but a few weeks before, I had assured

them that I would hold no further conference with them except to receive from them the notice of their readiness to fulfill their obligations under the treaty at Payne's Landing and of their capitulation with me at Fort Dade ; but I assured them that, when prepared to fulfill those obligations, I would receive them and provide for their removal to the new country assigned to them west of the Mississippi, and if any separate parties or bands should decide to come in before the body of the nation were ready to move, I would receive and protect them.

The chiefs expressed some apprehension that in coming to me they might be attacked by my scouting parties, and their people be scattered. To enable them to join me without danger of attack from these parties, I provided them with a quantity of white cotton cloth, to be used as flags in communicating with any of those parties they might fall in with, and with my outposts ; but the flags were to be used for no other purpose. And the chiefs were distinctly and positively told that none of them nor their people must attempt to come in again but to remain. When Philip's messenger, his son Coacoochee, left Saint Augustine to communicate with his people on the St. John's, there were but few troops at the post. On meeting with Osceola he informed him that he could with an hundred warriors take the place and release his father. Warriors enough arrived to have taken the place had the force not been increased ; but, before they came in, I had thrown in large reinforcements. I had become acquainted with their designs through Indian negroes

some of whom remained with the Indians and possessed the contract pay, and I received from them information of all that took place, or was about to take place, among them. When Osceola found there was no chance of taking Saint Augustine, nor of releasing the prisoners, he determined to return, as I was informed by the Indian negroes about him. But he, with all who had accompanied him, had come in with the distinct understanding that they were not to return. He was a prisoner who had violated his parole of honor; he had killed one of my messengers in a time of truce, when going under the sanctity of a flag with a message to the chiefs of his neighborhood; and he would have killed another messenger but for the energetic interference of Appiaccia (Sam Jones), the Miccasuky chief now in Florida, who interposed, saved him, and sent him back to me at Tampa Bay; he also violated the last truce made by me with the chiefs. By either one of these acts he had forfeited his life by the laws and usages of war as recognized by civilized nations.

Had I allowed myself to be trifled with, and my solemn assurance to the chiefs, that none were to come in but to remain, to be falsified, I should have received, as I would have deserved, their scorn and contempt. It was my duty to the country to detain them, and I directed that all should be securely detained.

In the closing report of the operations of the army under my command, dated the 6th of July, 1838, which was called for by a resolution of the Senate, and printed by order of that body, and thus

became a part of the documentary history of the country, I stated all the facts in regard to the detention of Osceola which could be disclosed without compromising persons in the Indian country and under Indian control, and embarrassing my successor in command; but facts were then given sufficient to the complete understanding of the merits of the case. For the truth of that report I was then, as I am now, officially and personally responsible. The prominent facts of the report were stated by Col. Benton in a speech in the Senate, and by Judge Underwood in the House, without contradiction. Every one who has read the Articles of War is aware that my commission was pledged for the truth of my report in all its parts. I was here, ready to meet any investigation either before Congress or before a court of my peers; but my report, I have reason to know, was satisfactory to the Government, as I believe it was to every fair-minded and honest man in the country who read it at the time.

Osceola had by his repeated violations of the usages of war forfeited his life, particularly by his attempt to use a flag for hostile purposes at Saint Augustine, which made him a spy, as well by the laws of nations as by our own Articles of War. Whether he should be punished as a spy was at the time merely a question of policy with me. I could have convicted him; but to have done so I should have lost the services of all who would have testified against him, as not one of them could have returned to the Indian country without the certainty of being put to death. I could not afford to lose the services of the wit-

nesses in future operations, even had I been inclined to proceed against him criminally, which I was not. Had we been at war with Britain or France, however, and Osceola been a British or French general, his fate would have been that of André. But, though an intelligent and talented man, he belonged to a savage tribe, not supposed to be acquainted with the laws of nations or the usages of war; and, in place of punishing him, I sent him out of the country to Charleston, a prisoner. In my course on that occasion I was influenced alone by the high obligations of public duty; and if called upon to act in a similar case to-day, were the circumstances the same, I should consider it my duty to the country to act as I acted then.

TH. S. JESUP.

had thirteen toes on his feet, and thirteen teeth in each jaw, and other similar absurdities about Putnam, Schuyler and Wayne, he concludes by saying, that "Mrs. Washington has a mottled tom-cat (which she calls in a complimentary way 'Hamilton') with thirteen yellow rings around his tail, and that his flaunting it suggested to the Congress the adoption of the same number of stripes for the rebel flag."

Upon this authority and with quotation reference, Judge Shea seriously says: "Hamilton's name is not free from reproach for libidinousness. It appears to have been observed afterwards by Mrs. Washington when he was at Morristown."

Such a charge made upon such authority is monstrous.

COLUMBIA.

NOTES.

HAMILTON AND MRS. WASHINGTON.—Judge Shea, in his *Life and Epoch of Hamilton*, makes an assertion, all the more extraordinary as coming from one whose profession is supposed to train to careful statement and a proper weighing of evidence.

In Moore's *Diary of the Revolution*, Vol. II., 250, is published one of the numerous Tory squibs recorded in the manuscript diary of Captain Smyth of the Royal Army. The point is that the number thirteen was peculiar to the rebels. After charging that the army rations were thirteen dried clams per day, that Lord Stirling took thirteen glasses of grog every morning, and in consequence had thirteen rum bunches on his nose, that General Washington

THE BRITISH THEATRE IN NEW YORK.

—An American Correspondent says (1781) that the officers of the Army in New York concerned in the management of the Theatre there form a body like any other Company of Comedians, and share the profits arising from their exhibitions. To people on this side of the waters, it may seem mean for British Officers to perform for hire; but in New York necessities are so extremely dear, that an inferior officer, who has no other resources than his pay, undergoes more difficulties than the common soldier; and circumstanced as many brave men are in America, such an exertion of their talents to increase their incomes draws the greatest encouragement.—*Upcott*, vi., 231.

Clippings N. Y. H. S.

J. A. S.

MAJOR ANDRÉ'S TREE—The memorable Tulip Tree, at Greensburgh or Tarrytown, under which Major André was Taken, was on Saturday the 31st of July 1801 struck with Lightning. It was rent almost exactly in two, from the top to the bottom. Near the root it was hollow, at which part it took fire, and blazed up for about 12 or 15 feet through the fissure for a few minutes, when the eastern half fell. The remainder extending over the road, stood in so menacing an attitude as to render it necessary to cut it down. This remarkable Tree measured 29 feet in circumference at the base, was 111 feet in height, and its branches extend 106 feet in diameter. It is rather a singular coincidence, that the news of Arnold's death arrived at Greensburgh the same day on which the lightning destroyed this Tree. Its destruction has occasioned general regret through the surrounding country, and its fragments have been carefully collected and preserved by the inhabitants.

Am. Citizen 1801, August 25.

T. F. D. V.

THE RIEDESEL HOUSE AT SCHUYLERVILLE, N. Y.—This house, "made memorable by the presence and the pen of the wife of the Brunswick general," when visited by Dr. Lossing in 1848 was preserved in almost its exact Revolutionary appearance. It was then owned by Mr. Samuel Marshall.

Mr. Marshall died January 30, 1866, aged eighty-seven. The family still reside there, but the house has been altered out of all resemblance to its former state. During a late visit there I was shown by one of the young ladies the

cellar where the Baroness was secreted. The house itself stands on a high bank on the west side of the road, at a point nearly opposite where the Batten Kill enters the Hudson. The door leading down into the cellar is on the south side of the house. Beneath are two cellars, the one leading by a door into the other. In this inner cellar the Baroness Riedesel says: "In one corner of this I remained the whole day, my children sleeping on the earth with their heads in my lap; and in the same situation I passed a sleepless night. Eleven cannon-balls passed through the house, and we could distinctly hear them roll away. * * * * In this horrid situation we remained six days."

At the foot of the steps, on the left hand, is another cellar of modern date.

Several large cannon-shot found on the place, and a guinea of the date of 1776 I saw in the parlor of the house.

CHARLES A. CAMPBELL.

JACOB KEMPER—"Correction" to the *Memoir of Mrs. E. S. M. Quincy*, printed 1861, in *Boston*. In 1878 the editor accidentally received a copy of a letter from John Kemper, the youngest brother of Mrs. Morton (see page 259), to Peter H. Kemper of Virginia, dated 1826, at Hudson, New York, in which he states that "his father, Jacob Kemper, was born at Bacharach, a fortified town on the Rhine, of which his father, Colonel Kemper, was the military commander or governor, the office being hereditary in the male line of the family." He died in 1712, having been a colonel in the service of Frederick William, the Great Elector, and of his son

Frederick the First of Prussia; and, as all the officers in these armies were noblemen, he must have been a man of rank. Bacharach is situated a mile above Kaub. From the time of the Romans it has been celebrated for its wines, and derives its name from an altar to Bacchus in the Rhine, visible at low water. It was fortified with walls and twelve towers. On a huge cone of rock above it stood the Castle of Stahleck, connected with Bacharach by two fortified walls, and for centuries the residence of the family of the Hohenstauffens and of the Counts Palatine. It was besieged, taken, and rebuilt eight times, and blown up and destroyed by the French in 1689. Jacob Kemper sold his hereditary rights in the commission of Governor of Bacharach for 600 rix-dollars, and with that money came to America.

Mrs. Morton had only known that "her grandfather had been a military man who had received 14 wounds in battle," and thought her father was born at Kaub. Her youngest brother was more correctly informed.

Quincy, 1880

E. S. Q.

QUERIES

ANTHRACITE COAL, WHEN FIRST USED FOR DOMESTIC PURPOSES—The first use of anthracite coal in this country for house fuel has been generally attributed to Hon. Jesse Fell, of Wilkes Barre, Pa., who in a letter to be found in Vol. II., *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, p. 163, says: "In the month of February, 1808, I procured a grate, made of small iron rods, ten inches in depth and ten inches in height,

and set it up in my common room fireplace, and on lighting it found it to burn excellently well. This was the first successful attempt to burn OUR stone coal in a grate, so far as my knowledge extends." See also Pearce's *Annals of Luzerne County*, p. 368, for another note of Fell's experiment.

In the Wilkes Barre "*Record of the Times*" for March 4, 1870, Mr. Jno. B. Smith claims for his father, Abijah Smith, the first mining of hard coal in Schuylkill Co., Pa. Mr. S. says his father emigrated to Wyoming Valley in 1806. Opened the Red Ash Coal Mine in 1808. The same year bought an ark, and shipped 60 tons of coal down the river to Columbia. "He then had a blacksmith make an iron grate suitable for burning coal, and had it put in Gosler's Hotel. After having kindled his coal fire, numbers came from miles away to see it."

Hon. H. B. Wright, in his *History of Plymouth, Pa.*, p. 313, says Smith shipped his coal to Columbia in 1807, six months before Fell's experiment, and that Smith knew of Fell's success when he burned the coal of Columbia.

In Vol. I., *Memoirs of Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Dr. Thomas C. James, of Philadelphia, asserts that in the winter of 1804 he discovered stone coal in the Lehigh, and commenced using it for FUEL that winter.

But still an earlier claim is made by Oliver Evans, of steamboat notoriety, whose letter, dated February 15, 1803, and now in the possession of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society at Wilkes Barre, is as follows:

"Being requested to give my opinion

of the Lehi coals, I do certify to those whom it may concern that I have experienced the use of them in a close stove and also in a fireplace, that may be closed and opened at pleasure, so constructed as to cause a brisk current of air to pass up through a small contracted grate on which they were laid. I find them more difficult to be kindled than the Virginia coal, yet a small quantity of dry wood laid on the grate under them is sufficient to ignite them, which being done they continue to burn while a sufficient quantity be added to keep up the combustion, occasionally stirring them to shake down the ashes; they, however, require no more attendance than other coal, and consume away, leaving only a very light white-colored ashes, producing a greater degree of heat than any other coal that I am acquainted with, perhaps, in proportion to their weight, they being much the heaviest. They produce no smoke, contain no sulphur, and when well ignited will exhibit a vivid, bright appearance, all of which render them suitable for warming rooms, and, as they do not corrode metal as much as other coals, they will probably be the more useful for steam-engines, breweries, distilleries, smelting of metals, drying malt, etc. But the furnaces will require to be properly constructed, with a grate contracted to a small space, through which the air is to pass up through the coal, permitting none to pass above them into the flue of the chimney until they are well ignited, when the doors of the stove or the furnace may be thrown open to enjoy the benefit of the light and radiant heat in front. A very small quantity of them is

not sufficient to keep up the combustion; they require nearly a cubic foot to make a very warm fire, consuming about half a bushel in about fourteen hours.

Oliver Evans

Philadelphia, Feb. 15, 1803."

Again, Watson, in his *Annals of Philadelphia*, Vol. II., p. 460, in speaking of anthracite coal, says: "In the meantime [before 1800], however, coal was used for the forge-fires of the blacksmiths in the neighborhood, and also in some of the bar-rooms in the taverns along the roads, not distant." These facts are not stated for the benefit of those in the hard-coal region, who know them already, but for the benefit of those outside of that section, who do *not* know them; and especially to elicit evidences of earlier discoveries than that of Evans, if any such exist. It is believed that Obadiah Gore first used hard coal for smith-work in 1768-9; but who first used it as *fuel* for domestic purposes?

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN

Wilkes Barre, Pa.

DICTIONARY OF THE ILLINOIS—Can any of the readers of the Magazine give information as to where the MSS. of the dictionary and grammar of the Illinois language, by Pères Gravier and le Boulanger, and the dictionary and grammar of the language of the Iroquois, by Père Marcoux, may be found? I am very anxious to gain access to them, if possible.

Would it not be well for scholars interested in matters of Indian philology and history to unite in urging upon those who have in charge the preparation of the publications of the Bureau

of Ethnology at Washington the propriety of including such works as those named in the series of its forthcoming volumes? Certainly they deserve a more direct recognition than they have yet had.

Was the *History of the Choctas*, by François Dominique Rouquette, which was announced in 1855 as ready for the press, ever published?

Deposit, N. Y.

J. B. D.

COLONEL WHITE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY—A family tradition states that "Catharine P. White was born at Alexandria, Va., as her mother was *en route* to the bedside of her husband, Colonel White, who had been wounded at the battle of the Cowpens." As there was no Colonel White engaged as such at the battle of the Cowpens, can the reference be to Colonel John White of the Georgia Line, who was wounded at the siege of Savannah in 1779, captured, escaped, and made his way to Virginia, where he shortly after died from the effects of his wound?

I would be glad to have some account of his life.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN

Wilkes Barre, Pa.

THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE—What constitutes a complete set of this valuable publication, commenced at Boston in 1857? I would like to know if the first part of the volume for 1866—the numbers January to June—can be obtained? And I would also like to know when the work *really* ceased to exist, if indeed it is not now issued occasionally. Was Volume X. of the second series ever completed, or were the

numbers for July and August, 1871, all of it that ever appeared? and what numbers constitute the full and completed volume of Volume III., third series? As a matter of some historical and bibliographical interest, I hope for an answer to the above in the pages of the Magazine of American History.

STUDENT

LADY WASHINGTON'S LAMENT—An aged person—in her eighty-first year—has repeated to me the first verse of a monody bearing the above title. The lines have lately come back to her—as often happens with the aged—after having been completely forgotten for many years. Can any correspondent of the Magazine supply the other stanzas of the poem?

"When Columbia's brave sons called our hero
to lead them,
To vanquish their foes, and establish their
freedom,
I rejoiced at his honour, my fears I dissembled;
At the thought of his danger, my heart how
it trembled!
Oh, my Washington!
Oh, my Washington!
Oh, my Washington! always victorious!"

Rye, Westchester Co. C. W. B.

REPLIES

MONUMENTS TO THE PATRIOTS—(V. 223.) *De Kalb*—October 14, 1780, "the U. S. Congress Resolved, that a Monument be erected to the Memory of the late Major General the Baron De Kalb, in the City of Annapolis in the State of Maryland, with the following inscription: 'Sacred to the memory of

| *The Baron De Kalb* | Knight of the Royal Order of Military Merit, | Brigadier of the Armies of France, | And | Major General in the Service of the United States of America, | Having served with Honor and Reputation for three years, | He gave a last and glorious Proof of his Attachment to the | Liberties of Mankind and the Cause of America. | In the Action near Camden, in the State of South Carolina | on the 16th of August, 1780; | where, leading on the Troops of the Maryland and | Delaware Lines, against Superior Numbers, | And stimulating them by his Example to Deeds of Valour, | He was pierced with many Wounds, and | On the 19th following expired, in the 48th Year of his Age, | The Congress of the United States of America | In Gratitude to his Zeal, Services and Merit, Have erected this Monument.''' |

This monument was erected only in the minds of the grateful Congress. Their gratitude exhausted itself in passing the resolution, and devising the inscription. Not so South Carolina.

De Kalb was buried at Camden. In 1825 his remains were removed to a new tomb, over which Gen. Lafayette caused to be placed a stone with this inscription: "This stone was placed over the remains of Baron De Kalb by Gen. Lafayette, 1825," also the words "Fœdus," "Esto Perpetuum."

A white marble obelisk was erected over this with this inscription: "Here lie the remains of *Baron de Kalb*, a German by birth, but in principle a citizen of the world. His love of liberty induced him to leave the Old World, to aid the citizens of the New, in their

struggle for *Independence*. His distinguished talents and many virtues weighed with Congress to appoint him *Major General* in their *Revolutionary Army*. He was second in command in the battle fought near Camden on the 16th of August, 1780, between the British and Americans, and there nobly fell, covered with wounds, while gallantly performing deeds of valour, in rallying the friends and opposing the enemies of his adopted country.

"In gratitude for his zeal and services, the citizens of South Carolina have erected this monument." (Smith's De Kalb. Maryland His. Soc.)

Nash—Congress displayed its gratitude for his services also, by passing a resolution ordering a monument to be erected to his memory in the State of North Carolina. Like that of De Kalb it was never erected. But in Wheeler's History of North Carolina, Vol. II, 334, occurs a wood-cut of a monument, with its inscription erected over the remains of General Nash by the liberality of citizens of Germantown and Norristown through the instrumentality of Jno. F. Watson, Esq. His remains are buried in the Mennonist burying ground at Kulpville, Montgomery County, Pa. The inscription is as follows: "*Vota via mea Jus Patria*. In Memory of General Nash, of North Carolina, mortally wounded at the battle of Germantown, here interred, October, 1777, in the presence of the Army here encamped."

Warren was buried on the spot where he fell, June 17th, 1775, in the trenches on Breed's Hill. Congress at once voted him a monument. It is not necessary to add that it was never erected. In 1776,

his body was removed to King's Chapel, and buried there with masonic and military honors. The King Solomon Lodge of Freemasons erected a monument to his memory on the spot where now stands the Bunker Hill monument. Frothingham's Life of Warren gives the particulars.

Mercer was buried on the south side of Christ Church yard, Philadelphia, and a plain stone was placed on his grave, inscribed, "In Memory of *General Hugh Mercer*, who fell at Princeton, January 3d, 1777." In 1840 his remains were disinterred and removed to Laurel Hill Cemetery, where a monument was placed over them. This still stands, but the inscription the writer has forgotten.

Montgomery was buried in the city of Quebec. There he lay 40 years. Congress at the time of his death passed a resolution voting him a monument, and really did cause a handsome mural monument to be placed upon the outside wall of St. Paul's Church, New York City. It is under the eastern portico of the church. In 1818, the State of New York removed his remains from Quebec, and they now rest under his monument,

Wooster died May 2d, 1777. Congress at once manifested its gratitude by voting a monument to his memory, and actually furnished the means; but the money was placed in dishonest hands, and for nearly 80 years no stone marked the spot in Danbury graveyard where he was buried. At last the State of Vermont gave \$1,500, the masons \$1,000, and Danbury \$500 towards a monument. In 1854 his remains were removed to the new cemetery at Danbury and covered with a granite monument 40 feet high,

with a base 8 feet square. The plinth is beautifully ornamented with civic and masonic emblems. The inscription is as follows: "Brother David Wooster, | Impressed, while a stranger in a foreign land, with the necessity of | some tie that should unite all mankind in a | *Universal Brotherhood*, | He returned to his native country, and procured from the | Provincial Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, | *A Charter*, | and first introduced into Connecticut that light which has warmed | the widow's heart and illumined the orphan's pathway. | Under this charter, in 1750, Hiram Lodge No. 1, of New Haven, was | organized, of which he was the first Worshipful Master. Grateful | for his services as the Master Builder of their oldest Temple, | for his fidelity as a brother, and his renown as a patriot | and soldier, the Free and Accepted Masons have | united with his native State and the Citizens | of Danbury in rearing and consecrating | this monument to his memory. | Erected at Danbury, A. L. 5854, A. D. 1854, | David Clark, G. Master." | On the plinth is the name "*Wooster*," and upon the frieze "*Ridgefield, 27th April, 1777.*"

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN

Wilkes Barre, Pa.

—
PORTRAIT OF COLUMBUS—[V. 65]. In the July number of the Magazine, it appears that Mrs. Maria Farmer, in 1783, advertised for sale, an original picture of Christopher Columbus.

The Senate Journal of March 12th, 1784, contains the following entry:

"A letter from Mrs. Maria Farmer, directed to his honor, the President, offering to the acceptance of the Senate,

an accurate portrait of the celebrated discoverer of America, Christopher Columbus, taken from an original painting, anno. 1592, and which has been in her family upwards of 150 years, was read."

The present was accepted with thanks.

This is referred to in the catalogue of maps, portraits, etc., in N. Y. State library, page 145, edition of 1856. Mrs. Farmer is there spoken of as "a daughter of Abraham Gouverneur, and granddaughter of Jacob Leisler, Governor of New York, in 1689."

In Senate, March 28th, 1827, "on motion of Mr. Viele, resolved that the clerk of the Senate cause the portrait of Christopher Columbus, presented to the Senate by Mrs. Maria Farmer in 1784, to be removed from the city of New York, and put up in some suitable place in the Senate Chamber."

In the old Senate Chamber now hangs a portrait labelled, "Columbus. The gift of Maria Farmer to the Senate of New York, 1784." Accompanying it is following explanation:

"This portrait of Columbus was given to the Senate of the State of New York in 1784, by Maria Farmer, a descendant of Jacob Leisler, a distinguished citizen of the Colony of New York, who was executed for high treason in the disturbances which affected New York and Albany, when by the Revolution, culminating in 1688, William of Holland and Mary, daughter of James 2d, were placed in sovereignty of England. This picture is believed to have belonged to Leisler. It had been in Mrs. Farmer's family since 1634, and was a copy of an original painting."

Ballston Spa GEORGE G. SCOTT

THE THREE PIGEONS—[V., 63]. This was a not uncommon sign in and around New York. Why the mystic number three was selected does not appear. Mr. Winfield, in his account of the affairs at Block House Point, in the September number of the Magazine, [V., 164], notices the famous revolutionary tavern on the Bergen road still standing, but the sign of which was unfortunately consumed for fuel a few years since. And still further mention may be found of it, in the attack on Paulus Hook, by the same careful hand. Bradford's New York Gazette for August 25th—September 1st, 1735, describes a house in Smith Street (Samuel Bourdet's), as near "the Three Pidgeons." Weyman's New York Mercury for November 12th, 1759, describes a lot of ground in William Street (the name of Smith Street had meanwhile been changed to William Street), opposite the sign of the Three Pigeons. In the Spring of the same year, March 12th, 1759, William Mersyer advertised Russia Duck at the same sign, but whether he was mine host of the Three Pigeons or not, is not recorded. Whether these were the original Three Pigeons, and whether the sign took its flight across the river in the migratory way common to colonial signs as well as to pigeons, some more learned antiquary may know.

EDITOR

—
DR. ROBERT JOHNSTON OF THE PENNSYLVANIA LINE—[V., 307]. The Dr. Johnston referred to in General Gates' letter to Lord Cornwallis, as going with a flag to visit and attend the sick and wounded American officers and soldiers taken at Camden, S. C., August 16th,

1780, was Dr. Robert Johnston, who resided on what is now known as the Witmer farm, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of Green Castle, Franklin County, Pennsylvania. His letter on file in the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth at Harrisburgh, in which he desires to be included among the officers entitled to Donation lands, recites his appointment in the line of Pennsylvania, his transfer to the Hospital Department, and this very service.

He was appointed January 16th, 1776, Surgeon of the 6th Pennsylvania Battalion, Colonel Irvine, and accompanied it to Canada. After the war he made a voyage to China, bringing home many rare specimens of its ware, and large profits of his venture. He then bought a large farm near his father's, erected elegant buildings, and entertained profusely. President Washington and his suite dined with him on their way from Carlisle to Cumberland during the whiskey insurrection in 1794; and many of the surgeon's old army friends, who were in high rank as Colonels and Generals on that expedition, left the army which went towards Bedford, while they turned their horses' heads down the London road to have a grand "bout," as they called it, at Dr. Johnston's.

His house was a great place of resort for the surviving officers of the Revolution up to the day of his death. Dr. Barnabas Binney, who had been a Hospital Surgeon during the Revolution (father of Horace Binney the great lawyer of Philadelphia), died there while on a visit. Dr. Johnston, who had learned the mystery of embalming when in China, embalmed the body and sent it

home to Philadelphia for burial; the earliest instance of the employment of that art in Pennsylvania, that I am aware of. Among other Federal appointments held by the doctor, was that of U. S. Collector of Revenue for the Western District of Pennsylvania, under President Jefferson.

How wonderful is the act of human destiny; man proposing and God disposing. Seventy-two or more years ago Dr. Johnston sent up into our Bald Eagle valley for a little nephew in order to educate him and make him sole heir of his large property. Buoyant in health, the doctor neglected making his will, and was suddenly gathered in the Great Reaper's sheaf. Seeming misfortune only involved a greater blessing. Young Boggs' family, in after years, thrown upon their own exertions, became accomplished ladies, and one of them is now the highly esteemed wife of Bishop Edmund de Schweinitz of Bethlehem, Pa., the noted historian of the Moravian church.

Dr. Johnston was buried in a private graveyard on his place, the Witmer farm above alluded to, and a large marble slab marks his grave, inscribed, "Dr. Robert Johnston died, November 25th, 1808, aged 58 years, 4 months, and 4 days."

JOHN BLAIR LINN

Bellefonte, Pa.

NEW YORK GENEALOGIES—[IV., 220]. The answer to this query, or at least a part of it, can be found in the Provost genealogy, published in the N. Y. Gen. and Biog. Record.

I also wish to know the parentage of a Catharine Van Brug, Brugge, or

Brugh, who was born in New York City in 1702, and married there, in 1717, John Noble, a young English gentleman, born at Bristol, England, in 1700, they both being very young at the date of their marriage. The husband died in the West Indies in 1720, leaving two children, one of whom died soon after him. His widow went to England for a time, and lived with her husband's uncle, Sir John Stokes, at Stoke-on-Trent, but in 1723 she returned to New York city with her daughter, Mary Noble, who, in 1746, married Robert Cumming, of Monmouth, New Jersey; their daughter, Anna Cumming, born at Monmouth, 3d May, on the 7th March, 1768, married the Rev. W. Schenck, my great-grandfather.

This Catharine Van Brugh, married a second time, 23d of August, 1738, the celebrated Rev. Dr. Wm. Tennent, of New Jersey.

So far as I have been able to learn, there was but a single family of the Van or Von Brug, Brugge, or Brugh settled in New Netherlands, but I have never thus far been able to trace the ancestry of this Catharine, although the information respecting herself is quite abundant, as well as that respecting both her husbands, especially the latter, Dr. Tennent.

I shall be very thankful for any information respecting her, and especially any relating to her ancestry.

Fort McHenry A. D. SCHENCK

— Olaf Stevense Van Cortlandt was the son of the Hon. Steven, of South Holland, and his wife Catharine. There is in the possession of the Jay family, at Rye, Westchester County, a panel portrait of the latter, taken in the year 1630.

She was then 64 years of age. She died in Holland, and Olaf Stevense came to this country in 1637, after her death. He was the last of his family in Holland. John Romeyn Brodhead says in his history that he was a soldier.

Croton Landing

M.

— SMITH'S HOUSE AT HAVERSTRAW— [V., 21-60]. Haverstraw Creek flows in where now is Grassy Point, under a draw-bridge. At a point nearly directly in a line east of the Smith house, on the flat plain bordering the river, is a small island, once a mound, but now dug down into a hole by the brick-makers. This is the "Crom Island" which figures in the André story. It will soon have altogether disappeared, being entirely composed of fine brick clay.

In the left-hand side of the stairway leading to the garret in the Smith house, is an aperture large enough to conceal a man. In this, a story was long current that André lay hidden. The wardrobe where the uniform was found is a deep closet on the east side of the south-west room, in the second story. There is some slight alteration in this room. A door has been cut leading into the front room. Some alteration too has been made in the exterior of the house.

CHARLES A. CAMPBELL

— THE FIRST AMERICAN FLAG RAISED IN THE BRITISH CHANNEL—[V., 220]. One of the executors of the estate of Captain Gustavus Conyngham was his first cousin, David Hayfield Conyngham. He was a member of the prominent and patriotic firm of J. M. Nesbitt & Co., Philadelphia, during and subsequent to the Rev-



olution. Captain C.'s descendants are all residents of Ireland.

In the unpublished *Reminiscences* of D. H. Conyngham, now in my hands, is a brief reference to the Flag which was borne by the "Surprise." He says :

"The first Flag or Stripes had been hoisted up the British Channel by Captain G. Conyngham, when he captured the "Harwich Packet." None of D. H. C.'s descendants know anything of the whereabouts of this flag, nor whether it was the Stars and Stripes. But D. H. C. wrote the above note in 1832, when the American Flag was popularly known as "the Stars and Stripes," in contra-distinction to the old colonial "Stripes." He was also with Captain G. Conyngham when he took command of the "Surprise," and the later cruiser, the "Revenge," and as one of his executors presented the flag to the State of Pennsylvania. He speaks of it as the "Flag of *Stripes*." Moreover the "Stars and Stripes" were not adopted as the national banner until June 14th, 1777. The resolution adopting this ensign was not forwarded to Franklin until the following day, June 15th, by Chas. Thompson, Secretary of Congress, and certainly was not received by him until the middle of the next month, at least ; whereas the capture of the Packet occurred in May, 1777.

The "Surprise" was not commissioned as a "Pennsylvania State," but as a "Government " cruiser. Franklin, Deane, and Lee were at the time Commissioners plenipotentiary from the United Colonies to France, supplied with blank commissions of the Colonial Army and Navy, with power to fill and

issue the same. In the year 1777, they sent an agent to Dover, England, to purchase a fast sailing vessel. They bought the "Surprise," took her over to Dunkirk, and she was then fitted out as a cruiser.

The Commissioners appointed Capt. G. Conyngham to command her, and issued him a Commission as Captain, signed by John Hancock, President of Congress, and dated March 1st, 1777. On the 7th of May, 1777, Captain G. C. captured the Harwich Packet "Prince of Orange," in the British Channel. On his return to Dunkirk he was arrested through the English Ambassador and put in prison, his commission sent on to Versailles to the Count Vergennes, *and never returned*. When, at a later date, Captain C. had fitted out the "Revenge," a new commission was secured for him from the Commissioners, by David H. Conyngham and Wm. Hodge, which, to cover all accidents, was antedated May 2d, 1777. This also was signed by Hancock, so that the entire transaction was under the control of the government.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN

Wilkes Barre, Pa.

WILLIAM SMITH AND THE CONSTITUTION OF NEW YORK—[IV., 461]. Is it not probable that Jones, in his *History of New York in the Revolution*, had been misled by the rumors of the day, and confounded Judge William Smith, of Suffolk County, who served on the committee to prepare a Constitution for New York with Judge William Smith, the historian, who was at the time in the vicinity of the place of meeting of the Constitutional Committee ? MINTO

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 37, Station D—N. Y. Post Office.)

HISTORY OF THE FLAG OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AND OF THE NATIONAL AND YACHT-CLUB SIGNALS, SEALS AND ARMS, AND PRINCIPAL NATIONAL SONGS OF THE UNITED STATES, with a Chronicle of the Symbols, Standards, Banners and Flags of Ancient and Modern Nations. By GEO. HENRY PREBLE, Rear-Admiral U. S. N. Second revised edition, illustrated with ten colored plates, two hundred engravings on wood, and maps and autographs. Large 8vo. pp. 815. Printed at the University Press, Cambridge. A. WILLIAMS & Co. Boston, 1880.

Never in the history of the country has the national spirit been higher than it is to-day. Never has the national flag commanded greater respect abroad or more love at home than now. Born in the throes of the Revolution, baptized in the blood of our forefathers, it has since the organization of the National Government been carried triumphantly through two foreign wars and the colossal strife of an unexampled civil contest, and to-day floats in peaceful splendor over a territory, compared with which it may be said in an amplification of the famous words of the great defender of the Constitution, that not only the possessions of the "House of Hapsburg," but the united domain of the European sovereignties are but as "a patch on the earth's surface," and over a population whose progress in its ratio of increase and of mental and physical power is unexampled in the history of mankind.

The author of this massive and comprehensive history is in his own person and by heritage worthy of the theme. As long as the history of the flag shall be read the name of Preble will excite the interest and admiration of the American people, as that of vindicators of the national honor, and defenders of the national integrity. Question it who may, and as the years roll on the voice of the doubter is fainter and less frequently heard upon the ear, the United States *is* and shall remain a nation.

Yet strange to say, though one of the youngest of the nations of the earth, the stars and stripes is of full age among the standards. Adopted as the Grand Union or Continental flag of the United Colonies, by the Congress on the 14th of June, 1777, it is older than the present flag of Spain, established in 1785; than the French tricolor, decreed in 1794; the present flag of Great Britain, established in 1801; than that of Portugal, in 1830; the Italian tricolor, in 1848; than that of the modern Empire of Germany, battle

born in 1870; than the Swedish-Norwegian ensign; than the recent flags of China and Japan, or the flags of the South American States, modeled, it would seem, in a spirit of imitation and of hope upon our own.

The history of the flag has been several times written, notably by General Schuyler Hamilton, and our readers will no doubt remember the interesting address of this accomplished gentleman and soldier, before the New York Historical Society on the one hundredth anniversary of its adoption by Congress, which appeared in the pages of this Magazine for July, 1877 [I. 401], under the title of "Our National Flag, the Stars and Stripes; its History in a Century." In this, his latest paper on this subject, General Hamilton adheres to the opinion expressed in his "History of the Flag," that the idea of the cluster of stars in the flag was taken from the "constellation of the Lyre of Orpheus," and he brings to the support of this view that the stars in this device are in a circle, and that this same arrangement appears on some of the Continental money, and also on the copper coins of 1783; but the evidence is not direct, and Admiral Preble does not consider it to be conclusive. It is just to General Hamilton to say that he considered this, to use his own words, "an hypothesis merely, more curious perhaps than important." Who designed the union of stars, the Admiral says, "will probably never be known, no mention or suggestion as to it ever yet having appeared in the documents or letters of the period." Perhaps not, yet in the mass of revolutionary papers which are daily coming to light from unexpected sources, and in number and importance which few realize, some light may yet be thrown on even this subject. So much for the origin of the flag. Those who would know its history must turn themselves to the result of the thorough and minute research of the Admiral, including all previously known facts, with a mass of new information now for the first time presented, in this exhaustive volume.

But as the title infers, the author has not confined himself to the history of the flag of the United States only. The first part of his studies relates to the symbols, standards, etc., of nations modern and ancient, and is prefaced with a colored plate, showing in admirable miniature their national devices as they appear to-day. In Part Second is given an account of the flags planted on the shores of America from the days of the Northmen until the adoption of the grand ensign. Part III. relates its history from 1775 to 1818. Part IV. continues the story from 1818 to 1861, of the flag of thirteen stripes and a star for each State of the Union. Part V. recites the thrilling

story of our flag in the great rebellion, and includes that of the devices of the Southern States, with colored illustrations. Part VI., of the end of the war against the union and the flag, with a chapter on State seals, arms, flags and colors. Part VII. gives the distinguishing flags of the United States navy and army, the seal and arms of the United States, an account of American yacht clubs and flags, and lastly, what will be of unusual interest to the general reader, a chapter on national and patriotic songs, with fac-similes of their original text. The army of Cornwallis laid down its arms and surrendered to the tune of Yankee Doodle, but that can hardly be considered a national song, though it is a tradition that for many years after the war the singing of it with a chorus by the whole company was the closing act of the fourth of July dinners of the New York Cincinnati. Hail Columbia, written by Joseph Hopkinson, in the summer of 1798, heads the Admiral's list. Next the Star Spangled Banner, the noble and beautiful song written by Francis Scott Key under circumstances of thrilling interest in 1814, forged in the very heat and roar of battle. It was the good fortune of the writer to hear these immortal verses sung during the recent ceremonies at the Academy of Music in Baltimore, on the sesqui-centennial anniversary of the founding of the beautiful city, not the least of whose honors it is that it was the birth-place of this song, as Maryland was of its author; and to the honor of the same old colony and gallant State be it said that as the final words broke upon the ear the whole audience rose and joined in the chorus, and attested their devotion to the Star Spangled Banner, its triumph and its perpetuity. Next to these in popular favor is "Columbia the Gem of the Ocean," better known as the "Red, White and Blue," by Thomas à Becket, of Philadelphia. Grandeur than all in its high elevation of thought is the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," by Julia Ward Howe. "Mine Eyes have seen the Glory of the Coming of the Lord,"—a lyric worthy of an inspired pythoness or a Miriam in the wilderness—as Admiral Preble justly terms it, "the one great poem of the war," well worthy of the race of patriots who have represented Rhode Island in camp and council, in the chair of the colonial governors and in the halls of the Continental Congress. Of all these fac-similes are given.

It is impossible to convey to the reader by eulogy or analysis even a faint idea of the magnitude or the merit of the work of Admiral Preble, to which he has devoted twenty years of such leisure as his profession has allowed. An article written by him on "The First Appearance of the Flag of the Free," that was published in the Portland Daily Advertiser in 1853, is the nucleus about which this mass of incident and illustration has since clustered. With what patient industry it has been collated, with what

lucidity it has been arranged, with what grace of simple narrative it has been written, and with what luxuriant elegance of typography and illustration it now appears, we commend our readers to examine for themselves. Those who would judge it from its title to be a dry reference volume, will find it, on the contrary, a table book to which to turn for an hour's amusement. Turn its pages where one will, the attention is arrested and the interest aroused. Subject and name indexes add incalculably to its value.

No library should be without it, and every ship that leaves our ports, national or private property, should carry this noble testimony to the glory of our flag.

The work has been published by subscription, the amount of which has not as yet covered the material outlay. The price is six and a half dollars. The book is national. It should have a national support.

CONSPECTUS OF THE HISTORY OF
POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. By WALTER R. HOUGHTON. 4to, pp. 82. MUNGER, DAVIS & CO. Indianapolis, Ind., 1880.

This is a work on a new plan composed of numerous charts and diagrams presenting to the eye views of the history of parties in the United States with text in explanation. The eye is the simplest, best, most certain organ of instruction—things seen are much more firmly implanted in the memory than things heard. The writer will never forget a visit paid to President Lincoln in the crisis of the war. Shown into the study of this industrious and earnest man, he found him intent upon a chart of the Southern States shaded in black of various depths of color. "Here, sir, said the President, is a map showing the strength and weakness of the South as a military people. These shadings represent the comparative negro population in each of the districts marked. Here," placing his fingers on the blackest spot on the map, "here the Union has the most friends."

The conspectus prepared by Mr. Houghton, while as he claims it to be thoroughly non-partisan, presents in the same striking way the past and present relations of the political parties to each other and to the nation. It is quite impossible to give in language an adequate description of the extent of information embodied in these charts; the first shows the rise and fall of American political parties from 1789 to 1880, both inclusive. Here can be traced (taking their departure from the Whig party of the Revolution which divided at its close) the two great parties which, in various forms and various changes of platform and names form the history of our popular government. Particularists and

the partisans of strong government, before the adoption of the Constitution of 1789, became the great Federal and Democratic-Republican parties after the adoption of that instrument. Later the Federals fell to pieces, but parties were soon formed again under the banners of Whig and Democratic. The Whig in turn gave way, and the great Republican party, which has ruled the country for twenty years, and bids fair to hold national power for as many more, took its place. Their continuous movement is clearly depicted in the chart, while a large number of advisory notes explain the general policy of each administration.

The political chart shows in colors every election district in the United States and its political complexion at the recent election and is itself a lesson which the memory cannot easily let go. The politics of the different States and the relative strength of parties, are displayed in an exceedingly ingenious manner, and still another map shows the acquisition of territory and its distribution among political divisions between 1776 and 1874.

The text of the conspectus is clearly divided into sections—Colonial, Revolutionary and the Confederation. Each administration with its political issues is treated in separate detail. Then follow the platforms of the political parties from 1789 to 1880, and a list of governors of all the States. The book is well printed, the maps are excellent specimens of print in colors, the divisions of the text are strongly marked, and the work as a whole an admirable reference volume which the library of no person interested in our political history should be without. To public libraries it is indispensable.

HISTORY OF WINDHAM COUNTY, CONNECTICUT. By ELLEN D. LARNED. Vol. II., 1760-1880. Pp. 600. Published by the Author. Printed by CHARLES HAMILTON, Worcester, Mass., 1880.

The first volume of this admirable county history appeared in 1874. A brief analysis of its pages may be found in the magazine for March, 1878 [II. 192.] It is quite enough to say that the work has been continued in the same spirit of tireless energy, painstaking research and modesty of style with which it was begun, while to the general reader the subject matter treated of is of more interest than the story of the remoter days which were the subject of the first volume. It is divided into four periods. That from 1740 to 1775 is mainly devoted to town and church affairs, full of local detail, as becomes such a history. The next, 1764-1783, Windham in the Revolution, is a mine of information concerning the composition of the First Connecticut Regiment, and contains some quo-

tations from unpublished letters from camp, among which one giving some details concerning the death of Know-ton. Unfortunately the spot of his burial is not yet decided. The succeeding chapter tells the story of Windham after the Revolution with its salient incidents of the banishment of the Tories, whose sympathies with the destroyers of New London had aroused an inextinguishable animosity, the adoption of the Federal Constitution and the visit of President Washington to Ashford in 1789. The volume is brought down to the present year, the closing chapters reciting the progress in industry of the thriving county, the conditions of whose population, however, lying as it does within the radius of New York, are gradually changing. An interesting chapter is that which treats of Miss Prudence Crandall's school and the sufferings she endured at the hands of the law as well as the people for persisting in her determination to instruct the negro in defiance of statute and public opinion, a lesson which may teach us charity to those upon whom the light seems to dawn too slowly for our zeal. Windham's Frig battle, celebrated in history and verse, has a critical notice. The volume is handsomely illustrated with steel engraved portraits and photographs, and indeed is a model of this most desirable form of local history. There is a good index.

THE HISTORY AND TRADITIONS OF MARBLEHEAD. By SAMUEL ROADS, JR. 8vo. pp. 423. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1880.

The historic town of Marblehead, the name of which was once known, wherever an American ship carried the stars and stripes, as the home of a race of seamen unequalled for skill and hardihood, was settled about the year 1629, and took its name from the rocky headlands which line the shore of the Great Neck. In the earlier days the plantation was called Marble Harbor. In the year 1636 the ship *Desire*, of one hundred and twenty tons burden, sailed out from the harbor to the West Indies on a commercial voyage, and returned with a cargo in which were some negroes who were supposed to have been the first slaves brought into the colony. The industry of the settlement now naturally turned itself exclusively to ship building and the fisheries, for which their position was admirably suited; and by statute it was ordered that no one inhabiting the town should have any other accommodation than that usually given to fishermen. An independent body of men also, were the inhabitants of Marblehead; regardless of the laws of the colony where they restricted their personal freedom, and indifferent to church ordinances, they gave great concern to the over-much ruling magistrates and elders who composed the General Court. In 1648 the settlement was set apart from Salem as



a town, with all the rights and privileges that the word implied in the Massachusetts Colony. Famous Hugh Peters, the nonconformist opponent of Laud, and later the regicide, was a grantee of land within its precincts. The witchcraft delusion had strong hold on the ignorant fishermen, whose occupation seems naturally to lead to superstitious credence, and one poor woman fell a victim to the mad frenzy which crazed wiser brains than theirs.

During the troubles that preceded the revolution and the revolution itself, Marblehead never faltered in her allegiance to the cause, and her sons did effective service. No brigade in the Continental army did more hard work than that of General John Glover. Their skill as boatmen was of the utmost importance on many critical occasions. On the retreat from Long Island they may almost be said to have saved the army, and at the crossing of the Delaware they led the way to the victory which gave fresh courage to the disheartened country. Of all the chapters in this most excellent volume there is none which is of more interest in these centennial days. Nor does the record of Marblehead stop here. The hardy sailors were to be found on every one of the celebrated ships which lifted the fame of the American marine to the high post it won in the war of 1812; and her privateers were no less active. Over one thousand men took service in this war for free trade and sailors' rights.

The local history of the town and its people is told with minute care, and in a manner unusual in books of this character. An appendix supplies a muster roll of Glover's regiment. There is an abundance of appropriate illustration of persons and places. We commend this volume as readable and entertaining beyond any work of this nature that has fallen under our observation. It has a well-arranged table of contents, a thorough index, and is printed as the Riverside Press prints all that falls to it to do.

HISTORY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

By MARY L. BOOTH. Illustrated. 8vo. pp. 929. E. P. DUTTON & Co. New York, 1880.

This is a reprint, evidently, from the plates of the first edition of 1859, without any corrections, as none of the errors have received any attention at the hands of the authoress. This is to be regretted, as the researches of the last twenty years have thrown a flood of light upon many obscure points in the history of the city, exploded numerous traditions, and, in a word, provided material for a new work. At least no changes appear in this second edition of Mrs. Booth's work until page 753 is reached, from which the subsequent pages have been revised, or it would be more correct to say rewritten. Chapter XXI. of the old volume, which recites the events which transpired from 1855 to 1860,

has been considerably enlarged, and an additional chapter, No. XXIII, gives the important history of the city from 1860 to 1880. The appendix which appears in the first edition containing the charter, etc., has been dropped, and the index has been reset to conform to the changes in the volume.

Notwithstanding the incompleteness and occasional inaccuracies of this history, it still holds its place as the best compendium which has yet appeared. Its scale is broad and comprehensive, and it is written in an agreeable style. The talented authoress has no doubt met with a return so inadequate to the vast amount of labor bestowed in what in her case was original research, as not to feel herself warranted in the additional expense that a thorough revised edition of her first work would have required.

It seems a pity that a city like New York, with its curious traditions of the Dutch and English occupation, the shifting scene of its buildings and population, its changes of manners and customs, its gradual growth from a quaint Dutch village with its single tavern and its Bowling green for the amusement of its inhabitants, to a great commercial metropolis, with its miles of wharves and streets, its colossal parks and water-works, its great hotels and its endless places of amusement, its depositories of art and of literature; a city whose radius reaches, as that of old Rome, for fifty miles in every direction, covering great rivers, populous cities, all subordinate to her central influence, and extending to a circumference which embraces a population of nearly three millions of souls, all easily and rapidly accessible by a thousand ways of travel, should lack to-day a complete history, even a proper hand book, to guide the stranger to its attractions, historical as well as contemporaneous. When will some one of our great publishers whose shelves are lined with their thousand issues of ephemeral interest, realize the fact that in such a work they could find not only honor, but permanent and continuous profit?

Mrs. Booth's volume is handsomely printed and admirably illustrated with views of houses and portraits of noted personages.

THE NORTH AMERICANS OF ANTIQUITY, THEIR ORIGIN, MIGRATIONS AND TYPE OF CIVILIZATION CONSIDERED. By

JOHN T. SHORT. Second edition. 8vo, pp. 544. HARPER & BROTHERS. New York, 1880.

In no department of scientific enquiry has the American mind shown more patient industry, more intelligent enquiry and more calm philosophic deductions than in that of American archæology. Bancroft's great work on the Native Races of the Pacific States, a field which the sudden overrunning of the western territory

found almost virgin soil for the archæological or linguistic enquirer, at once placed the American on the same plane with the European explorer, and allowed of comparison between the remains of the extinct races of the two continents.

The special purpose of Mr. Short's work is to consider the results of the explorations of the mounds and cliff dwellings of the West with the traditional history of the ancient races of Mexico and Central America. Each year fresh discoveries add to the testimony of some connection of the ancient peoples of these continents and their influence upon each other. Even as we pen these pages word comes to us from one of the most eminent of our Indian linguists of evidence of a possible connection if not identity between the Pawnees and the Lipans of Mexico.

In the course of his enquiry the author of the volume before us presents a view of the civilization of the early if not primitive inhabitants of Western America and Central America as drawn from the archæological remains of the one and the traditions and architecture of the other; the final purpose being, in his words, that the work shall serve as a manual of information relating to the earliest period of North American antiquity and as an introduction to ancient American history.

A recital of the titles of the twelve chapters will give an idea of the method of treatment: I. Ancient Inhabitants of the United States. II. Antiquity of Man on the Western Continent. III. Diversity of Opinion as to the Origin of the Ancient Americans. IV. Origin of the Americans as viewed from the Standpoint of Science. V. Traditional History of the Origin of the Maya Nations. VI. Traditional History of the Origin of the Nahua Nations. VII. The Ancient Pueblos and Cliff-Dwellers. VIII. Ancient American Civilization and Supposed Old World Analogies; Architecture, Sculpture and Hieroglyphics. IX. Chronology, Calendar Systems and Religious Analogies. X. Language and its Relation to North American Migrations. XI. Probabilities that America was Peopled from the Old World considered Geographically and Physically. XII. Conclusion. A good index completes the volume and greatly adds to its value to students.

Mr. Short has arrived at these, among other conclusions: that the mound builders came into the country in comparatively small numbers, but become extremely populous during their residence; that they were essentially an agricultural people and extended themselves over a great extent of country; that there is no evidence furnished by the measurement of crania that an American race unique in itself and distinct from the rest of mankind ever existed; that the colonization of America by transatlantic people was not dependent upon a land bridge at a remote period, but possibly even without compass

through the agency of the equatorial current and trade winds, and, finally, that proofs of facts unquestionably point to Northern Asia as the ancient home of a large share of the tribes of North America, civilized and savage; and in view of the analogies between the civilizations developed in isolated quarters, indicating a "uniformity of mental operation and a variety of mental inspiration," he considers that the preponderance of evidence is that the American Continent received its population from the old world.

OUR INDIAN WARDS. By GEORGE W. MANYPENNY. 8vo, pp. 436. ROBERT CLARKE & Co. Cincinnati, 1880.

The author of this earnest plea for justice to the red man was himself Commissioner of Indian Affairs from March 1853, until March, 1857, and Chairman of the Sioux Committee of 1876. Our Indian population he estimates to number about two hundred and seventy-five thousand souls, who are in fact, as he terms them, the wards of the United States. As such they are entitled not only to the protection but to the fatherly care of our Government. They are in a direct and intricate relation with it. In treating this delicate subject it is hard to say whether there has been too great leaning to its sentimental or its practical side; whether the romance which clothes the painted denizen of the forest has not been as fatal to his interest as the hard realism which the frontiersman carries with him as a first condition of success in his struggle with nature. It is not for the Government to take account of either of these extremes. Its duty is plain—the fulfillment of its obligation to the Indian and their enforcement against its own citizens. For excellent as may be the right of colonial charters and imperial cessions as against foreign powers the right of conquest has never been asserted against these indigenous owners of the soil.

Until quite recently the opinion has been current among our people that the Indian population is destined soon to disappear. This error was, we believe, first corrected by Colonel Mallery in an interesting tract published by the Philosophical Society of Washington in 1877 [Mag. Am. Hist., II. 704], and the ratio of increase shown to be steadily progressive. The Indian question therefore grows in importance. Mr. Manypenny does not undertake any continuous history of the Indian race or its conflicts with the aggressive whites, but presents in a condensed and satisfactory form a relation of the various phases in which complications have arisen and continue to arise. As regards the vexed question whether the civil administration of Indian affairs should be entrusted to the War Department or a special bureau, he is explicit in

his judgment that the first is greatly to be deprecated. Certain it is that all experiments in civilization through military agencies have failed with us as everywhere else in the world. On the other hand, only the presence of a military force sufficient to command the respect of both whites and Indians, and under command of prudent officers with large discretionary powers can secure quiet and obedience to law. As the only alternative of extermination is civilization, and as civilization is impossible with continued migration, which will always prove destructive to the energies and hopes of an agricultural population, the suggestion is pertinent whether the Indians may not be made self-supporting by a formation of semi-military, semi-civil colonies after the manner of the commanderies in India in which the Indians would be regimented under command of white officers, by whom they would be rallied and led in time of lawless invasion of their reservations. We heartily commend the work of Mr. Manypenny to all who interest themselves in this important subject.

PREADAMITES; OR A DEMONSTRATION OF THE EXISTENCE OF MAN BEFORE ADAM, together with a demonstration of their Condition, Antiquity, and Racial Affinities, and progressive Dispersion over the Earth; with charts and other illustrations. By ALEXANDER WINCHELL. 8vo. pp. 506. S. C. GRIGGS & Co. Chicago, 1880.

The central idea of this work the author declares in his preface to be human preadamitism, all other views presented being subsidiary or collateral. Starting upon his investigation without a predetermined opinion, the conclusion arrived at is that which the thesis implies. The linguistic interpretation is no longer the sole argument, race-histories and the discovered laws of animal life now being brought to the support of the conclusion. Beyond this the author admits that to gratify the curiosity of the reader he has been tempted into the domain of speculation, while he distinctly maintains the difference between the proven facts and the deductions which to him seem their natural consequence.

In the result of the reasoning the general truth of the biblical record is accepted, and the divine creation of Adam not disputed, even in the affirmation that the scriptural Adam had a human father and mother—in which we suppose the author to mean that the divine afflatus was breathed upon Adam, first of his race. Thus he repudiates the idea that mankind are not one in origin, and, to use his words, holds that "the blood of the first human stock flows in the veins of every living human being." In a word, while he declines to recognize Adam as the starting point of humanity, he endeavors to show that he was in

existence before the "first man" of the Hebrews. Furthermore, he rejects the theory that man has risen to his high estate by a process of evolution from the organic grade of his birth. So much for the preface, in which it will be admitted that the author has clearly and distinctly set forth his conviction and his purpose.

An analytic conspectus happily divides the twenty-nine chapters of the book into four classes, the titles of which afford an idea of their scope: I. The data of the discussion. II. The affirmative argument. III. The negative argument. IV. Pendants to the discussion. Beginning with an examination of the biblically based belief touching the origin of our species, and noticing the silence of Genesis in regard to the preanochites not of the time of Adam, he leads the reader through an elaborate examination of the genealogy of races and their distinctions, to his final discussion of the condition of primitive man. Here he claims that the prehistoric man, as he is reconstructed in the light of scientific inquiry was in all probability inferior to the Adamic race. The volume is admirably edited, and contains a large number of well-executed engravings of various types of the human race, in illustration of the different stages of the argument, and an excellent index greatly adds to its value as a reference volume for the student of this charming but misty subject.

THE HISTORY OF REDDING, CONN., FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE PRESENT TIME. With Notes on the Adams, Banks, Burton (and numerous other) Families. By CHARLES BURR TODD. 8vo. pp. 242. THE JOHN A. GRAY PRESS, ETC. CO. New York, 1880. For sale by Charles Scribner's Sons.

The materials for the history of this ancient Connecticut settlement have been drawn from the ancient records of the parish, and the files of papers in the State Library at Hartford. Redding, in its beginning, was a part of the town of Fairfield, to which it belonged for nearly forty years. Its original name was, in the author's opinion, probably Reading, but at the time of incorporation in 1761 it was called Redding by a vote; at least such is the tradition, though no such entry appears on the record. Mr. Todd has confined himself to the strictly local history of this not uninteresting town. The chapters of revolutionary history and incidents supply many valuable details upon the enlistment of troops, and the position of the camps, some of the remains of which are still visible. In the appendix may be found the pay roll of Captain William Judd's company, in Colonel Wyly's regiment, encamped at Reading 1778-9, and the names borne on the list of the Society of Cincinnati of Connecticut. Another chapter is devoted

to the story of the action of Redding in the late civil war. An important part of the work is the chapter which narrates the history of the Congregational Church, the first religious body organized in the town, in 1729. This is followed by similar accounts of the other organizations. The book is in excellent taste, and is a valuable contribution to a most important branch of history.

THE HUGUENOTS IN THE NIPMUCK

COUNTRY OR OXFORD PRIOR TO 1713. By GEORGE F. DANIELS, with an introduction by OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES. 16mo., pp. 168. ESTES & LAURIAT. Boston, 1880.

The word Nipmuck or Nipnet signifies fresh water. It was applied to all those Indian tribes which dwelled on the inland tract now known as Southern Central Massachusetts, to distinguish them from those who lived on the sea coast. They are described as subject clans of little spirit or distinction, and were readily civilized by the whites because they found in them a protection against their more aggressive and powerful neighbors. Yet when the great effort of King Philip was made to overthrow the white domination the Nipmucks joined with their race, and the civilized Indian developed the same spirit of native atrocity as the untamed tribes. Perhaps the same reason for this defection may be found in the inferiority to which they were subjected even by the most humane of their new friends and teachers. The town of Oxford has its site near the middle of the territory thus described. The grant was made to a number of Englishmen in 1683, and the place named after the English city. The lines of survey enclosed, besides the present town of Oxford, parts of Charlton, Auburn, Dudley and Southbridge. Dudley took its name from Joseph Dudley, one of the six original proprietors of the place, who appears to have managed the entire property. The original deed found among old papers in London in 1872, is now in the possession of the New York Historical Society. It is to be hoped that at some day, by a plan of equitable exchange, the important documents pertaining to each of the old thirteen colonies may find their final resting place in the State societies of each.

The Huguenots of France had always looked with admiring eye upon the American colonies, and after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, which compelled them to seek new homes, and dissatisfied with the life of cities to which they were necessarily compelled to fly, came to America in large numbers and settled in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Virginia, and especially in New York and South Carolina, in the latter of which States their influence is strongly felt to the

present day. The chief agent in their removal to the New England colonies was Gabriel Bernow, a merchant of Rochelle. Taking refuge in London he there met one of the proprietors of the Oxford grant, and in 1686 entered into an agreement for the settlement upon it of thirty French Protestant families. It is to trace the progress of this colony—a difficult matter because of the want of documentary evidence—that Mr. Daniels has devoted his industry and intelligence. This interesting volume recites the chequered experience of the colonists exposed to the Indians on the one hand and not always in accord with the proprietors, who exercised their authority with somewhat of arrogance. Bernow was an admirable character, full of French tact and amenity, blended with directness and firmness of purpose. This volume is a valuable addition to our knowledge of the Huguenots in Massachusetts. The story of their settlements in the colony of Rhode Island was told by Elisha R. Potter in No. 5 of the Rhode Island Historical Tracts published by Sidney S. Rider in 1879, a notice of which appeared in the Magazine [III. 643.] Together they lead to an earnest desire for the appearance of the more general treatment of the subject in the volume soon to be issued on the "Huguenot Emigration to America," by the Rev. Charles W. Baird of Rye, Westchester County, with whose name as a valued contributor to these pages our readers are familiar.

SURPRISE AND CAPTURE OF PAULUS

HOECK. Commemorative Oration before the People of Jersey City, August 19, 1879. By CHARLES H. WINFIELD. 8vo, pp. 73. J. M. MULLONE. Jersey City, 1879.

The readers of the Magazine, remembering the recent exhaustive treatment of the bit of local history known as the affair at Block House Point in the September (1880) number [V., 161], will be prepared for a paper of the same character. We have repeatedly taken occasion to commend the monograph as the true way of writing history. The same subject may be presented in different lights, but none is as valuable as the narrative, confined to an impartial recital of all the facts, large and small, leaving the deductions from them and the place they bear in the philosophy of history to other hands. In the story of Block House Point, Mr. Winfield had before him the always difficult problem of how to make a defeat, or at least a disappointment, palatable to a patriotic people. In the recital of the brilliant episode of the surprise of Paulus Hoeck by Light Horse Harry, the story was not difficult to tell. The writer had under his hand in easy reach the rich local treasures of the New York Historical Society, the result of the labor and liberality of

generations of New Yorkers "to the manor born," the full files of the press of Rivington, Robertson and Gaine, and the abundant manuscript collection of the period. Not the least interesting and by far the most valuable part of the pamphlet is the grouping in the appendix of all the authorities, including every attainable scrap of information. What is more difficult to gather, and more rare to find gathered in most papers is the mass of local detail; the story of the roads and the character of the people who lived by and trod them in their daily lives, and the thousand incidents that give them historical interest. The topographical description of Iaulus Hoek, the ferry which had here its landing place, the tavern which sheltered the wayfarers, the liberty pole, the inland tavern of the Three Pigeons, famous in revolutionary lore, are all described with a minute accuracy delightful to the antiquary, while the thrilling story of the dashing exploit gives scope bravely availed of for an outburst of patriotic enthusiasm which sounds like a centennial echo of the shouts of victory which shook the Bergen hills and, wafted across Hudson, stirred the pulses of the captive city a hundred years ago.

ON THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND

MODE OF GOVERNMENT OF THE ANCIENT MEXICANS. (From the Twelfth Annual Report of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, 1879.) 8vo. By AD. F. BANDELIER. Salem Press. Salem, 1879.

Notice has been invited in the Magazine to the preceding papers on Mexican History contributed by this learned scholar to the tenth and eleventh reports of the Peabody Museum. These treatises on the Art of War and Mode of Warfare of the Ancient Mexicans, on the Tenure and Distribution of Land among the Ancient Mexicans, and the Customs with Respect to Inheritance, were reviewed in the September, 1879, number of the Magazine. [III., 588, 592].

The present paper is of equal interest as a study of ethnic development, and is treated in the same thorough and scholarly manner, reminding one of the exhaustive *études*, the delight of French scientific students, which fairly bristle with quotations and authorities, necessary, of course, when the subject is recondite, as in the present case, and the conclusions too novel to ensure respect without a clear statement of historical premises from which they spring. The conclusions of the preceding treatises were essentially negative, disproving the existence, or as Mr. Bandelier puts it, proving the non-existence of a condition of society among the Mexicans which has for three centuries been regarded as

prevailing. In the first, the existence of military despotism was disproved; in the second, of feudalism among the natives of Mexico. The present, a deduction from these negative premises, is to show what the organization of Mexican original society was, and the status it is entitled to hold in the history of social progress—in a word, a reconstruction of the Mexican government and institutions as they really were.

In the first place, no common or mutual tie connected the several races within the boundary lines of Mexico; each was independent under its chiefs. Hence there was no state or empire embracing all tribes; and as a sequence, the tribe was the highest form of social organization. The confederacy of tribes was limited to purposes of war, and that not for conquest, but subsistence. The tribal society was based on kin and property. The kins were clusters, who in the beginning derived from the mother; but later, as the family idea developed, the descent passed from the female to the male. Such is the tradition of the earliest settlement of man in Mexico. The tale of Votan ascribes that of Chiapas to seven families.

The first appearance of the Mexicans in the northern sections of Mexico was in the middle of the thirteenth century. They came as a cluster of seven kins, united by a common language and worship. Their names are stated, and were perpetuated as late as 1690 among the Indian wards of the present city of Mexico, which only disappeared with their communal lands after the secession of Mexico from Spain, not fifty years ago. When the Mexicans reached the central valley of Mexico they found life difficult among the tribes already there. Separations ensued, and the kins divided into two sections, the seceders settling apart from the main body. The elder settlement remained at Tenuchtitlan (ancient Mexico) "the place of the prickly pear;" the new formed the Pueblo of Tlatilulco. They were neighbors and rivals within half a century of the Spanish conquest. In 1473, after a short but bloody struggle, the Pueblo of Tlatilulco was overthrown and the people deprived of their rights and treated as outcasts, degraded to the rank of "women." Later they were rehabilitated, but there was nevermore good feeling between the conqueror and the conquered.

It has been shown that aboriginal Mexico could have neither nobility nor patriciate, nor yet had it any hereditary caste of warriors or of priests. Artisans and traders were not held to the agricultural tillage of their (tlalmilli) garden-lots, though they enjoyed no other exceptional privilege.

Woman among the aboriginal Mexicans was hardly more than a chattel in the power of man. She was compelled to marry or was regarded as a reprobate or outcast. The man who failed for two years to cultivate his garden lot was expelled

from the bond of kinship. And these outcasts formed a second class in society, which gradually increased in numbers.

The family name was unknown, the kin claiming the right to name its members. Education and training were obligatory on the part of the kin to its members. The houses of the youth joined the temple of worship. Marriage was controlled by the kin. It was prohibited between close relations, and discouraged among members of the same kin. Members of the kin enjoyed common burial. The kin protected its members, and punished injuries to each. Intemperance in public was punished by public degradation when the offender was under seventy. Concubinage in certain cases was permitted, and seduction in some punished by death. Death also was the punishment for assuming the garment of the opposite sex; and it was a capital crime to assume fraudulently the insignia of an office. Adultery was punished by the public execution of both parties. Theft was punished according to degree of offence, and restitution even to the taking of life. There were varieties of punishment, though never by the lash. There were prison houses.

The execution of all these penalties required for the kin a regulated administration. They were of necessity elective, hence the Calpulli was a democratic organization. A number of old men formed a council and held highest authority. Their number probably varied with the numbers of the kins. They exercised criminal as well as civil jurisdiction.

We can not follow the author further in his minute reconstruction of this remarkable people. The military relation of the tribe to the chiefs, the functions of the tribal council, and finally, of the head chief, King of Mexico, or Emperor Anahuac, as sometimes called, are clearly described. It is pleasing to know that still a fourth paper is promised by Mr. Bandelier, on the relation of the medicine men, or priests, to the tribe.

THE BATTLE OF GROTON HEIGHTS;

THE MASSACRE OF FORT GRISWOLD, AND THE BURNING OF NEW LONDON. Historical sketch by JOHN T. COPP of Groton. Address by LEONARD WOOLSEY BACON, of Norwich, on the ninety-eighth anniversary, September 6, 1869. 16mo, pp. 30. The Groton Heights Centennial Committee. 1879.

The celebration which this pamphlet records was intended as a preliminary to a more thorough commemoration of the famous affair, in which British atrocity and American courage were alike displayed to a degree which will never be forgotten. In the burning of New London Arnold added the title of parricide to that of traitor, and at Fort Griswold Colonel

Ledyard acquired immortal fame, and the British arms were stained by an act of cowardly atrocity, which unfortunately was not without many parallels in their conduct towards the American patriots.

HISTORY OF THE ADMINISTRATION

OF JOHN DE WITT, GRAND PENSIONARY OF HOLLAND. By JAMES GEDDES. Vol. I., 1623-1654. 8vo, pp. 398. HARPER & BROTHERS, New York, 1880.

This is not in any sense, the author informs us, the story of a hero, nor yet was the period in which the Councillor Pensionary lived heroic; but it is nevertheless a praiseworthy and most successful effort to rescue from the dust of libraries and the musty pages of entombed documents an important record of the history of the Republic, to whose example we owe much of our political wisdom, and to whose generous assistance in the darkest hour of our own revolutionary strife with Great Britain we were indebted for the sinews of war.

John De Witt was born into the "Brahminical caste," as the aristocratic race which ruled the States General after the manner of an Oligarchical Republic, is fitly termed, in the year 1623. Such at least is his own entry in the inscription roll of the University of Leyden. Balen, however, gives the year as 1625, and Mr. Geddes does not consider the date as settled, nor yet is the place of his birth known; and a similar uncertainty attends the story of his childhood, his youth and the life of his family. In 1641, together with his elder brother, Cornelius, he entered the University of Leyden. Nothing is known of the effect of their scholastic training. They left Leyden in 1645 without having taken a degree in law, and in October of the same year set out from Dordrecht, where their married sisters resided, on their travels. The next winter they passed at Angers in France, and they took their degree of doctor of laws at its university. Leaving Angers, they traveled through France, and after a protracted stay in Paris moved slowly to Calais, and thence passed into England, arriving at London at the eventful hour when the army tore the King from the Parliament Commissioners, and was marching upon London.

Returned to Dordrecht in the summer of 1647, they were admitted as advocates before the Holland courts, and began the practice of the law, John occupying his spare moments in the composition of a work on mathematics. With some pleasing descriptions of the interior life of the patrician family, whose intercourse with each other was carried on with somewhat of formal courtesy, the first book closes.

In the second the sources and origin of De Witt's political creed are searched out with



minute fidelity. The times were stirring. The French alliance with Holland was a branch of the master policy of Richelieu to counterbalance the threatening power of Spain and Austria. Spain had offered Holland a truce, but its efforts were counteracted by the agents of Richelieu at the Hague, aided by Prince Frederick of Orange in an antagonism, which was not unusual between the House of Orange and the States General, who were distrustful of the French alliance, and feared a compromise between Spain and France, with perhaps their own independence as the price of the transaction. This distrust ended in the breaking of the French alliance. The policy of De Witt to France, in the sequel, the author happily characterizes in these words: "Thus far and no farther," a policy carried out later by William the Third. Next in order of the sources of De Witt's political creed comes the attitude of Holland towards England, in which again the States General and the Orange faction were in direct opposition. The Hollanders were for maintaining friendly relations with the Parliament, while the clergy were shocked by the execution of Charles the First, and the House of Orange endeavored to profit by their disaffection.

The third book gives an account of the Great Convocation and the establishment of the complete sovereignty of the oligarchy on the death of the Prince of Orange. The influence of De Witt on the Convocation does not appear in any known documents. Little remains of this period beyond the records of the official business done.

Books IV., V. and VI. recite with the same care the narrative of the first Anglo-Dutch war, the negotiation for peace, and the astute manner with which De Witt in 1754 tricked Holland into the passage of an act of exclusion of the House of Orange in the person of the Prince, or any of his line, as Stadtholder or Admiral of their Province. By his self-contained policy and sagacious management of men, he secured the triumph of his design. Mr. Geddes condemns the underhand working of De Witt, in which the reader will detect the extreme wariness of the Dutch mind, and a distrust for which the tortuous diplomacy of the time is sufficient excuse.

In his summing up, however, of De Witt's character, he claims for him "that he carried the principles which, at his entrance in public life, he had found in complete working force, to a clearly victorious result. He had not created them; he had not even established them; but finding them around him at work, he confirmed their supremacy and secured for them a long triumph." But the policy of breaking up the territory of Holland into cantonal atoms he condemns, and the lesson then taught is not without its value to us in a time when State sovereignty has not yet lost its fascination to men who consider

broad nationality as incompatible with individual or territorial rights. Here the volume closes. The sequel will be awaited with interest. Mr. Geddes has shown his power to deal with a large subject in a large and easy way, and abundantly compensates for the want of material by the skilful handling of that which he has found.

COMPLETE ARMY REGISTER OF THE UNITED STATES (1779 to 1879), together with the Volunteer General Staff during the War with Mexico, and a Register of all the Appointments by the President of the United States in the Volunteer Service during the Rebellion, with the Official Military Record of each Officer; also

A MILITARY HISTORY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF WAR, and of each Staff Department of the Army, with various tables relating to the army, and other important military information compiled from the Official Records. Compiled, edited and published by THOMAS H. S. HAMERSLY. 8vo. pp. 928 and 379. Index pp. xxxvi. T. H. S. HAMERSLY. Washington, D. C.

This comprehensive title will inform the reader of the nature and contents of this extended volume. The Army and Navy Register endorses it as "the most valuable military book of reference that has ever been published in this country." The list of officers who have served in the regular army is said to be absolutely complete, as printed in this work, and it is equally important in the correctness and thoroughness of the other lists given. Certainly no reference library should be without it.

We notice errors in names of revolutionary officers and shall endeavor in the Magazine to make some corrections as information is received. For these, however, Mr. Hamersly cannot be held accountable. For instance, on page 25, in the list of officers of the 1st New York Regiment of Infantry, the name of Benjamin Ledyard is printed as ——— Lydiard. A letter in the writer's possession in regard to the dropping of John Copp from the rolls on the reorganization of this regiment, is authority for this correction. Again no mention is made of the regiment of artillery of which John Lamb was the colonel and Ebenezer Stevens, the lieutenant-colonel, which distinguished itself at the siege of Yorktown in 1781. Indeed the name of Colonel Lamb does not appear in the index.

Thorough examination is now being made by competent gentlemen in several States, for instance, by John Blair Linn in Pennsylvania, General Stryker in New Jersey, and Professor Asa

Bird Gardner in New York, for information concerning the muster rolls of the organization in each of these States during the revolution.

HISTORY OF NORTH CAROLINA, FROM THE EARLIEST DISCOVERIES TO THE PRESENT TIME. By JOHN W. MOORE. 8vo. 2 vols., pp. 495-530. ALFRED WILLIAMS & Co. Raleigh, 1880.

The school history of North Carolina by this author was noticed in the Magazine [V. 159], when occasion was taken to express satisfaction at its general excellent and non-partisan tone. The old and well known story of North Carolina from its settlement to the close of the revolution, forms the bulk of the first volume of the present extended work. Mr. Moore expresses his indebtedness to his townsman, Col. Wheeler, for unused material. So far well. But we must take direct issue against the conclusions of the author as to modern events. He writes from a local standpoint, and reasserts the claim to State Sovereignty which already has once deluged the country with blood and will again if the doctrine supposed to have been settled is again instilled into the hearts and minds of the youth of the South. No one will deny that in the Southern States the colonial system of the last century, with its local jealousies and narrow antagonisms, still prevails, while the Northern tier, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, has been moulded by the force of circumstance and the flood of emigration, into a great nation, which now controls and for a period the end of which is beyond the discernment of living man, will continue to control the destinies of this continent.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF GROTON, MASSACHUSETTS, 1662-1707. Edited by SAMUEL A. GREEN. 8vo. pp., 200. Groton, 1880.

These records are known as the Indian Roll. They are earliest extant of the town, and probably the first made of any meeting held within its limits. They are copied from the only book of records kept during the Indian wars, and were found, after being lost sight of for some time, in 1807. They are now edited by a vote of the town and are published in an extremely handsome manner. The general reader will of course not expect to find much of interest in the dry details of town meetings, even though the war whoops of the savage and the edge of the scalping knife occasionally echo or gleam through the mist of the past, but the work should find a place on the shelves of every historical library, and we hope the zeal which the centennial anniversaries have aroused may not flag until the records of

every one of the early settlements has been rescued from manuscripts and secured perpetuity by the manifold work of the press. In them alone must the true historian expect to find the secrets of the past. It is needless to state that the work shows patient toil and scholarly accuracy on every page. A notice of a pamphlet on the same subject, published by Dr. Green, in 1879, appeared in the Magazine [V. 156].

OBSERVATIONS ON JUDGE JONES' LOYALIST HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION—HOW FAR IS IT AN AUTHORITY? By HENRY. P. JOHNSTON. 8vo., pp. 86. D. APPLETON & Co. New York, 1880.

Mr. DeLancey's edition of Judge Jones' History of New York during the revolutionary war was noticed at the time of its appearance in the pages of the Magazine [III. 521], and it was then observed that it would not be allowed to pass without challenge and controversy. Numerous criticisms have appeared, of which, the present by Mr. Johnston, the well-known author of "The Campaign of 1776 around New York and Brooklyn," is the most careful and comprehensive.

Dividing his subject into eighteen chapters he takes up in detail sundry but by no means all of the gross errors, careless misstatements and malignant falsehoods with which the narrative of the "veracious judge" fairly reeks. Nothing seems to have been sacred to this "common scold"; neither the principles of the patriots nor the characters of the heroes of the war, nor yet even the reputation of families who were not of the political or religious creed of the unseated Judge. To have been "a Presbyterian and a Republican" was in his eyes to have reached the summit of human villainy.

It is quite impossible to note the various points taken up with precision and method by Mr. Johnston. Sufficient to say, that he has fairly proved his case in each and in a manner which admits of no reply. The pamphlet should stand side by side with the work it reviews on the shelves of every library.

One point seems to have been omitted in all previous criticisms and also in this review; to wit: that it is not probable that Judge Jones, who invariably speaks of himself in the third person with cautious reticence amounting almost to disguise, ever intended that this narrative should see the light. In his mortification at his own changed circumstances and the triumph of the hated triumvirate, his rivals on the bench and the forum, he no doubt found in his closet a safe vent for his spleen. His reputation has not profited by its long delayed posthumous publication. But the end is not yet, and other false statements even more glaring than those cor-

rected by Mr. Johnston will shortly be corrected, until it seems as though little would be left of the volumes of historical value, except the animus of the writer and the comprehensive notes of the editor.

ANNALS OF FIFTY YEARS—A HISTORY OF ABBOT ACADEMY, ANDOVER, MASS, 1829-1879. By PHILENA McKEEN and PHEBE F. McKEEN, with an introduction by EDWARD A. PARK, D.D. 8vo. pp. 259. WARREN F. DRAPER. Andover, 1880.

The idea of an academy for the education of girls in the higher branches of knowledge is not a new one. In these pages we find that in the winter of 1749 the Moravian Brethren established a Seminary at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and within nine years provided a school for the education of their daughters, where they were taught the mechanical arts befitting their sex, as well as elementary knowledge. In 1815 the Rev. Joseph Emerson began the task of elevating the system of female education; in 1823 New Hampshire granted a charter to the Adams Academy; in 1836 Bradford Academy, a mixed school, limited its work to girls. In Massachusetts, the first incorporated school for the higher education of girls, was organized in Andover. This was in the year 1828. It was incorporated by act of Legislature in 1829.

This volume recites the history of the institution and is an illustration of the benefits resulting from permanence in the administration of a school. The introduction pays a deserved tribute to the value of the services of Miss McKeen, whose name is widely known throughout the intellectual world of New England. She was of Scotch-Irish descent, a relation of Dr. Joseph McKeen, the first President of Bowdoin College, and was a beautiful example of the best traits of this conscientious, persevering and intelligent race.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY of the Gathering in England, Departure for America, and Final Settlement in New England of the First Church and Parish of Dorchester, Mass, co-incident with the settlement of the Town. Observed March 28 and June 17, 1880. 8vo. pp. 176. GEORGE H. ELLIS, Publisher. Boston, 1880.

The First Church of Dorchester, Mass., was formed in Plymouth, England, and sailed March 20 (O. S.) 1630, for America; it was established in Dorchester June 6, 1630. It was the second

church planted in the Massachusetts Colony; the third in New England.

The sermon on the occasion of the celebration, which fell on Easter Monday, was delivered by the pastor, the Rev. S. J. Barrows. This being the anniversary of the gathering in England, the reverend gentlemen confined himself to a relation of the causes which induced the emigration and a brief notice of John White and his coadjutors in the organization of the scheme of emigration which, in 1630, brought about the sailing of seventeen ships from England for America, among which, the *Mary and John*, a vessel of four hundred tons, second of the fleet, with the Dorchester emigrants. Her departure was the occasion of the gathering in Plymouth, and brought one hundred and forty emigrants to that port.

The second event in this simple story was the landing of the Puritans of the *Mary and John* on the shores of New England. This was also duly celebrated with the same pious zeal. In his sermon on this occasion the reverend pastor continued the recital, and to the text of the "vine planted in the wilderness" gave brief details of the voyages, after which, in a graceful and pleasing narrative, he presented a picture of the social, religious and political condition of the Puritan settlements and their general historic environment, continuing with brief sketches of the first ministers and closing with some general comparison between the "then and now." The lofty aim of a theocratic state he wisely pronounced to have been an exalted but impracticable ideal, and recognized that the perfect liberty the Puritans sought is only practicable where Church and State are divided. But if we have read the history of the Puritans aright, the perfect liberty they desired was for themselves and their descendants—the elect of God and none other. Narrowness of aim is the natural revolt against unrestrained license—the pendulum of religions, like that of political revolutions, swings as far to the one extreme as it has been strained by the other. Puritan exclusivism and ascetism was the result of priestly license. Fortunately the soil of America could not be confined to the culture of a single vine. Hence our political freedom and our religious liberty.

A HISTORY OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF DAYTON, OHIO, FROM 1845 TO 1880. By CLARKE McDERMOTT, M. D. Including a sketch of the early history of the Church from a posthumous manuscript of the late HENRY L. BROWN, from 1800 to 1845. 8vo, pp. 144. Journal Book and Job Printing Establishment. Dayton, Ohio, 1880.

From some early documents, showing applica-

tions to the Presbytery of Washington, it appears the church at Dayton existed prior to the spring of 1801; but it was not until 1804 that they called a regular minister in the person of the Rev. James Welsh, and no session was instituted until 1806. The first meeting house was a "small log cabin, two feet from the ground, eighteen by twenty feet, seven logs high, without chip chinking, a yellow clay daubing, clapboard roofing, held down with weight poles, rough-slab flooring, and log sealed without windows." From the picture of it given, just the place where one of the twelve apostles would have felt entirely at home.

The history of the church is traced from these small beginnings to the present day. In 1817 a building was erected, which was taken down in 1839, and a new church erected in 1841, which was in its turn taken down in 1867 and a fine new edifice erected from its materials, with new additions. Sketches of prominent persons connected with the church are given.

HISTOIRE DES ÉTATS-UNIS D'AMÉRIQUE depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours. Par FRÉDÉRIC NOLTE. 2 tomes, 8vo. pp. 479 et 514. DIDIER ET CIE. Paris, 1879.

These volumes do not pretend to present the result of any new researches into American history, nor any new deductions from old and well-known facts, but rather a grouping in an attractive form from the pages of the most modern of our general histories. To Barnes' Centenary History of the United States, which has already taken firm place in this country as the best compiled, most compact and intelligible of our modern historical compendiums, the author especially admits his extensive obligations. He names, however, in the same passage Redpath's History, and acknowledges his obligations to Laboulaye's Studies on the United States.

The first volume brings the rapid but lucid narrative, which from the extent of field it covers could not be other than summary in treatment, to the close of the revolution. It is followed by a number of *Pièces Justificatives*, some of which will be gladly received by our own local students; for instance, a translation from the Latin of the Letters of Patent of Henry VII of England, of the 5th March, 1495-6, permitting John Cabot, citizen of Venice, and his sons, to navigate under the English flag in search of new lands; the Commission of the King (of France) to the Sieur de Monts for the settlement of La Cadie, Canada, and other places in new France; the remainder are translations of documents well-known to Americans but of peculiar value to the French reader.

The second volume opens with an account of

the condition of the United States after the war, and notes the organization of the Episcopal Church in 1785 and the opposition made to the ordination of the first bishop. Succeeding chapters recite the administration of the several Presidents from Washington to Hayes. The story of the causes, conduct and results of the civil war is related without expression of feeling, indeed without apparent bias on either side, and a philosophic deduction is rarely met with. The final chapters are essentially statistical and present well arranged tables of the financial and industrial progress of the country. The *Pièces Justificatives* give the Constitution and the treaties of peace at present existing between the United States and foreign powers.

The book, it will be observed from this analysis, is intended for French readers, and is admirably suited to an easy comprehension of our history and present condition, and we gratefully accept it, not as a contribution to our history but to the knowledge of our history by a people to whom we owe a debt of inextinguishable gratitude as well as of warmest sympathy in her irrepressible efforts to establish a republic in accord with our ideas of popular government.

LADIES AND OFFICERS OF THE UNITED STATES; OR, AMERICAN ARISTOCRACY. A sketch of the social life and character of the army. By DUANE MERRITT GREENE, late Lieutenant U. S. A. 16mo. pp. 232. Central Publishing Co. Chicago, 1880.

We find by examination of the Army Register that Lieutenant Greene was appointed in 1872 and resigned in 1877. In this brief term of service, he has either seen much to which others are blind, or imagined a great deal that he never saw. Under a very thin disguise of honest seeming criticism, his strictures on individuals whose identity must be well known in army circles, greatly resemble a gratification of personal malignity. We are loth to believe that the officers of the regular army, or any considerable number of them, are such as he depicts them to be, or that the ladies whom he mentions are fair samples of their wives. We have no sympathy with literature of this character.

PRISON LIFE IN DIXIE. Giving a Short History of the Inhuman and Barbarous Treatment of our Soldiers by Rebel Authorities. By SERGEANT OATS. 16mo, pp. 204. THE CENTRAL PUBLISHING CO. Chicago, 1880.

The story of Sergeant Oats is fascinating from beginning to end, but it is the fascination of horror. The details of the treatment of Union prisoners in the Andersonville prison pen are



such as to extort tears from the sternest eyes, and force imprecations from the most pious heart. Think of thirty-three thousand men confined in a space no greater in extent than Washington Square, New York, without shelter from the burning heat of summer or the rude blasts of winter; their scanty rations of food brought to them at night in the same carts that in the morning bore off the festering corpses of the dead. It is no marvel that many were reduced to idiocy, that they died by the hundred, by the thousand.

The bones of fourteen thousand men, who perished miserably in that rebel Gehenna, bear mute, but awful testimony to the barbarity bred of the slavery system. An address by General Garfield, and a description of the Government cemetery on the site of the prison, form a fitting appendix to the volume.

W. C. S.

ADVENTURES OF ALF. WILSON. A thrilling Episode of the Dark Days of the Rebellion. By JOHN A. WILSON, a member of Mitchell's Railroad Raiders. 16mo, pp. 237. Blade Printing and Publishing Company. Toledo, 1880.

In April, 1862, a party of twenty-four enlisted men, of whom Alf. Wilson was one, assembled near the town of Shelbyville, Tenn., under the lead of J. J. Andrews, and, instructed by Gen. Ormsby M. Mitchell, was to penetrate in disguise through the rebel lines to Marietta in Georgia; there to secure a train of cars, and thence, turning northward, to burn bridges, destroy the road, and thus break this important railway connection with the South. Such an undertaking, so full of manifest hazard, the failure of which meant certain and ignominious death, these daring men entered upon, in a spirit of sublime patriotic self-devotion. General Mitchell wept as he parted from them, saying he feared he should never see them again. Nor did he meet any of the survivors of that devoted band, as he died at Port Royal before the narrator reached that place. Twenty of the party gained Marietta in safety, and at Big Shanty cut loose an engine and three box-cars from the express train, and started on the wild race to the North, stopping at intervals to tear up the track, displace ties and cut telegraph wires. Closely pursued, they had scant leisure to complete this work—their fuel and oil gave out, the engine journals heated, and finally, all hope of success gone, they took to the woods, every man for himself. All were ultimately captured by the rebels, were subjected to imprisonment in dungeons under ground, were starved and beaten. Eight with Andrews, their brave leader, were hung; nine, including Wilson, escaped; the rest perished in rebel jails. We cannot follow Wil-

son and companions in their perilous and toilsome journey down the Chattahoochee river in an open boat to the Gulf of Mexico, where, wasted with toil, exposure and starvation, their emaciated bodies naked, save for the wild moss with which they thatched themselves, they found shelter under the old flag on board the gunboat Stars and Stripes. Written without literary pretense, this is a book of thrilling interest.

W. C. S.

SOME MISTAKES OF MOSES. By ROBERT G. INGERSOLL. 1st ed. 16mo, pp. 278. C. P. FARRELL. Washington, D. C., 1879.

Colonel Ingersoll's views are so well known to the public that we confidently suppose that the title of this book is sufficient to give a fair comprehension of the treatment which he awards to the pentateuch. The critical, analytical, not to say sceptical, mind of the day will accept this view of Moses as a study in the interest of truth and human development along a higher plane, while the old-fashioned orthodox believer will look on it with horror and on him as one who hath the poison of asps under his lips.

The eloquence and poetic fervor of Ingersoll find a response in the hearts of many who do not acquiesce either in his strictures or conclusions.

W. C. S.

INGERSOLL AND MOSES. A Reply by Rev. SAMUEL IVES CURTISS. 16mo, pp. 118. JANSEN, McCLURG & Co. Chicago, 1880.

The reverend author of this volume intends it as an antidote to the poison of Ingersoll, and offers it to the clergy and laity as such, its contents being, as he says, the fruit of extended reading and research, though he omits to state what sources of information were at his disposal which were not equally open to Mr. Ingersoll. So far forth therefore as either the two disputants speaks as authority, they stand upon an equal footing. The real question at issue is still an open one; indeed it may be said that the preacher makes some concessions as, for instance, when he disclaims scientific pretensions on behalf of Moses. If the matter be open to all to interpretation or construction, who shall limit the scope of enquiry or criticism?

W. C. S.

RECOLLECTIONS AND OPINIONS OF AN OLD PIONEER. By PETER H. BURNETT the first Governor of the State of California. 12mo, pp. 448. D. APPLETON & Co. New York, 1880.

Mr. Burnet indicates the necessity of his nature which made him a pioneer by the manner in which he opens this very interesting autobiog-

raphy. His first sentence reads as follows: "I am the eldest son of George and Dorothy Burnet, and was born in Nashville, Tennessee, November 15th, 1807." He then gives a succinct account of his early life in that primitive society, tells of the industry, economy and foresight necessary to make a plain living; of bee hunts and fisticuff fights in Missouri, to which territory the family removed in 1819. In 1826 he returned to Tennessee, worked for a time as clerk in a hotel, then in a store at a salary of \$200 per annum and his washing, board and lodging, and in 1828 he married Miss Harriet Rogers—he being at that time twenty-one and his wife seventeen years of age. He says that to his wife he owes much of his success in life. He studied law and was appointed District Attorney by the Governor of Missouri, to which State he had returned, and where he took an active part in the Mormon troubles, which resulted in their expulsion from the State. In 1843 he crossed the plains to Oregon with his family. There he resided for five years, undergoing great hardships, and in 1848 went to California in quest of gold. Here he took a prominent part in political affairs, and in 1849 was elected Governor; was re-elected and resigned in January, 1851. We have rarely read a book more crowded with incidents and more interesting in its matter. It is the history of the life of a man representing in himself the best elements of American character, self-reliant, self-made, and successful. That portion relating to the formation of the State Government of California is most instructive, and there is hardly a man of note on the Pacific coast whom the author has not known and of whom he does not make mention, touching briefly on some notable incident in the career of each.

W. C. S.

REMINISCENCES OF LEVI COFFIN,
THE REPUTED PRESIDENT OF THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD. Being a brief history of the labors of a lifetime in behalf of the slave, with the stories of numerous fugitives who gained their freedom through his instrumentality, and many other incidents. 2d edition, with appendix. 8vo. pp. 732. ROBERT CLARKE & Co. Cincinnati, 1880.

The venerable author, then in his seventy-eighth year, as he states in his preface, dated in 1876, wrote this book, that the record of the stirring anti-slavery times, in which he lived and labored, and which are now a part of the history of our country, should not be lost, and that the rising generation might learn from his narrative how slaves were helped to gain their freedom. Levi Coffin was born of Quaker parents, who

emigrated from Nantucket Island to North Carolina before the revolutionary war, and resided at Guilford Court House, on the site of the battlefield, which took its name from the locality. None of his family were slaveholders, and from his earliest youth he had a thorough detestation of slavery. Many acts of cruelty, which he was a witness to, decided him at an early age to do all in his power to enable fugitive slaves to escape from their masters. In later in life he removed to Newport, in Indiana, and organized what was shortly known as the underground railroad—which in effect was an association, having for its object the protection of fugitives and the furtherance of their escape, by providing places of concealment, horses, wagons and food, as well as advice, and occasional armed assistance in forwarding them on their way to Canada. No where in all the broad lands of the Union was there asylum for the escaping slave. By a law which rests as an indelible disgrace to the nation, every man in the free north was made a slave hunter, and the whole power of the government was at the disposal of the traffickers in human flesh and blood. The mere recollection of such degradation makes the cheeks to tingle with the hot blood of shame even at this day.

The narrative of Mr. Coffin's labors in behalf of these poor outcasts seeking for that freedom in a monarchy which was denied them under our boasted Republic, is replete with interest—and the many detailed incidents make the book as fascinating as a romance.

The rising generation should learn to know and honor the labors of these gleaners in the aftermath of human rights and prerogatives—which the wise men of the nation contemned until the day of their confusion was at hand. What Garrison strove to effect by precept, Coffin practiced as a part of his life. Although a law breaker, he is without crime, and the purity of his motive more than atones for the illegality of his acts.

W. C. S.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, AND HIS TIMES; Or, Sketches of the Anti-Slavery Movement in America, and of the man who was its founder and moral leader. By OLIVER JOHNSON, with an introduction by JOHN G. WHITTIER. 8vo. pp. 432. B. B. RUSSELL & Co. Boston, 1880.

William Lloyd Garrison was the apostle of freedom for the slave; to this cause he devoted a long life of untiring labor and energy, and lived to see emancipation an accomplished fact. The result for which he strove so earnestly and which he sought to accomplish by moral suasion and appeal to the conscience, was brought about in the throes of a conflict which taxed the utmost re-

sources of the nation and almost verified the sad words of Lincoln, that "for every drop of blood drawn by the scourge from the back of the bondsman another should be shed by the sword." Familiar as this generation is with the passion aroused by the war, it is difficult for one who has not been personally cognizant of the fact, to apprehend the mingled hatred, loathing and scorn, with which the abolitionist of forty years ago was regarded by the orthodox piety of the conventional christian and the conservative politician. To each slavery was the very ark of the covenant.

To avow abolition principles was to incur social ostracism, religious ostracism, and political disfranchisement. Knowing what lay before him Garrison voluntarily, ray gladly, espoused the cause of the slave and devoted his life to the cause of emancipation. This book is the record of his labor, his sufferings and his reward. The man who had a price set upon his head, who on more than one occasion escaped the fury of a mob died full of years and honor, surrounded by his family, knowing that he had not labored in vain.

The author, Oliver Johnson, will be recognised as the associate of Garrison, Greeley, Gerritt Smith and Whittier, all faithful advocates of the cause, and his name is a guaranty that the life of his great leader has been written with loving care and fidelity.

W. C. S.

ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA. MEMORIAL VOLUME. Compiled by Rev. J. WILLIAM JONES, D.D., at the request of the Virginia Division of the Army of Northern Virginia Association. 8vo, pp. 347. J. W. RANDOLPH & ENGLISH. Richmond, 1880.

The death of General R. E. Lee in 1870 gave fitting occasion for the meeting of his surviving comrades in arms, which was held pursuant to a call issued by General J. A. Early, on the 3d of November 1870, in the First Presbyterian Church in the city of Richmond, for the purpose of taking the preliminary steps to the erection of a monument to his memory. Here were gathered together a host of those who had followed his fortunes on many a stricken field, and had stood by his side at the last fatal hour, when, with a moral courage as lofty as ever inspired a leader, he took upon himself all the responsibility of the surrender which terminated the career of the Army of Northern Virginia and of the Confederacy, to establish the existence of which it had fought so long and so well. We have not now to deal with any of the political questions so sternly debated in those long years, but only with fitting respect to bear witness to the loving, almost filial reverence, with which his comrades

laid their offering on the shrine of their leader, and recalled his great deeds of arms. The addresses delivered are collected in the volume now before us, and although we do not recognize in the names of the several speakers those of any who were specially prominent in those times of strife, yet each one speaks of that which he saw and heard, and of actions in which he was a participant. The subject is one of deep and absorbing interest, and we are enabled through means of these valuable papers, divested as most of them are of purely military technicalities, to follow the movements of the contending forces over that portion of Virginia here not inaptly termed the Flanders of America, and in many instances thus as it were taken behind the scenes to watch the movements which so often baffled the advance of the Union forces, in the tangled thickets of the wilderness, and in the trenches of Petersburg and Richmond. Contributions of this character will always be welcome, and should find a place in every historical library. The editor is to be complimented on the result of his labors.

W. C. S.

A PRIVATE CHAPTER OF THE WAR 1861-5. By GEO. W. BAILEY, late First-Lieutenant Sixth Missouri Infantry, and A. D. C. Second Division Staff, Fifteenth Army Corps. 16mo. pp. 270. G. I. JONES & Co. St. Louis, 1880.

On the 22d of July, 1864, before Atlanta, Ga., in a memorable encounter between the army of Sherman and that of Hood, in which through failure on the part of our troops to guard a gap in the railway embankment, the army of the Tennessee was driven from its works and for a short time discomfited, the writer of this personal chapter of the war, while making his way to what had been but a moment before the rear of his own division, found himself confronted by a horde of advancing rebels, who took him prisoner and marched him, in company with many others who had fallen into the same error, inside the works of Atlanta. Bailey found captivity so irksome that he immediately formed plans for escape and succeeding in eluding the vigilance of the guard, found himself loose in Dixie. There is a certain sameness necessarily found in all narratives of escaped prisoners of war. He found succor and food from kindly disposed Union men and women, but he always approached the house of a white man with the utmost caution, while he soon learned that a black face meant shelter, food, protection and guidance the instant the negro understood that, he was a Yankee. One portion of the story recites a foul crime in an attempted murder of the fugitive by a Georgian, who gave as his reason

for his dastardly assault, that "the Yankees had stolen his wife's frying pan." Bailey was sorely wounded, but thanks to a constitution of iron and the kind care of a christian woman, lived to recover. Other atrocities are stated to have been committed by bodies of regular troops which, for the credit of the Confederate service, we hope are either misreported or exaggerated.

W. C. S.

FAST AND LOOSE IN DIXIE. An Unprejudiced Narrative of Personal Experience as a Prisoner of War at Libby, Macon, Savannah and Charleston. By J. MADISON DRAKE, Captain Ninth New Jersey Veteran Volunteers, and Brevet Brigadier-General N. G. N. J. 16mo, pp. 310.

Captain Drake was taken prisoner in May, 1864, at the battle of Drury's Bluff; was carried to Richmond, where he tasted the delights of Libby prison, in which he and all other prisoners were systematically robbed and starved by the notorious Dick Turner, and was subsequently confined at Macon and Charleston, from which latter place he, with many others, was removed in October of that year. It was while on the way to the interior of the country that he, with three companions, Captains Henry H. Todd, 8th N. J. V.; J. E. Lewis, 11th N. J. V., and Albert Grant, 19th Wis., made a dash for liberty, and leaping from the fast-moving railway train, sought safety in the dark recesses of a South Carolina swamp. Destitute of money and arms, enemies in a hostile country, their prospects to escape must have seemed dim enough, and the next morning, when the bay of blood hounds sounded in their ears, and they knew that five hundred miles lay between them and the Union lines, their hearts may well have sunk within them. In this strait, as here told and in every other story of like escape and need, our men turned instantly toward the despised and ignorant negro, nor is there an instance on record where the black man has failed to justify the trust reposed in him. We cannot follow Captain Drake and his companions on their long journey across the Blue Ridge, nor give one out of the incidents with which it is crowded. The tale is told simply, without bravado, and at times with a keen appreciation of the humor of the situation; as witness his way of getting a pair of shoes from an old Tennessean, who was unwilling to part with the only pair he had. On their safe arrival at Knoxville, Drake does not hesitate to describe the condition of his person in terms of such graphic force as to leave no doubt on the mind of the reader that a bath was not a luxury, but a necessity.

W. C. S.

REGISTER OF BOOKS RECEIVED

IN 1880

Continued from July Number

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THE STUDENT'S HUME. A History of England, based on the History of David Hume. By J. S. Brewer. Revised edition. 12mo. Harper & Bros. New York, 1880.

FAST AND LOOSE IN DIXIE. An unprejudiced narrative of personal experience as a prisoner of war at Libby. By J. Madison Drake, Captain 9th N. J. Vet. Vols. 16mo. The Authors' Publishing Company. New York, 1880.

A PRIVATE CHAPTER OF THE WAR, 1861-5. By George W. Bailey, First Lieutenant 6th Missouri Infantry. 16mo. G. I. Jones & Co. St. Louis, 1880.

PRISON LIFE IN DIXIE. Giving a short history of the inhuman and barbarous treatment of our soldiers by rebel authorities. By Sergeant Oats. 16mo. Central Publishing Co. Chicago, 1880.

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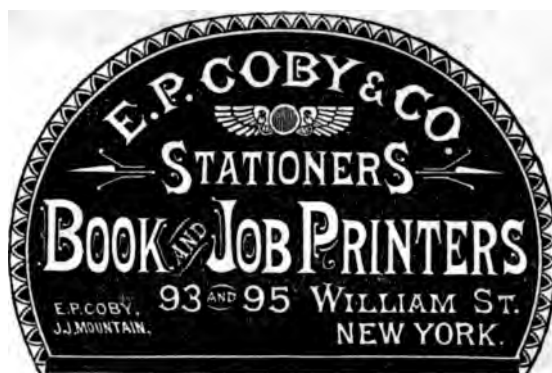
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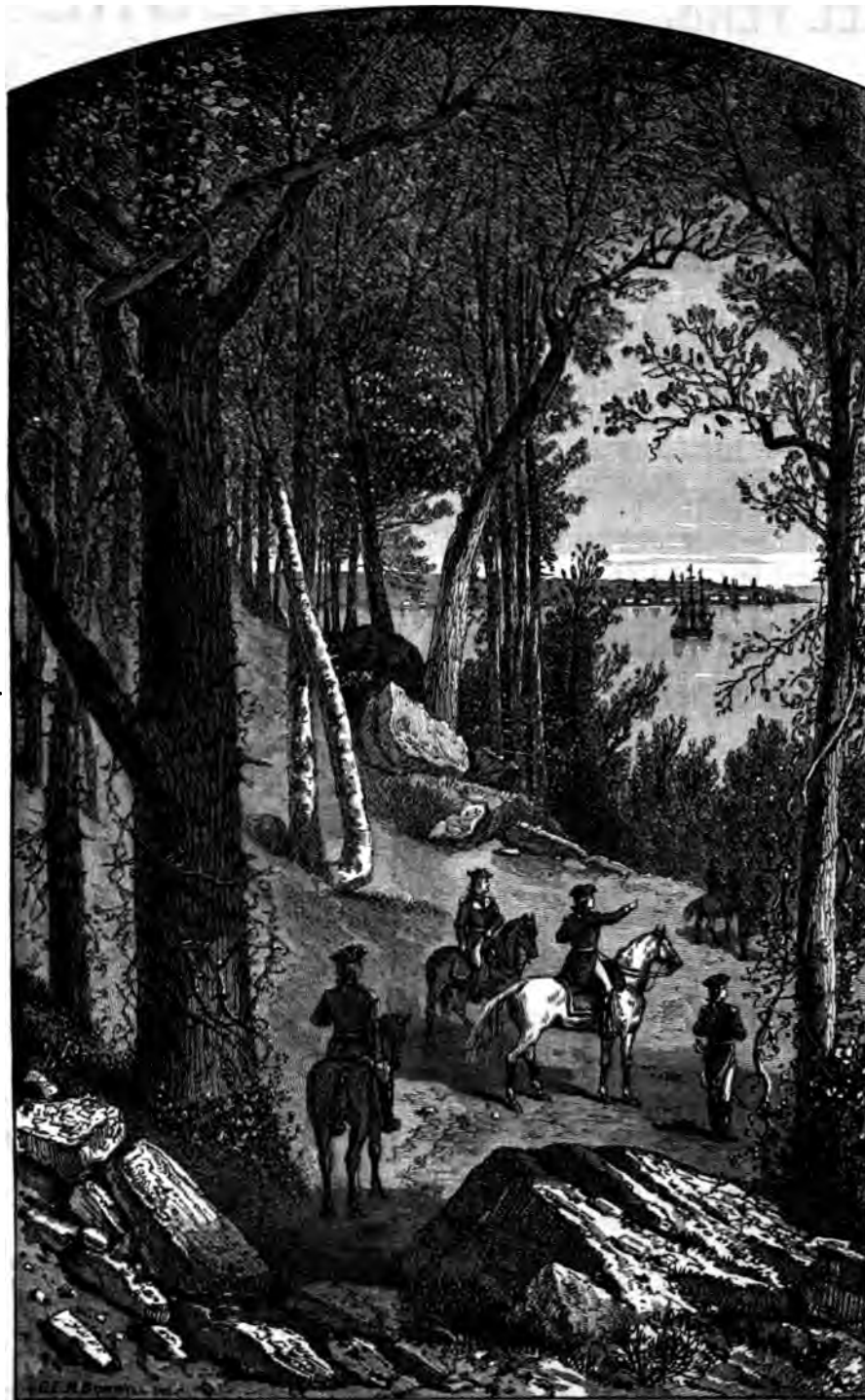
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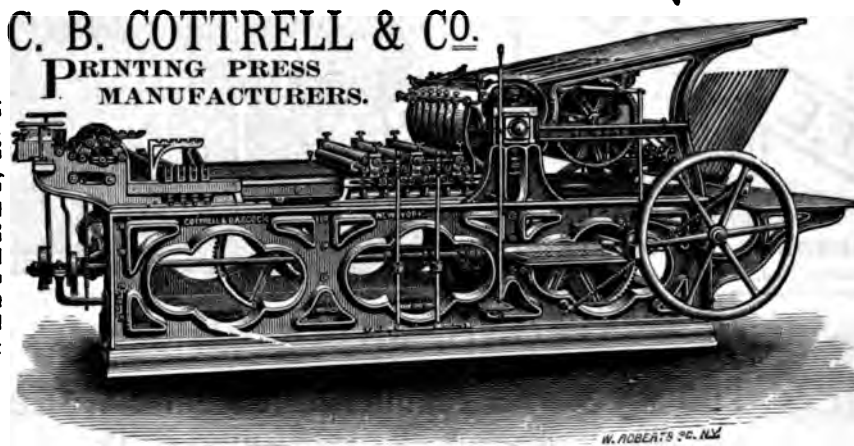
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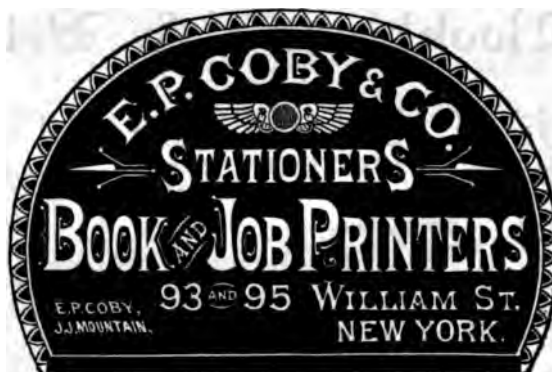
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